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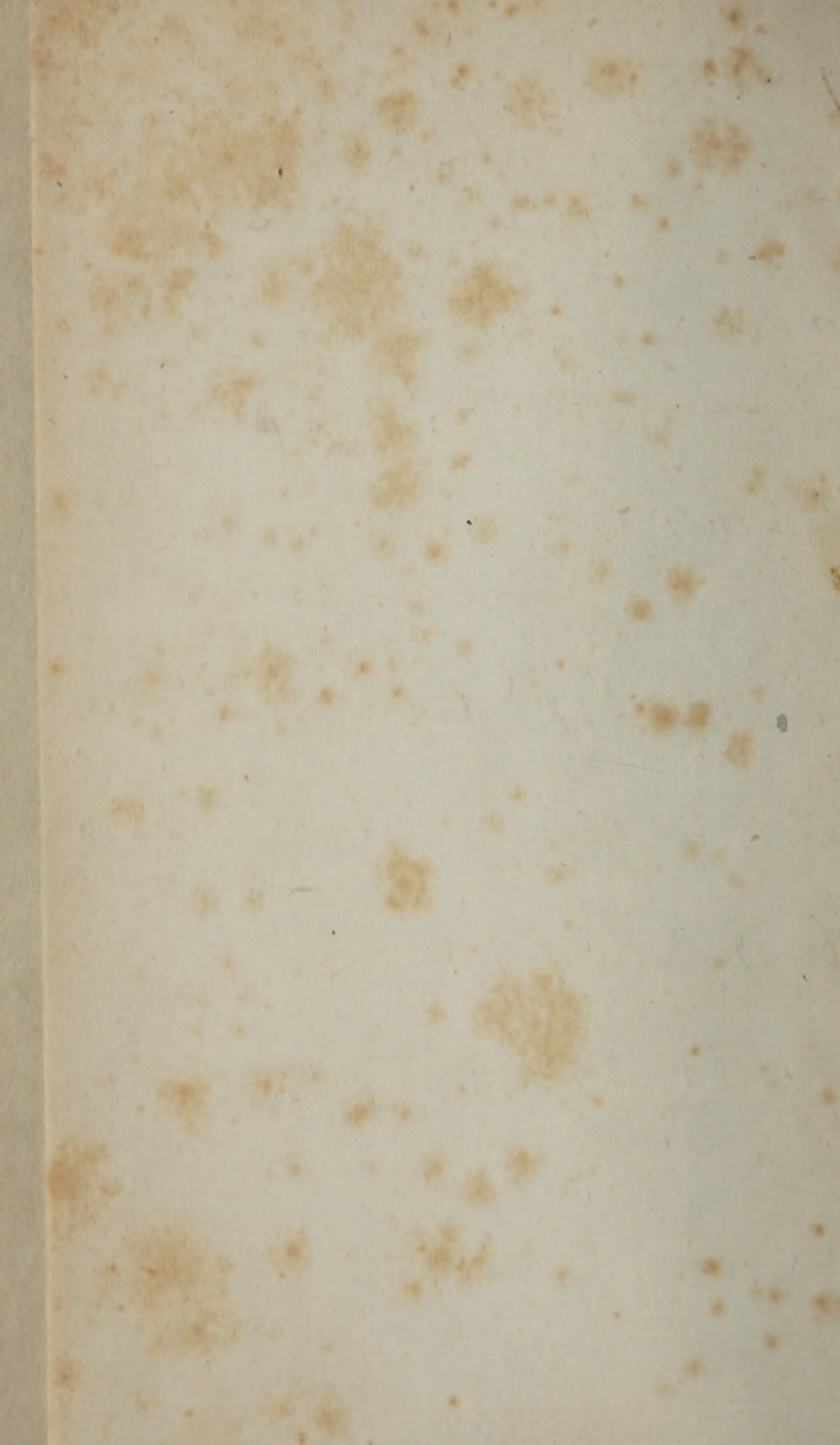
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REVIEW

OF

THE DEBATE

IN THE

4265.54

VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE

OF

1831 AND 1832.

BY THOMAS R. DEW,

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, METAPHYSICS AND POLITICAL LAW,
WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE.

5083

RICHMOND:

Printed by T. W. White, opposite the Bell Tavern.

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1832.

REVIEW

OF

THE DEER

IN THE

W. Phillips

313, 122

June 26, 1852

1851

SECTION OF HISTORY, METAPHYSICS AND POLITICAL LAW
WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE

RICHMOND

Printed by T. W. Lewis, opposite the Ball Tavern

1852

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

1.—*Debate in the Virginia Legislature of 1831-32, on the Abolition of Slavery.* Richmond.

2.—*Letter of Appomattox to the People of Virginia on the subject of the Abolition of Slavery.* Richmond.

IN looking to the texture of the population of our country, there is nothing so well calculated to arrest the attention of the observer, as the existence of Negro Slavery throughout a large portion of the confederacy. A race of people differing from us in colour and in habits, and vastly inferior in the scale of civilization, have been increasing and spreading, "growing with our growth and strengthening with our strength," until they have become intertwined and intertwisted with every fibre of society. Go through our Southern country, and every where you see the negro slave by the side of the white man; you find him alike in the mansion of the rich, the cabin of the poor, the workshop of the mechanic, and the field of the planter. Upon the contemplation of a population framed like this, a curious and interesting question readily suggests itself to the inquiring mind:—Can these two distinct races of people now living together as master and servant, be ever separated? Can the black be sent back to his African home, or will the day ever arrive when he can be liberated from his thralldom, and mount upwards in the scale of civilization and rights, to an equality with the white? This is a question of truly momentous character; it involves the whole frame work of society, contemplates a separation of its elements, or a radical change in their relation, and requires for its adequate investigation the most complete and profound knowledge of the nature and sources of national wealth and political aggrandizement—an acquaintance with the elastic and powerful spring of population and the causes which invigorate or paralyze its energies, together with a clear perception of the varying rights of man amid all the changing circumstances by which he may be surrounded, and a profound knowledge of all the principles, passions and susceptibilities which make up the moral nature of our species; and according as they are acted upon by adventitious circumstances, alter our condition, and produce all that wonderful variety of character which so strongly marks and characterizes the human family. Well then does it behoove even the wisest statesman to approach this august subject with the utmost circumspection and diffidence; its wanton agitation even is pregnant with mischief; but rash and hasty action threatens, in our opinion, the whole Southern country with irremediable ruin. The evil of *yesterday's* growth, may be extirpated *to-day*, and the vigour of society may heal the wound; but that which is the growth of *ages*, may require *ages* to remove. The Parliament of Great Britain, with all its philanthropic zeal, guided by the wisdom and eloquence of such statesmen as Chatham, Fox, Burke, Pitt, Canning and Brougham, has never yet seriously agitated this question, in regard to the West India possessions. Revolutionary France, actuated by

the most intemperate and phrenetic zeal for liberty and equality, attempted to legislate the free people of colour in the Island of St. Domingo into all the rights and privileges of the whites; and but a season afterwards, convinced of her madness, she attempted to retrace her steps, but it was too late; the deed had been done, the bloodiest and most shocking insurrection ever recorded in the annals of history, had broken out, and the whole Island was involved in frightful carnage and anarchy, and France in the end, has been stript "of the brightest jewel in her crown,"—the fairest and most valuable of all her colonial possessions. } Since the revolution, France, Spain and Portugal, large owners of colonial possessions, have not only not abolished slavery in their colonies, but have not even abolished the slave trade in practice.

In our Southern slave-holding country, the question of emancipation has never been seriously discussed in any of our legislatures, until the whole subject, under the most exciting circumstances, was, during the last winter, brought up for discussion in the Virginia Legislature, and plans of partial or total abolition were earnestly pressed upon the attention of that body. It is well known, that during the last summer, in the county of Southampton in Virginia, a few slaves, led on by Nat Turner, rose in the night, and murdered in the most inhuman and shocking manner, between sixty and seventy of the unsuspecting whites of that county. The news, of course, was rapidly diffused, and with it consternation and dismay were spread throughout the State, destroying for a time all feeling of security and confidence; and even when subsequent development had proved, that the conspiracy had been originated by a fanatical negro preacher, (whose confessions prove beyond a doubt mental aberration,) and that this conspiracy embraced but few slaves, all of whom had paid the penalty of their crimes, still the excitement remained, still the repose of the Commonwealth was disturbed,—for the ghastly horrors of the Southampton tragedy could not immediately be banished from the mind—and Rumour, too, with her thousand tongues, was busily engaged in spreading tales of disaffection, plots, insurrections, and even massacres, which frightened the timid and harassed and mortified the whole of the slave-holding population. During this period of excitement, when reason was almost banished from the mind, and the imagination was suffered to conjure up the most appalling phantoms, and picture to itself a crisis in the vista of futurity, when the overwhelming numbers of the blacks would rise superior to all restraint, and involve the fairest portion of our land in universal ruin and desolation, we are not to wonder, that even in the lower part of Virginia, many should have seriously inquired, if this supposed monstrous evil could not be removed from our bosom. Some looked to the removal of the free people of colour by the efforts of the Colonization Society, as an antidote to all our ills. Some were disposed to strike at the root of the evil—to call on the General Government for aid, and by the labors of *Hercules*, to extirpate the curse of

slavery from the land. Others again, who could not bear that Virginia should stand towards the General Government (whose unconstitutional action she had ever been foremost to resist,) in the attitude of a suppliant, looked forward to the legislative action of the State as capable of achieving the desired result. In this state of excitement and unallayed apprehension, the Legislature met, and plans for abolition were proposed and earnestly advocated in debate.

Upon the impropriety of this debate, we beg leave to make a few observations. Any scheme of abolition proposed so soon after the Southampton tragedy, would necessarily appear to be the result of that most inhuman massacre. Suppose the negroes, then, to be really anxious for their emancipation, no matter on what terms, would not the extraordinary effect produced on the legislature by the Southampton insurrection, in all probability, have a tendency to excite another? And we must recollect, from the nature of things, no plan of abolition could act suddenly on the whole mass of slave population in the State. Mr. Randolph's was not even to commence its operation till 1840. Waiting then, one year or more, until the excitement could be allayed and the empire of reason could once more have been established, would surely have been productive of no injurious consequences; and, in the mean time, a Legislature could have been selected which would much better have represented the views and wishes of their constituents on this vital question. Virginia could have ascertained the sentiments and wishes of other slave-holding States, whose concurrence, if not absolutely necessary, might be highly desirable, and should have been sought after and attended to, at least as a matter of State courtesy. Added to this, the texture of the Legislature was not of that character calculated to ensure the confidence of the people in a movement of this kind. If ever there was a question debated in a deliberative body, which called for the most exalted talent, the longest and most tried experience, the utmost circumspection and caution, a complete exemption from prejudice and undue excitement where both are apt to prevail, an ardent and patriotic desire to advance the vital interests of the State, uncombined with mere desire for vain and ostentatious display, and with no view to party or geographical divisions, that question was the question of the *abolition of slavery* in the Virginia Legislature. "*Grave and reverend seniors,*" "the very fathers of the Republic," were indeed required for the settlement of a question of such magnitude. It appears, however, that the Legislature was composed of an unusual number of young and inexperienced members, elected in the month of April previous to the Southampton massacre, and at a time of profound tranquillity and repose, when of course the people were not disposed to call from their retirement their most distinguished and experienced citizens.

We are very ready to admit, that in point of ability and eloquence, the debate transcended our expectations. One of the lead-

ing political papers in the State remarked—"We have never heard any debate so eloquent, so sustained, and in which so great a number of speakers had appeared, and commanded the attention of so numerous and intelligent an audience." "Day after day, multitudes throng to the capital, and have been compensated by eloquence which would have illustrated Rome or Athens." But however fine might have been the rhetorical display, however ably some isolated points might have been discussed, still we affirm, with confidence, that no enlarged, wise, and practical plan of operations, was proposed by the abolitionists. We will go farther, and assert that their arguments, in most cases, were of a wild and intemperate character, based upon false principles and assumptions of the most vicious and alarming kind; subversive of the rights of property and the order and tranquillity of society; and portending to the whole slave-holding country—if they ever shall be followed out in practice—the most inevitable and ruinous consequences. Far be it, however, from us, to accuse the abolitionists in the Virginia Legislature, of any settled malevolent design to overturn or convulse the fabric of society. We have no doubt that they were acting conscientiously for the best; but it often happens that frail imperfect man, in the too ardent and confident pursuit of imaginary good, runs upon his utter destruction.

We have not formed our opinion lightly upon this subject; we have given to the vital question of abolition the most mature and intense consideration which we are capable of bestowing, and we have come to the conclusion—a conclusion which seems to be sustained by facts and reasoning as irresistible as the demonstration of the mathematician—that every plan of emancipation and deportation which we can possibly conceive, is *totally* impracticable. We shall endeavor to prove, that the attempt to execute these plans can only have a tendency to increase all the evils of which we complain, as resulting from slavery. If this be true, then the great question of abolition will necessarily be reduced to the question of emancipation, with a permission to remain, which we think can easily be shown to be utterly subversive of the interests, security, and happiness, of both the blacks and whites, and consequently hostile to every principle of expediency, morality, and religion. We have heretofore doubted the propriety even of too frequently agitating, especially in a public manner, the question of abolition, in consequence of the injurious effects which might be produced on the slave population. But the Virginia Legislature, in its zeal for discussion, boldly set aside all prudential considerations of this kind, and openly and publicly debated the subject before the world. The seal has now been broken, the example has been set from a high quarter; we shall therefore, waive all considerations of a prudential character which have heretofore restrained us, and boldly grapple with the abolitionists on this great question. We fear not the result, so far as truth, justice, and expediency alone are concerned. But we must be permitted to say, that we do most deeply

dread the effects of misguided philanthropy, and the marked, and we had like to have said, impertinent intrusion in this matter, of those who have no interest at stake, and who have not that intimate and minute knowledge of the whole subject so absolutely necessary to wise action.

Without further preliminary, then, we shall advance to the discussion of the question of abolition; noticing not only the plans proposed in the Virginia Legislature, but some others likewise. And, as the subject of slavery has been considered in every point of view, and pronounced, in the *abstract* at least, as entirely contrary to the law of nature, we propose taking in the first place, a hasty view of the origin of slavery, and point out the influence which it has exerted on the progress of civilization, and to this purpose it will be necessary to look back to other ages—cast a glance at nations differing from us in civilization and manners, and see whether it is possible to mount to the source of slavery.

I. Origin of Slavery and its Effects on the Progress of Civilization.

Upon an examination of the nature of man, we find him to be almost entirely the creature of circumstances—his habits and sentiments are in a great measure the growth of adventitious causes—hence the endless variety and condition of our species. We are almost ever disposed, however, to identify the course of nature, with the progress of events in our own narrow contracted sphere; we look upon any deviation from the constant round in which *we* have been spinning out the thread of our existence, as a departure from nature's great system; and from a known principle of our nature, our first impulse is to condemn. It is thus that the man born and nurtured in the lap of freedom, looks upon slavery as unnatural and horrible; and if he be not instructed upon the subject, is sure to think that so unnatural a condition could never exist but in few countries or ages—in violation of every law of justice and humanity; and he is almost disposed to implore the divine wrath, to shower down the consuming fire of Heaven on the Sodoms and Gomorrhas of the world, where this unjust practice prevails.

But, when he examines into the past condition of mankind, he stands amazed at the fact which history develops to his view.—“Almost every page of ancient history,” says Wallace, in his *Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind*, “demonstrates the great multitude of slaves; which gives occasion to a melancholy reflection, that the world when best peopled, was not a world of freemen, but of slaves:”* “And in every age and country, until times comparatively recent,” says Hallam, “personal servitude appears to have been the lot of a large, perhaps the greater portion of mankind.”†

Slavery was established and sanctioned by Divine Authority, among even the elect of Heaven—the favoured children of Israel.

* P. 93. Edinburg Edition, † Middle Ages, vol. 1, p. 120, Philadelphia Edition.

Abraham, the founder of this interesting nation, and the chosen servant of the Lord, was the owner of *hundreds* of slaves—that magnificent shrine, the Temple of Solomon, was reared by the hands of slaves. Egypt's venerable and enduring piles were reared by similar hands. Slavery existed in Assyria and Babylon. The ten tribes of Israel were carried off in bondage to the former by Shalmanezar, and the two tribes of Judah were subsequently carried in triumph by Nebuchadnezzar to beautify and adorn the latter. Ancient Phœnicia and Carthage had slaves—the Greeks and Trojans at the siege of Troy, had slaves—Athens, and Sparta, and Thebes, indeed the whole Grecian and Roman worlds, had more slaves than freemen. And in those ages which succeeded the extinction of the Roman Empire in the West, "*Servi* or slaves," says Dr. Robertson, "seem to have been the most numerous class."* Even in this day of civilization, and the regeneration of governments, slavery is far from being confined to our hemisphere alone. The Serf and Labour rents prevalent throughout the whole of Eastern Europe and a portion of Western Asia; and the Ryot rents throughout the extensive and over populated countries of the East, and over the dominions of the Porte in Europe, Asia and Africa, but too conclusively mark the existence of slavery over these boundless regions. And when we turn to the vast continent of Africa, we find slavery in all its most horrid forms, existing throughout its whole extent—the slaves being at least three times more numerous than the freemen; so that, looking to the whole world, we may even now with confidence assert, that slaves, or those whose condition is infinitely worse, form by far the largest portion of the human race!

Well then, may we here pause, and inquire a moment—for it is surely worthy of inquiry—how has slavery arisen and thus spread over our globe? We shall not pretend to enumerate accurately, and in detail, all the causes which have led to slavery; but we believe the principal may be summed up under the following heads: 1st, Laws of War—2nd, State of Property and Feebleness of Government—3rd, Bargain and Sale—and 4th, Crime.

1st. *Laws of War*.—There is no circumstance which more honorably and creditably characterizes modern warfare than the humanity with which it is waged, and the mildness with which captives are treated. Civilized nations, with but few exceptions, now act in complete conformity with the wise rule laid down by Grotius, "That in war we have a right only to the use of those means which have a connection *morally necessary* with the end in view." Consequently, we have no just right, where this rule is adhered to by our adversary, to enslave or put to death enemies *non combatant*, who may be in our possession—for this in modern times, among civilized nations, is not *morally necessary* to the attainment of the end in view. On the contrary, if such a practice were commenced

*See Robertson's Works, vol. 3, p. 186.

now, it would only increase the calamities of the belligerents, by converting their wars into wars of extermination, or rapine, and plunder—terminated generally with infinitely less advantage, and more difficulty to each of the parties. But humane and advantageous as this mitigated practice appears, we are not to suppose it universal, or that it has obtained in all ages. On the contrary, it is the growth of modern civilization, and has been confined in a great measure to civilized Europe and its colonies.

Writers on the progress of society, designate three stages in which man has been found to exist. * First, the hunting or fishing state—second, the pastoral—third, agricultural. Man in the hunting state, has ever been found to wage war in the most cruel and implacable manner—extermination being the object of the belligerent tribes. Never has there been a finer field presented to the philosopher, for a complete investigation of the character of any portion of our species, than the whole American hemisphere presented for the complete investigation of the character of savages in the hunting and fishing state.

Doctor Robertson has given us a most appalling description of the cruelties with which savage warfare was waged throughout the whole continent of America and the barbarous manner in which prisoners were every where put to death. He justly observes that “the bare description is enough to chill the heart with horror, wherever men have been accustomed, by milder institutions, to respect their species, and to melt into tenderness at the sight of human sufferings. The prisoners are tied naked to a stake, but so as to be at liberty to move round it. All who are present, men, women and children; rush upon them like furies. Every species of torture is applied that the rancour of revênge can invent; some burn their limbs with red hot iron, some mangle their bodies with knives, others tear their flesh from their bones, pluck out their nails by the roots, and rend and twist their sinews. Nothing sets bounds to their rage but the dread of abridging the duration of their vengeance by hastening the death of the sufferers; and such is their cruel ingenuity in tormenting, that by avoiding industriously to hurt any vital part, they often prolong the scene of anguish for several days.”* Let us now inquire into the cause of such barbarous practices, and we shall find that they must be imputed principally to the passion of revenge. In the language of the same eloquent writer whom we have just quoted; “in small communities every man is touched with the injury or affront offered to the body of which he is a member, as if it were a personal attack on his own honor and safety. War, which between extensive kingdoms is carried on with little animosity, is prosecuted by small tribes with all the rancour of a private quarrel. When polished nations have obtained the glory of victory, or have acquired an addition of territory, they may terminate a war with honor. But savages

*See Robertson's *America*, Philad. Ed. vol. I, p. 197.

are not satisfied, until they extirpate the community which is the object of their hatred. They fight not to conquer, but destroy." "The desire of vengeance is the first and almost the only principle, which a savage instils into the minds of his children. The desire of vengeance which takes possession of the hearts of savages, resembles the instinctive rage of an animal, rather than the passion of a man."* Unfortunately too, interest conspires with the desire of revenge, to render savage warfare horrible. The wants of the savage, it is true, are few and simple; but limited as they are, according to their mode of life it is extremely difficult to supply them. Hunting and fishing afford at best a very precarious subsistence. Throughout the extensive regions of America, population was found to be most sparsely scattered, but thin as it was, it was most wretchedly and scantily supplied with provisions. Under these circumstances, prisoners of war could not be kept, for the feeding of them would be sure to produce a famine.† They would not be sent back to their tribe, for that would strengthen the enemy. They could not even make slaves of them, for their labour would have been worthless. Death then was unfortunately the punishment, which was prompted both by interest and revenge. And accordingly, throughout the whole continent of America, we find with but one or two exceptions, that this was the dreadful fate which awaited the prisoners of all classes, men women and children. In fact, this has been the practice of war, wherever man was found in the first stages of society—living on the precarious subsistence of the chase. The savages of the Islands of Andaman, in the East, supposed by many to be lowest in the scale of civilization, of Van Diemen's land, of New Holland, and of the Islands of the South Pacific‡ are all alike,—they all agree in the practice of exterminating enemies by the most perfidious and cruel conduct; and, throughout many extensive regions, the horrid practice of feasting on the murdered prisoner prevails.§

What is there, let us ask, which is calculated to arrest this horrid practice, and to communicate an impulse towards civilization? Strange as it may sound in modern ears, it is the institution of property and the existence of slavery. Judging from the univer-

*See Robertson's America, vol. 1, pp. 192, 193.

† "If a few Spaniards settled in any district, such a small addition of supernumerary mouths soon exhausted their scanty stores and brought on famine."—*Doctor Robertson*, page 182.

‡ Capt. Cook, in his third voyage, says of the natives in the neighborhood of Queen Charlotte's Sound, "If I had followed the advice of all our pretended friends, I might have extirpated the whole race, for the people of each hamlet or village, by turns applied to me to destroy the other." . . . "It appears to me that the New Zealanders must live in perpetual apprehensions of being destroyed by each other."

§ Among the Iroquois, says Dr. Robertson, the phrase by which they express their resolution of making war against an enemy, is, "let us go and eat that nation." If they solicit the aid of a neighboring tribe, they invite it to eat broth made of the flesh of their enemies. Among the Abnakis, according to the "*Lettres Edif. et Curieuse*," the chief, after dividing his warriors into parties, says to each, to you is given such a hamlet to eat, to you such a village, &c. Capt. Cook, in his third voyage, says of the N. Zealanders, "perhaps the desire of making a good meal (on prisoners) is no small inducement" (to go to war).

sality of the fact, we may assert that domestic slavery seems to be the only means of fixing the wanderer to the soil, moderating his savage temper, mitigating the horrors of war, and abolishing the practice of murdering the captives. In the pure hunting state, man has little idea of property, and consequently there is little room for distinction, except what arises from personal qualities.—People in this state, retain therefore a high sense of equality and independence. It is a singular fact, that the two extremes of society are most favorable to liberty and equality—the most savage and the most refined and enlightened—the former in consequence of the absence of the institution of property—and the latter from the diffusion of knowledge and the consequent capability of self government. The former is characterized by a wild, licentious independence, totally subversive of all order and tranquillity, and the latter by a well ordered, well established liberty, which while it leaves to each the enjoyment of the fruits of his industry, secures him against the lawless violence and rapine of his neighbors. Throughout the whole American continent, this equality and savage independence seem to have prevailed, except in the comparatively great kingdoms of Mexico and Peru, where the right to property was established.

So soon as private right to property is established, slavery commences, and with the institution of slavery the cruelties of war begin to diminish. The chief finds it to his interest to make slaves of his captives, rather than put them to death. This system commences with the shepherd state, and is consummated in the agricultural; slavery therefore seems to be the chief means of mitigating the horrors of war. Accordingly, wherever among barbarous nations they have so far advanced in civilization as to understand the use which may be made of captives, by converting them into slaves, there the cruelties of war are found to be lessened.

Throughout the whole continent of Africa, in consequence of the universal prevalence of slavery, war is not conducted with the same barbarous ferocity as by the American Indian. And hence it happens, that some nations become most cruel to those whom they would most wish to favor. Thus, on the borders of Persia, some of the tribes of Tartars massacre all the true believers who fall into their hands, but preserve heretics and infidels; because their religion forbids them to make slaves of true believers, and allows them to use or sell all others at their pleasure.*

In looking to the history of the world, we find that interest, and *interest* alone, has been enabled successfully to war against the fiercer passion of revenge. The only instance of mildness in war among the savages of North America, results from the operation of interest. Sometimes, when the tribe has suffered great loss of numbers, and stands very much in need of recruits, the prisoner is

* Tacitus tells us that civil wars are always the most cruel, because the prisoners are not made slaves.

saved, and adopted (says Robertson,) as a member of the nation. Pastoral nations require but few slaves, and consequently they save but few prisoners for this purpose. Agricultural require more, and this state is the most advantageous to slavery. Prisoners of war are generally spared by such nations, in consideration of the use which may be made of their labor.

It is curious in this respect, to contemplate the varied success with which, under various circumstances, the principle of self interest combats that of vengeance. The barbarians who overran the Roman Empire, existed principally in the pastoral state; they brought along with them their wives and children, and consequently they required extensive regions for their support and but few slaves. We find accordingly, they waged a most cruel, exterminating war, not even sparing women and children. "Hence," says Dr. Robertson, in his preliminary volume to the History of Charles the 5th, "If a man were called to fix upon a period in the history of the world, during which the condition of the human race was most calamitous and afflicted, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Theodosius the Great, (A. D. 395,) to the reign of Alboinus in Lombardy," (A. D. 571.) At the last mentioned epoch, the barbarian inundations spent themselves, and consequently repose was given to the world.

Slavery was very common at the siege of Troy; but in consequence of the very rude state of agriculture prevalent in those days, and the great reliance placed on the spontaneous productions of the earth, the same number of slaves was not required as in subsequent ages, when agriculture had made greater advances. Hence we find the laws of war of a very cruel character—the principle of revenge triumphing over every other. These are the evils, we are informed by Homer, that follow the capture of a town—"the men are killed, the city is burned to the ground, the women and children of all ranks are carried off for slaves," (*Iliad*, L. 9.) Again: "Wretch that I am," says the venerable Priam, "what evil does the great Jupiter bring on me in my old age? My sons slain, my daughters dragged into slavery, violence pervading even the chambers of my palace, and the very infants dashed against the ground in horrid sport of war. I myself, slain in the vain office of defence, shall be the prey of my own dogs perhaps in the very palace gates"! (*Iliad*, L. 22.)

In after times, during the glorious days of the Republics of both Greece and Rome, the wants of man had undergone an enlargement; agriculture had been pushed to a high state of improvement, population became more dense, and consequently a more abundant production, and more regular and constant application of labor became necessary. At this period, slaves were in great demand, and therefore the prisoners of war were generally spared in order that they might be made slaves. And this mildness did not arise so much from their civilization, as from the great demand for slaves. All the Roman generals, even the mild Julius, were

sufficiently cruel to put to death when they did not choose to make slaves of the captives. Hence, as cruel as were the Greeks and Romans in war, they were much milder than the surrounding barbarous nations. In like manner, the wars in Africa have been made perhaps more mild by the *slave trade*, than they would otherwise have been. Instances are frequent, where the prisoner has been immediately put to death, because a purchaser could not be found. The report of the Lords in 1789, speaks of a female captive in Africa, for whom an anker of brandy had been offered—but before the messenger arrived, her head was cut off. Sir George Young saved the life of a beautiful boy, about five years old, at Sierra Leone: the child was about to be thrown into the river by the person that had him to sell, because he was too young to be an object of trade; but Sir George offered a quarter cask of Madeira for him, which was accepted.* A multitude of such instances might easily be cited from commanders of vessels and travellers, who have ever visited Africa. And thus do we find, by a review of the history of the world, that slavery alone which addresses itself to the principle of self interest is capable of overcoming that inordinate desire of vengeance which glows in the breast of the savage; and therefore we find the remark made by Voltaire, in his *Phi. Dic.* that “Slavery is as ancient as war, and war as human nature” is not strictly correct; for many wars have been too cruel to admit of slavery.

Let us now close this head by an inquiry into the justice of slavery, flowing from the laws of war. And here we may observe in the first place, that the whole of the ancient world, and all nations of modern times verging on a state of barbarism—never for a moment doubted this right. All history proves that they have looked upon slavery as a mild punishment, in comparison with what they had a right to inflict. And so far from being conscience-stricken, when they inflicted the punishment of death or slavery, they seemed to glory in the severity of the punishment—and to be remorseful only when from some cause they had not inflicted the worst. “Why so tender hearted?” says Agamemnon to Menalaus, seeing him hesitate, while a Trojan of high rank, who had the misfortune to be disabled by being thrown from his chariot, was begging for life,—“Are you and your house so beholden to the Trojans? Let not one of them escape destruction from our hands—no, not the child within his mother’s womb. Let all perish unmourned.”—And the poet even, gives his sanction to this inhumanity of Agamemnon, who was never characterized as inhuman: “It was justly spoken, (says Homer) and he turned his brother’s mind.” And the suppliant was murdered by the hand of the king of men. “When the unfortunate monarch of Troy came to beg the body of his heroic son, (Hector) we find the conduct of Achilles marked by a superior spirit of generosity. Yet, in the very act of grant-

* See Edwards’ *West Indies*, vol. 2, book 4, chap. 4.

ing the pious request, he doubts if he is quite excusable to the soul of his departed friend, for remitting the extremity of vengeance which he had meditated, and restoring the corse to secure the rites of burial.”* To ask them, whether men, with notions similar to these, had a right to kill or enslave the prisoner, would almost be like gravely inquiring into the right of tigers and lions to kill each other and devour the weaker beasts of the forest. If we look to the Republics of Greece and Rome, in the days of their glory and civilization, we shall find no one doubting the right to make slaves of those taken in war. “No legislator of antiquity,” says Voltaire, “ever attempted to abrogate slavery; on the contrary, the people the most enthusiastic for liberty—the Athenians, the Lacedæmonians, the Romans, and the Carthagenians—were those who enacted the most severe laws against their serfs. Society was so accustomed to this degradation of the species, that Epictetus, who was assuredly worth more than his master, never expresses any surprise at his being a slave.”† Julius Cæsar, has been reckoned one of the mildest and most clement military chieftains of antiquity, and yet there is very little doubt, that the principal object in the invasion of Britain, was to procure slaves for the Roman slave markets. When he left Britain, it became necessary to collect together a large fleet for the purpose of transporting his captives across the channel. He sometimes ordered the captive chiefs to be executed, and he butchered the whole of Cato’s Senate when he became master of Utica. Paulus Emilius, acting under the special orders of the Roman Senate, laid all Epirus waste, and brought 150,000 captives in chains to Italy, all of whom were sold in the Roman slave markets. Augustus Cæsar, was considered one of the mildest, most pacific and most politic of the Roman Emperors, yet when he rooted out the nation of the Salassii, who dwelt upon the Alps, he sold 36,000 persons into slavery. Cato, was a large owner of slaves, most of whom he had purchased in the slave markets at the sale of prisoners of war.‡ Aristotle, the greatest philosopher of antiquity, and a man of as capacious mind as the world ever produced, was a warm advocate of slavery—maintaining that it was reasonable, necessary and natural, and accordingly in his model of a republic, there were to be comparatively few freemen served by many slaves.§

If we turn from profane history to Holy Writ—that sacred fountain whence are derived those pure precepts, and holy laws and regulations by which the christian world has ever been governed, we shall find that the children of Israel, under the guidance of Jehovah, massacred or enslaved their prisoners of war. So far from considering slavery a curse, they considered it a punishment much too mild, and regretted from this cause alone its infliction.

* See Mitford’s Greece, vol. 1, chap. 2, sec. 4.

† See Philosophical Dictionary, title “Slaves.”

‡ See Plutarch’s Lives, Cato the elder.

§ Aristotle’s Politics, book 1, chap. 4.

The children of Israel, when they marched upon the tribes of Canaan, were in a situation very similar to the Northern invaders who overran the Roman Empire. They had their wives and children along with them, and wished to make Canaan their abode. Extermination therefore, became necessary; and accordingly, we find that the Gibeonites alone, who practised upon the princes of Israel by a fraud, escaped the dreadful scene of carnage. They were enslaved, and so far from regretting their lot, they seem to have delighted in it; and the children of Israel, instead of mourning over the destiny of the enslaved Gibeonites, murmured that they were not massacred—"and all the congregation murmured against the princes." And the answer of the princes was, "we will even let them live, lest wrath be upon us, because of the oath which we swear unto them." "But let them be hewers of wood and drawers of water unto all the congregation, as the princes had promised them."*

But it is needless to multiply instances farther to illustrate the ideas of the ancient world in regard to their rights to kill or enslave at pleasure the unfortunate captive. Nor will we now cite the example of Africa, the great storehouse of slavery for the modern world, which so completely sustains our position in regard to the opinions of men on this subject, farther than to make an extract from a speech delivered in the British House of Commons by Mr. Henniker, in 1789, in which the speaker asserts that a letter had been received by George III, from one of the most powerful of African potentates, the Emperor of Dahomey, which letter admirably exemplifies African's notions about the right to kill or enslave prisoners of war. "He (Emperor of Dahomey) stated," said Mr. H., "that as he understood King George was the greatest of white kings, so he thought himself the greatest of black ones. He asserted that he could lead 500,000 men armed into the field, that being the pursuit to which all his subjects were bred, and the women only staying at home to plant and manure the earth. He had himself fought two hundred and nine battles, with great reputation and success, and had conquered the great king of Ardah. The king's head was to this day preserved with the flesh and hair; the heads of his generals were distinguished by being placed on each side of the doors of their Fetiches; with the heads of the inferior officers they paved the space before the doors; and the heads of the common soldiers formed a sort of fringe or out work round the walls of the palace. Since this war, he had experienced the greatest good fortune, and he hoped in good time to be able to complete the out walls of all his great houses, to the number of seven, in the same manner."†

Mr. Norris, who visited this empire in 1772, actually testifies to the truth of this letter. He found the palace of the Emperor an

* See 9th chapter of Joshua.

† See Hazlitt's *British Eloquence*, vol. 2.

immense assemblage of cane and mud tents enclosed by a high wall. The skulls and jaw bones of enemies slain in battle, formed the favorite ornaments of the palaces and temples. The king's apartments were paved, and the walls and roof stuck over with these horrid trophies. And if a farther supply appeared at any time desirable, he announced to his general, that "his house wanted thatch," when a war for that purpose was immediately undertaken.* Who can for a moment be so absurd as to imagine that such a prince as this could doubt of his right to make slaves in war, when he *gloried* in being able to thatch his houses with the heads of his enemies? Who could doubt that any thing else than a strong sense of interest, would ever put an end to such barbarity and ferocity? Our limits will not allow us to be more minute, however interesting the subject.

And, therefore, we will now examine into the right, according to the law of nations—the strict *jus gentium*—and we shall find all the writers agree in the justice of slavery, under certain circumstances. Grotius says, that, as the law of nature permits prisoners of war to be killed, so the same law has introduced the right of making them slaves, that the captors, in view to the benefit arising from the labor or sale of their prisoners, might be induced to spare them.† From the general practice of nations before the time of Puffendorf, he came to the conclusion that slavery has been established "by the free consent of the opposing parties."‡

Rutherford, in his Institutes, says "since all the members of a nation, against which a just war is made, are bound to repair the damages that gave occasion to the war, or that are done in it, and likewise to make satisfaction for the expenses of carrying it on; the law of nations will allow those who are prisoners to be made slaves by the nation which takes them; that so their labor or the price for which they are sold, may discharge these demands." But he most powerfully combats the more cruel doctrine laid down by Grotius, that the master has a right to take away the life of his slave.§ Bynkershoek, contends for the higher right of putting prisoners of war to death: "We may however (enslave) if we please" he adds, "and indeed we do sometimes still exercise that right upon those who enforce it against us. Therefore the Dutch are in the habit of selling to the Spaniards as slaves, the Algerines, Tunisians and Tripolitans, whom they take prisoners in the Atlantic or Mediterranean. Nay, in the year 1661, the states general, gave orders to their admiral, to sell as slaves all the pirates that he should take. The same thing was done in 1664."|| Vattel, the most humane of all the standard authors on National law, asks—"are prisoners of war to be made slaves?" To which he answers, "Yes;

* See Family Library, No. 16, p. 199.

† L. 3, chap. 7, sec. 5.

‡ Book 6, chap. 3.

§ Book, chap. 9, sec. 17.

|| Treatise on the Law of War, Du Ponceau's Edition, p. 21.

in cases which give a right to kill them, when they have rendered themselves personally guilty of some crime deserving death.”* Even Locke, who has so ably explored all the faculties of the mind, and who so nobly stood forth against the monstrous and absurd doctrines of Sir Robert Filmer and the *passive submissionists* of his day, admits the right to make slaves of prisoners whom we might justly have killed. Speaking of a prisoner who has forfeited his life, he says, “he to whom he has forfeited it may, when he has him in his power, delay to take it, and make use of him to his own service, and he does him no injury by it.”† Blackstone, it would seem, denies the right to make prisoners of war slaves; for he says we had no right to enslave unless we had the right to kill, and we had no right to kill, unless “in cases of absolute necessity, for self-defence; and it is plain this absolute necessity did not subsist, since the victor did not actually kill him, but made him prisoner.”‡ Upon this we have to remark 1st. that Judge Blackstone here speaks of slavery in its pure unmitigated form, “whereby an unlimited power is given to the master over the life and fortune of the slave.”§ Slavery scarcely exists any where in this form, and if it did it would be a continuance of a state of war, as Rousseau justly observes, between the captive and the captor. Again—Blackstone, in his argument upon this subject, seems to misunderstand the grounds upon which civilians place the justification of slavery, as arising from the laws of war. It is well known that most of the horrors of war spring from the principle of retaliation, and not as Blackstone supposes, universally from “absolute necessity.” If two civilized nations of modern times are at war, and one hangs up without any justifiable cause all of the enemy who fall into its possession, the other does not hesitate to inflict the same punishment upon an equal number of its prisoners. It is the “*lex talionis*,” and not absolute necessity, which gives rise to this.

The colonists of this country up to the revolution, during, and even since that epoch, have put to death the Indian captives, whenever the Indians had been in the habit of massacring indiscriminately. It was not so much absolute necessity as the law of retaliation, which justified this practice; and, the civilians urge that the greater right includes the lesser; and, consequently, the right to kill involves the more humane and more useful right of enslaving. In point of fact, it would seem the Indians were often enslaved by the colonists.|| And although we find no distinct mention made by any of the historians of the particular manner in which this slavery arose, yet it is not difficult to infer that it must have arisen from the laws of war, being a commutation of the punishment of death for slavery. Again—if the nation with which you are at war

* See Law of Nations, book 3, chap. 8, sec. 152.

† On Civil Government, chap. 6.

‡ See Tucker's Blackstone, vol. 2, p. 423.

§ Blackstone's Commentaries, in loco citato.

|| See Tucker's Blackstone, vol. 2, Appendix, note H.

makes slaves of all your citizens falling into its possession, surely you have the right to retaliate and do so likewise. It is the "*lex talionis*," and not absolute necessity, which justifies you; and, if you should choose from policy to waive your right, your ability to do so would not surely prove that you had no right at all to enslave. Such a doctrine as this would prove that the rights of belligerents, were in the inverse ratio of their strength—a doctrine which, pushed to the extreme, would always reduce the hostile parties to a precise equality—which is a perfect absurdity. If we were to suppose a civilized nation in the heart of Africa, surrounded by such princes as the King of Dahomey, there is no doubt but that such a nation would be justifiable in killing or enslaving at its option, in time of war, and if it did neither, it would relinquish a *perfect right*.* We have now considered the most fruitful source of slavery, *Laws of War*, and shall proceed more briefly to the consideration of the other three which we have mentioned, taking up—

2d. *State of Property and Feebleness of Government*.—In tracing the manners and customs of a people who have emerged from a state of barbarism, and examining into the nature and character of their institutions, we find it of the first importance to look to the condition of property, in order that we may conduct our inquiries with judgment and knowledge. The character of the government, in spite of all its forms, depends more on the condition of property, than on any one circumstance beside. The relations which the different classes of society bear towards each other, the distinction into high and low, noble and plebeian, in fact, depend almost exclusively upon the state of property. It may be with truth affirmed, that the exclusive owners of the property ever have been, ever will, and perhaps ever ought to be, the virtual rulers of mankind. If then, in any age or nation, there should be but one species of property, and that should be exclusively owned by a portion of citizens, that portion would become inevitably the masters of the residue. And if the government should be so feeble as to leave each one in a great measure to protect himself, this circumstance would have a tendency to throw the property into the hands of a few, who would rule with despotic sway over the many. And this was the condition of Europe during the middle ages, under what was termed the *feudal system*. There was in fact, but one kind of property, and that consisted of land. Nearly all the useful arts had perished,—commerce and manufactures could scarcely be said to exist at all, and a dark night of universal ignorance enshrouded the human mind. The landholders of Europe, the feudal aristocrats, possessing all the property, necessarily and inevitably as fate itself, usurped all the power; and in consequence of

* We shall hereafter see that our colony at Liberia may at some future day, be placed in an extremely embarrassing condition from this very cause. It may not in future wars have strength sufficient to forego the exercise of the right of killing or enslaving, and if it have the strength, it may not have the mildness and humanity. Revenge is sweet, and the murder of a brother or father, and the slavery of a mother or sister will not easily be forgotten.

the feebleness of government, and the resulting necessity that each one should do justice for himself, the laws of primogeniture and entails were resorted to as a device to prevent the weakening of families by too great a subdivision or alienation of property, and from the same cause, small *allodial* proprietors were obliged to give up their small estates to some powerful baron or large landholder in consideration of protection, which he would be unable to procure in any other manner.* Moreover, the great landholders of those days had only one way of spending their estates, even when they were not barred by entails, and that was by employing a large number of retainers,—for they could not then spend their estates as spendthrifts generally squander them, in luxuries and manufactures, in consequence of the rude state of the arts—all the necessities of man being supplied directly from the farms;† and the great author of the wealth of nations, has most philosophically remarked, that few great estates have been spent from benevolence alone. And the people of those days could find no employment except on the land, and consequently were entirely dependent on the landlords, subject to their caprices and whims, paid according to their pleasure, and entirely under their control; in fine, they were *slaves complete*. Even the miserable cities of the feudal times were not independent, but were universally subjected to the barons or great landholders, whose powerful protection against the lawless rapine of the times, could only be purchased by an entire-surrender of liberty.‡

Thus the property of the feudal ages was almost exclusively of one kind. The feebleness of government, together with the laws of primogeniture and entails, threw that property into the hands of a few, and the difficulty of alienation, caused by the absence of all other species of property, had a tendency to prevent that change of possession which we so constantly witness in modern times.—Never was there then perhaps so confirmed and so permanent an aristocracy as that of the feudal ages; it naturally sprang from the condition of property and the obstacles to its alienation. The aristocracy alone embraced in those days the freemen of Europe; all the rest were slaves, call them by what name you please, and doomed by the unchanging laws of nature to remain so till commerce and manufactures had arisen and with them had sprung into existence a new class of capitalists, the *tiers etat* of Europe, whose existence first called for new forms of government, and whose exertions either have or will revolutionize the whole of Europe. A revolution in the state of property is always a premonitory symptom of a revolution in government and in the state of society, and

* Upon this subject, see Robertson's 1st vol. Hist. Charles 5th, Hallam's Middle Ages, Gilbert Stuart on the Progress of Society, and all the writers on feudal tenures.

† "There is not a vestige to be discovered, for several centuries, of any considerable manufactures." . . . "Rich men kept domestic artisans among their servants; even kings in the ninth century, had their clothes made by the women upon their farms."—Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. 2, pp. 260, 261, *Philad. Edition*.

‡ Upon this subject, see both Hallam and Robertson.

without the one, you cannot meet with permanent success in the other. The slaves of Southern Europe could never have been emancipated, except through the agency of commerce and manufactures and the consequent rapid rise of cities, accompanied with a more regular and better protected industry, producing a vast augmentation in the products which administer to our necessities and comforts, and increasing in a proportionate degree the sphere of our wants and desires. In the same way we shall shew, before bringing this article to a close, that if the slaves of our Southern country shall ever be liberated and suffered to remain among us with their present limited wants and longing desire for a state of idleness, they would fall inevitably, by the nature of things, into a state of slavery from which no government could rescue them, unless by a radical change of all their habits and a most awful and fearful change in the whole system of property throughout the country. The state of property then may fairly be considered a very fruitful source of slavery. It was the most fruitful source during the feudal ages—it is the foundation of slavery throughout the Northeastern regions of Europe and the populous countries of the continent of Asia. We are even disposed to think, contrary to the general opinion, that the condition of property operated prior to the customs of war in the production of slavery. We are fortified in this opinion, by the example of Mexico and Peru in South America. In both of these empires, certainly the farthest advanced and most populous of the new world, “private property,” says Dr. Robertson, “was perfectly understood, and established in its full extent.” The most abject slavery existed in both these countries, and what still farther sustains our position, it very nearly, especially in Mexico, resembled that of the feudal ages. “The great body of the people was in a most humiliating state. A considerable number, known by the name of *Mayeques*, nearly resembling in condition those peasants who, under various denominations, were considered during the prevalence of the feudal system, as instruments of labor attached to the soil. Others were reduced to the lowest form of subjection, that of domestic servitude, and felt the utmost rigor of that wretched state.”*

Now, slavery in both these countries must have arisen from the state of property, for the laws of war were entirely too cruel to admit of the slavery of captives among the Mexicans. “They fought,” says Dr. Robertson, “to gratify their vengeance, by shedding the blood of their enemies—no captive was ever ransomed or spared.”† And the Peruvians, though much milder in war, seem not to have made slaves of their captives, though we must confess that there is great difficulty in explaining their great comparative clemency to prisoners in war, unless by supposing they were made slaves.‡ We have no doubt likewise, if we could obtain suffi-

* Robertson’s America, pp. 105, 107. † Ibid. vol. 2, p. 114.

‡ We are sorry we have not the means of satisfactorily investigating this subject. If slavery was established among them from the laws of war, it would be one of the

cient insight into the past history and condition of Africa, that slavery would be found to have arisen in many of those countries, rather from the state of property than the laws of war; for even to this day, many of the African princes are too cruel and sanguinary in war to forego the barbarous pleasure of murdering the captives, and yet slavery exists in their dominions to its full extent.

We will not here pause to examine into the justice or injustice of that species of slavery, which is sure to arise from a faulty distribution of property, because it is the inevitable result of the great *law of necessity*, which itself has no law, and consequently about which it is utterly useless to argue. We will therefore proceed at once to the third cause assigned for slavery—*bargain and sale*.

3d. *Cause of Slavery, Bargain and Sale*.—This source of slavery might easily be reduced to that which depends on the state of property, but for the sake of perspicuity, we prefer keeping them apart. Adam Smith has well observed that there is a strong propensity in man, “to truck, barter and exchange one thing for another,” and both the parties generally intend to derive an advantage from the exchange. This disposition seems to extend to every thing susceptible of being impressed with the character of property or exchangeable value, or from which any great or signal advantage may be derived—it has been made to extend at times to life and liberty. Generals in time of war, have pledged their lives for the performance of their contracts. At the conclusion of peace, semi-barbarous nations have been in the habit of interchanging hostages—generally the sons of princes and noblemen—for the mutual observance of treaties, whose lives were forfeited by a violation of the plighted faith; and in all ages, where the practice has not been interdicted by law, individuals have occasionally sold their own liberty or that of others dependent on them. We have already seen how the small allodial possessors, during the feudal ages, were obliged to surrender their lands and liberty to some powerful baron for that protection which could be procured in no other manner. Throughout the whole ancient world, the sale of one’s own liberty, and even that of his children, was common. The non-payment of debts, or failure to comply with contracts, frequently subjected the unfortunate offender to slavery in both Greece and Rome. Instances of slavery from bargain and sale, occur in Scripture. Joseph was sold to the Ishmaelites for *twenty pieces* of silver, and carried down to Egypt in slavery. But this was a black and most unjustifiable act on the part of his envious brothers.—There are other parts of Scripture where the practice of buying and selling slaves seems to be justified. The Hebrew laws permitted the selling of even the Jews into slavery for six years. “If thou buy a Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve, and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing.” And if the servant

most triumphant examples which history affords of the effect of slavery, in mitigating the cruelties of war; for it is a singular fact, that the Peruvians were the only people in the new world, who did not murder their prisoners.

chose at the expiration of six years to remain with his master as a slave, he might do so on having his ear bored through with an awl. It seems fathers could sell their children—Thus: “and if a man sell his daughter to be a maid servant, she shall not go out as the men servants do.”* An unlimited right to purchase slaves from among foreigners seems to have been granted, whether they had been slaves or not before the purchase; thus, in the twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus, we find the following injunction:—“Both thy bondmen and bondmaids which thou shalt have, *shall be* of the heathen that are round about you; of them *shall ye* buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover, of the children of strangers who sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of the families that *are* with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your *bondmen forever.*”† We may well suppose that few persons would ever be induced to sell themselves or children into slavery, unless under very severe pressure from *want*. Accordingly, we find the practice most prevalent among the most populous and the most savage nations, where the people are most frequently subjected to dirths and famines. Thus, in Hindostan and China, there is nothing more frequent than this practice of selling liberty. “Every year,” said a Jesuit who resided in Hindostan, “we baptize a thousand children whom their parents can no longer feed, or who being likely to die, are sold to us by their mothers in order to get rid of them.” The great legislator of Hindostan, Menu, in his ordinances, which are described by Sir William Jones, justifies this practice in time of scarcity. “Ajigarta,” says Menu in one of his ordinances, “dying with hunger, was going to destroy his own son by selling him for some cattle; yet he was guilty of no crime, for he only sought a remedy against famishing.” “In China,” says Duhalde, “a man sometimes sells his son, and even himself and wife at a very moderate price. The common mode is to mortgage themselves with a condition of redemption, and a great number of men and maid servants are thus bound in a family.” There is no doubt but at this moment in every densely populated country, hundreds would be willing to sell themselves into slavery if the laws would permit them, whenever they were pressed by famine. Ireland seems to be the country of modern Europe most subjected to these dreadful visitations. Suppose then, we reverse the vision of the Kentucky Senator,‡ and imagine that Ireland could be severed during those periods of distress from the Britannic Isle, and could float like the fabled Island of Delos across the Ocean and be placed by our side, and our laws should inhumanely forbid a single son of Erin from entering our territory unless as a slave, to be treated exactly like the African, is there any man acquaint-

* See 21st chapter of Exodus.

† 44, 45 and 46 verses.

‡ Mr. Clay in the debate on his resolutions on the Tariff, 1832.

ed with the state of the Irish, in years of scarcity, who would doubt for a moment, but that thousands, much as this oppressed people are in love with liberty, would enter upon this hard condition, if they could find purchasers. Indeed, the melaancholy fact has too often occurred in Ireland, of individuals committing crimes merely for the purpose of being thrown into the houses of correction, where they could obtain *bread and water*!

Among savages, famines are much more dreadful than among civilized nations, where they are provided against by previous accumulation and commerce. Dr. Robertson has given us a glowing and no doubt correct picture of the dreadful ravages of famine among the North American Indians, and on such occasions we are informed by the "*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*," that the ties of nature are no longer binding. A father will sell his son for a knife or hatchet.* But, unfortunately, among savages in the hunting state, scarcely any one can do more than maintain himself and one or two children, and therefore cannot afford to keep a slave.

If we turn to Africa, we shall find this cause of slavery frequently operating with all its power; and accordingly Parke has ranked *Famine* as the second among the four causes which he assigns for slavery in Africa. "There are many instances of freemen," says he, "voluntarily surrendering up their liberty to save their lives. During a great scarcity, which lasted for three years in the countries of the Gambia, great numbers of people became slaves in this manner. Dr. Laidley assured me, that at that time, many freemen came and begged with great earnestness, *to be put upon his slave chain*, to save them from perishing with hunger. Large families are very often exposed to absolute want, and as the parents have almost unlimited authority over their children, it frequently happens in all parts of Africa, that some of the latter are sold to purchase provisions for the rest of the family. When I was at Jarra, Damon Jumma pointed out to me three young slaves which he had purchased in this manner."† Bruce, in his travels in Africa, saw whole villages and districts of country depopulated by the famines which had visited them, and gives us a most appalling picture of the walking skeletons and lawless rapine which were every where exhibited during those frightful periods of distress.—We cannot wonder then, under these circumstances, that famine should be a fruitful source of slavery, by giving rise to a sale of liberty for the preservation of life.

The remark of Judge Blackstone as to this kind of slavery is known to every one—that every sale implies a "*quid pro quo*"—but that in the case of slavery there can be no equivalent, no *quid pro quo*—for nothing is an equivalent for liberty; and even the purchase money, or the price whatever it might be, would instantly be-

* Tom. 8.

† Parke's Travels in Africa, chap. 22, page 216, N. Y. Edition.

long to the master of the slave.* Upon this we would remark, that Blackstone seems to have his attention fixed exclusively on those countries where every man can easily maintain himself, and where consequently his life can never be in jeopardy from want. If there is any country in the world to which his argument will apply, that country is ours. We believe every man here may obtain a subsistence, either by his own exertions or by the aid of the poor rates. But this is far from being the case with semi-barbarous or densely populated countries. Again—Blackstone alludes to that pure state of slavery where, a man's life, liberty and property, are at the mercy of his master. That is far from being the condition of slavery now. In most parts of the world the slave is carefully protected in life, limb and even in a moderate share of liberty, by the policy of the laws; and his nourishment and subsistence are positively enjoined. Where this is the case, we can imagine many instances in which *liberty* might have an *equivalent*. Who for a moment can doubt but that the abundant daily supplies of subsistence, consisting of wholesome *meat, bread*, and frequently vegetables and refreshing drinks besides, which are furnished to our slaves, are more than an equivalent for the liberty of the Chinese laborer, who exhausts himself with hard labor—feeds on his scanty and unseasoned rice,—tastes no wholesome meat from the beginning to the end of the toilsome year,—sees his family frequently perishing before his eyes, or more cruel still, consents himself to be the executioner, in order that he may release them from the intolerable torments of unsatisfied wants, and who, even in seasons of ordinary supply, fishes up with eagerness the vilest garbage from the river or canal, and voraciously devours meat which with us would be left to be fed on by the vultures of the air. The fact is, the laborer in this hard condition is already a slave, or rather in a situation infinitely worse than slavery—he is subjected to all the hardships and degradation of the slave and derives none of the advantages. In the case of famine, the *equivalent* seems to be *life for liberty*; and when this is the case, although the *philosopher* may consider death as preferable to slavery—"yet," says Parke, "the poor negro when fainting with hunger thinks like Esau of old, "*behold I am at the point to die, and what profit shall this birthright do to me.*" The reason why persons do not more frequently sell themselves into slavery is, because they are forbidden by the laws, or can find no purchasers. So far from persons not selling their liberty because there is no equivalent, it is directly the contrary in most countries; the price or equivalent, consisting of continued support, protection, &c. is too great—more than can be afforded. The capitalist in Great-Britain, could not afford to purchase the operative and treat him as we do the slave; the price paid, the *quid pro quo* of Blackstone would be more than the liberty would be worth. We have no doubt, if the English laws were to allow of slavery, such as we have in this country, there would

be many more persons wishing to sell their liberty than of those wishing to buy! But whether the remarks of Judge Blackstone are correct in theory or not, is a matter of no practical importance; for in point of fact, as we have shewn by undeniable testimony, *bargain and sale* have ever been a most fruitful source of slavery in ancient times, and among many people of the present day; and consequently we could not pretermit it in a general survey of the sources of slavery. We shall now proceed to a consideration of the last mentioned source of slavery.

4th. *Crime*.—All governments, even those of the States of our confederacy, have ever been considered as perfectly justifiable in enslaving for crime. All our penitentiaries are erected upon this principle, and slavery in them, of the most abject and degrading character, endures for a certain number of months, years, or for life, according to the offence. In South America and Russia the criminals are frequently sentenced to slavery in the mines, and in France and England to the galleys and work houses; but as it is principally with domestic slavery that we are concerned in this article, we shall not consider farther that which is of a public character.

Throughout the ancient world, domestic slavery, arising from crime, seems to have been very common. We have already spoken of the slavery which was inflicted frequently on insolvent debtors in both Greece and Rome. In Africa too, we find *insolvency* a very frequent source of slavery. "Of all the offences," says Parke, "if *insolvency* may be so called, to which the laws of Africa have affixed the punishment of slavery, this is the most common. A negro trader commonly contracts debts on some mercantile speculation, either from his neighbors to purchase such articles as will sell to advantage in a distant market, or from the European traders on the coast—payment to be made in a given time. In both cases, the situation of the adventurer is exactly the same: if he succeeds, he may secure an independency; if he is unsuccessful, his person and services are at the disposal of another—for in Africa not only the effects of the insolvent, but the insolvent himself, is sold to satisfy the lawful demands of his creditors."* *Insolvency* however, is, after all, rather a misfortune than a crime; and we rank it here as a crime more in deference to the institutions of the ancients and the customs of certain modern nations, than as an indication of our own sentiments—for we are decidedly of opinion, that slavery is much too high a penalty to be attached to what in many cases is sheer misfortune. But besides *insolvency*, the laws of Africa affix slavery as a punishment to the crimes of *murder*, *adultery* and *witchcraft*. In case of murder, the nearest relation of the murdered, after conviction, may either kill or sell into slavery at his option. In adultery, the offended party may enslave or demand a ransom at pleasure; and as to *witchcraft*, Parke not having met with any trial for this offence, could only assure us that it

* Parke's Travels in Africa, p. 216.

was a source of slavery, though not common.* We have now surveyed the principal sources of slavery, and although we do not pretend to be minute and complete in the division which we have made, we hope we have said enough upon this branch to shew that slavery is inevitable in the progress of society, from its first and most savage state to the last and most refined. We started out with announcing the fact, *startling* to those who have never reflected upon the subject, that slavery existed throughout the whole of the ancient, and in a very large portion of the modern world. We have farther shewn by the preceding reasoning, that this was no *accident, the mere result of chance*, but was a *necessary and inevitable* consequence of the principles of human nature and the state of property. We shall now proceed to inquire briefly into the advantages which have resulted to mankind from the institution of slavery.

Advantages which have resulted to the world from the institution of Slavery.—When we turn our thoughts from this world “of imperfections” to the God of nature, we love to contemplate him as perfect and immaculate, and amid all the divine attributes with which we delight to clothe him, none stands more conspicuous than his *benevolence*. To look upon him in this light, may be said to be almost the impulse of an instinct of our nature, and the most enlarged experience and perfect knowledge combine in fortifying and strengthening this belief. Accordingly, when we look abroad to the works of omnipotence---when we contemplate the external, the physical world---and again, when we turn to the world of mind, we never find *evil* the sole object and end of creation. *Happiness* is always the main design, evil is merely incidental. All the laws of matter, every principle, and even passion of man, when rightly understood, demonstrate the general benevolence of the Deity, even in this world. “It is perhaps,” says Mr. Allison, “the most striking and the most luminous fact in the history of our intellectual nature, that that principle of curiosity which is the instinctive spring of all scientific inquiry into the phenomena of matter or of mind, is never satisfied until it terminates in the discovery not only of design, but of benevolent design.” Well then might we have concluded, from the fact that slavery was the *necessary result of the laws of mind and matter, that it marked some benevolent design, and was intended by our Creator for some useful purpose*. Let us inquire then what that useful purpose is, and we have no hesitation in affirming, that slavery has been perhaps the principal means for impelling forward the civilization of mankind. Without its agency, society must have remained sunk into that deplorable state of barbarism and wretchedness which characterized the inhabitants of the western world, when first discovered by Columbus.

We have already spoken of the great advantage of slavery in mitigating the horrors of savage warfare; but not only is this most

* Parke's Travels, p. 217.

desirable effect produced, but it has a farther tendency to check the frequency of war, and to destroy that migratory spirit in nations and tribes, so destructive to the peace and tranquillity of the world. Savages living in the hunter's state, must have an extensive range of country for the supply of the wants of even a few persons. "Hence," says Dr. Robertson, "it is of the utmost importance to prevent neighboring tribes from destroying or disturbing the game in their hunting grounds they guard this national property with a jealous attention. But as their territories are extensive, and the boundaries of them not exactly ascertained, innumerable subjects of disputes arise, which seldom terminate without bloodshed."* Uncertain boundaries, constant roaming through the forest in search of game, and all the unchecked and furious passions of the savage, lead on to constant and exterminating wars among the tribes. What then, let us ask, can alone prevent this constant scene of strife and massacre? Nothing but that which can bind them down to the soil, which can establish *homes and fire-sides*, which can change the wandering character of the savage, and make it his interest to cultivate peace instead of war. Slavery produces these effects: it necessarily leads on to the taming and rearing of numerous flocks, and to the cultivation of the soil. Hunting can never support slavery. Agriculture first suggests the notion of servitude, and, as often happens in the politico-economical world, the effect becomes in turn a powerfully operating cause. Slavery gradually fells the forest, and thereby destroys the haunts of the wild beasts---it gives rise to agricultural production, and thereby renders mankind less dependent on the precarious and diminishing production of the chase---it thus gradually destroys the roving and unquiet life of the savage---it furnishes a home and binds him down to the soil---it converts the idler and the wanderer into the man of business and the agriculturist.

If we look to the condition of Africa, and compare it with that of the American Indians, we shall find a complete illustration of these remarks, and Africa, as we shall soon see, would enjoy a much greater exemption from war, if it were not for the slave trade, whose peculiar operation we shall presently notice.

But secondly, the labor of the slave when slavery is first introduced, is infinitely more productive than that of the freeman. Dr. Robertson, in his history of America, speaks of the acquisition of dominion over the inferior animals, as a step of capital importance in the progress of civilization. It may with truth be affirmed, that the *taming* of man and rendering him fit for labor, is more important than the taming and using the inferior animals, and nothing seems so well calculated to effect this as slavery. Savages have ever been found to be idle and unproductive---except in the chase. The Aborigines of North America resembled rather beasts of prey, says Dr. Robertson, than animals formed for labor. They

* History of America, vol. 1, p. 192

were not only averse from toil, but seemed at first entirely incapable of it. There is nothing which so completely proves the general indolence and inactivity of the Indians, as their very moderate appetites. Their constitutional temperance exceeded that of the most mortified hermits, and the appetites of the Spaniards (generally reckoned very temperate in Europe,) appeared to the natives insatiably voracious, and they affirmed that one Spaniard devoured in a day more food than was enough for ten Indians.*

The improvidence and utter recklessness of the savage are noticed too by all the historians. "They follow blindly," says Robertson, "the impulse of the appetite which they feel, but are entirely regardless of distant consequences, and even of those removed in the least degree from immediate apprehension. When on the approach of evening, a Carabee feels himself disposed to go to rest, no consideration will tempt him to sell his hammock. But in the morning, when he is sallying out to the business or pastime of the day, he will part with it for the slightest toy that catches his fancy. At the close of winter, while the impression of what he has suffered from the rigor of the climate is fresh in the mind of the North American, he sets himself with vigor to prepare materials for erecting a comfortable hut to protect him against the inclemency of the succeeding season; but as soon as the weather becomes mild, he forgets what is past, abandons his work, and never thinks of it more, until the return of cold compels him when too late to resume it."† There is nothing but slavery which can destroy those habits of indolence and sloth, and eradicate the character of improvidence and carelessness which mark the independent savage. He may truly be compared to the wild beast of the forest—he must be broke and tamed before he becomes fit for labor and for the task of rearing and providing for a family. There is nothing but slavery which can effect this—the means may appear exceedingly harsh and cruel—and, as among wild beasts many may die in the process of taming and subjugating, so among savages many may not be able to stand the hardships of servitude; but in the end, it leads on to a milder and infinitely better condition than that of savage independence, gives rise to greater production, increases the provisions in nature's great storehouse, and invites into existence a more numerous population, better fed and better provided; and thus gives rise to society, and consequently speeds on more rapidly the cause of civilization. But upon this great, this delicate and all important subject, we wish to risk no vain theories, no unfounded conjectures—from beginning to end we shall speak conscientiously, and never knowingly plant in our bosom a *thorn* which may *rankle* there.

Let us then see, whether the above assertions may not be satisfactorily proved, paradoxical as they may at first appear, by fact

* Robertson's America, vol. 1, book 4.

† History of America, vol. 1, pp. 170, 171.

and experience. If we turn to the Western world, where an ample field is presented for the contemplation of man in his first and rudest state, we find that slavery existed no where throughout the American continent except in Peru and Mexico, and these were decidedly the most flourishing portions of this vast continent.—“When compared,” says Dr. Robertson, “with other parts of the new world, Mexico and Peru may be considered as polished states. Instead of small independent hostile tribes, struggling for subsistence amidst woods and marshes, strangers to industry and arts, unacquainted with subordination, and almost without the appearance of regular government, we find countries of great extent subjected to the dominion of one sovereign, the inhabitants collected together in cities, the wisdom and foresight of rulers employed in providing for the maintenance and security of the people, the empire of laws in some measure established, the authority of religion recognized, many of the arts essential to life brought to some degree of maturity, and the dawn of such as are ornamental beginning to appear.”*

Again, in the Islands of the South Sea, Captain Cook was astonished at the populousness of Otaheite and the Society Islands. Slavery seems to have been established through these Islands, and compensated no doubt in part for many of those abominable practices which seem to have been prevalent among the natives.

Again, on turning to Africa, where we find the most abundant and complete exemplification of every species of slavery and its effects, and where consequently the philosophy of the subject may be most advantageously studied, we find most conclusive proof of our assertions. “It deserves *particular* notice, that the nations in this degrading condition (state of slavery) are the most numerous, the most powerful, and the most advanced in all the arts and improvements of life; that if we except the human sacrifices to which blind veneration prompts them, they display even a disposition more amiable, manners more dignified and polished, and moral conduct more correct, than prevail among the citizens of the small free states, who are usually idle, turbulent, quarrelsome and licentious.”† The Africans too, display in a remarkable degree the *love of home* and fondness for their native scenes—a mark of considerable advancement in civilization. “Few of them,” says the author of the history of Africa just quoted, “are nomadic and wandering: they generally have native seats, to which they cling with strong feelings of local attachment. Even the tenants of the Desert, who roam widely in quest of commerce and plunder, have their little watered valleys or circuit of hills, in which they make their permanent abode.”‡ Can any general facts more strikingly illustrate our positions than those which have been just mentioned.

But there is other and abundant testimony on this subject; the

* Robertson's America, vol. 2, p. 101.

† See Family Library, No. 16, p. 237, Africa.

‡ Family Library, No. 16, p. 228.

difference between the negroes imported into the West Indies, still farther substantiates all we have said. The negroes from Whida or Fida, called 'in the West Indies *Papaws*, are the best disposed and most docile slaves. The reason seems to be, that the great majority of these people are in a state of *absolute slavery* in Africa, and "Bosman," says Bryan Edwards, "speaks with rapture of the improved state of their soil, the number of villages, and the industry, riches, and obliging manners of the natives."* So that slavery seems to be an incalculable advantage to them—both in the West Indies and in their own country.

The Koromantyn or Gold Coast negro, is generally stubborn, intractable and unfit for labor at first. His habits in his native country are very similar to those of the North American Indian; he must be broke and tamed before he is fit for labor. When they are thus tamed however, they become the best laborers in the West Indies. "They sometimes," says Bryan Edwards, "take to labor with great promptitude and alacrity, and have constitutions well adapted to it." And he gives as a reason for this, that "many of them have undoubtedly been slaves in Africa." Still this country seems yet too barbarous for a regular system of slavery. Accordingly, the Koromantyns are described as among the most ferocious of the Africans in war, never sparing the life of an enemy except to make him a slave, and that but rarely. Their whole education and philosophy consequently seem directed, as is the case with all savages, to prepare and steel them against the awful vicissitudes to which they are ever liable—they have their *yell* of war, and their *death songs* too. Nothing but slavery can civilize such beings, give them habits of industry, and make them cling to life for its enjoyments.†

Strange as it may seem, we have little hesitation in declaring it as our opinion, that a much greater number of Indians within the limits of the United States would have been saved, had we rigidly persevered in enslaving them, than by our present policy. It is perhaps the most melancholy fact connected with the history of our young republic, that in proportion as the whites have been advancing, the Indians have been constantly and rapidly decreasing in numbers. When our ancestors first settled on this continent, the savages were around and among them, and were every where spread over this immense territory. Now where are they! Where are the warlike tribes that went to battle under their chieftains? They have rapidly disappeared, as the pale faces have advanced. Their numbers have dwindled to insignificance. Within the limits of the ori-

* Edwards' West Indies, vol. 2, pp. 278, 279.

† This increasing love of life, as an effect of slavery, is exemplified in the following anecdote related by Edwards: "A gentleman of Jamaica, visiting a valuable Koromantyn negro that was sick, and perceiving that he was thoughtful and dejected, endeavored by soothing and encouraging language, to raise his drooping spirits. *Massa*, said the negro, in a tone of self reproach and conscious degeneracy, *since me come to white man's country, me lub (love) life too much.*"—History of the West Indies, vol. 2, p. 275.

ginal states, the primitive stock has been reduced to 16,000. Within the whole United States East of the Mississippi, there are but 105,000; and on the whole of our territory East and West of the Mississippi, extending over 24 degrees of lat. and 58 of lon. there are but 313,130!! Miserable remnant of the myriads of former days! And yet the government of our country has exhausted every means for their civilization, and the philanthropist has not been idle in their behalf. Schools have been erected both public and private; missionaries have been sent among them; and all in vain. The President of the United States now tells you, that their removal farther to the West is necessary—that those who live on our borders, in spite of all our efforts to civilize them, are rapidly deteriorating in character, and becoming every day more miserable and destitute. We agree with the President in this policy—to remove them is all we can now do for them. But after all, the expedient is temporary, and the relief is short lived. Our population will again, and at no distant day, press upon their borders—their game will be destroyed—the intoxicating beverage will be furnished to them—they will engage in wars, and their total extermination will be the inevitable consequence. The *handwriting* has indeed appeared on the *wall*. The mysterious decree of Providence has gone forth against the red man—his destiny is fixed, and final destruction is his inevitable fate. Slavery, we assert again, seems to be the only means that we know of, under Heaven, by which the ferocity of the savage can be conquered, his wandering habits eradicated, his slothfulness and improvidence overcome—by which, in fine, his nature can be changed. The Spaniards enslaved the Indians in South America, and they were the most cruel and *relentless* of masters. Still, under their system of cruel and harsh discipline, an infinitely larger proportion of the Aborigines were saved than with us, and will no doubt, in the lapse of ages, mix and harmonize with the Europeans, and be in all respects their equals.*

From their inhuman treatment of the Indians at first, numbers died in the process of taming and subjugating; but in the end, their system has proved more humane than ours, and demonstrates beyond a doubt, that nothing is so fit as slavery to change the nature of the savage.† “We observe,” says Humboldt, “and the observation is consoling to humanity, that not only has the num-

* Humboldt, in his recapitulation of the population of New Spain, gives us the following table:

Indigenous or Indians,	2,500,000
Whites or Spaniards, ...	{ Creoles, 1,025,000 } 1,100,000
	{ Europeans, 70,000 }
African Negroes;	6,100
Casts of Mixed Blood,	1,231,000

[Humboldt's *New Spain*, N. Y. Edition, vol. 2, p. 246.

Again, the number of Indians in Peru is estimated at 600,000, nearly double of the whole Indian population of the United States.—[Vol. 1, p. 69.

† We shall soon see that there is not in the annals of history, an instance of such rapid improvement in civilization, as that undergone by the negro slaves in our country, since the time they were first brought among us.

ber of Indians in South America and Mexico, been on the increase for the last century, (he published his work in 1808,) but that the whole of the vast region which we designate by the general name of New Spain, is much better inhabited at present, than it was before the arrival of the Europeans.”* He gives a very remarkable instance of the effects of even unjust slavery on the industry and agriculture of the country. He speaks of the *Alcaldias Mayores*, a sort of provincial magistrates and judges in Mexico, forcing the Indians to purchase cattle of them, and afterwards reducing them to slavery for non-payment of the debts thus contracted, and he adds, upon the authority of Fray Antonio, Monk of St. Jerome, that “the individual happiness of these unfortunate wretches was not certainly increased by the sacrifice of their liberty for a horse or a mule to work for their master’s profit. *But yet in the midst of this state of things, brought on by abuses, agriculture and industry were seen to increase.*”†

We beg our readers to bear in mind, that we are here merely discussing the effects of slavery, and not passing our opinions upon the justice or injustice of its origin. We shall now close our remarks upon this head, by the citation of an instance furnished by our own country, of the great advantage of slavery to masters—for among savages the benefit seems to extend to both master and slave. There is an able article in the 66th number of the North American Review, on the “Removal of the Indians,” from the pen of Governor Cass, whom we have no hesitation, from the little we have seen of his productions, to pronounce one of the most philosophical and elegant writers in this country. In this article, after pointing out the true condition of the Indian tribes in the neighborhood of the whites, and proving beyond a doubt that they are injured instead of benefitted by their juxtaposition, he admits that the Cherokees constitute a solitary and but a partial exception—that some individuals among them have acquired property, and with it more enlarged and just notions of the value of our institutions. He says that these salutary changes are confined principally to the *half breeds* and their immediate connexions, and are not sufficiently numerous to overturn his reasoning against the practicability of civilizing the Indians. Now what are the causes of this dawn of civilization among the Cherokees? “The causes which have led to this state of things,” says Governor Cass, “are too peculiar ever to produce an extensive result. . . . They have been operating for many years, and *among the most prominent of them, has been the introduction of slaves*, by which means, that unconquerable aversion to labor, so characteristic of all savage tribes, can be indulged.”‡

* Humboldt’s New Spain, vol. 1, p. 71. † Vol. 1, pp. 146, 147.

‡ See North American Review, No. 66, article 3. The Spaniards when they first conquered Mexico and Peru, were, as we have already said, the most cruel and relentless of masters. They are now the most humane and kind, and perhaps the Portuguese come next, who were equally cruel with the Spaniards during the first century after their settlement in the new world.

We hope now we have said enough to convince even the most sceptical, of the powerful effects of slavery, in changing the habits peculiar to the Indian or savage, by converting him into the agriculturist, and changing his slothfulness and aversion to labor into industry and economy, thereby rendering his labor more productive, his means of subsistence more abundant and regular, and his happiness more secure and constant. We cannot close our remarks on the general effects of slavery on the progress of civilization, without pointing out its peculiar influence on that portion of the human race which the civilized nations of modern times so much delight to honor and to cherish—the *fair sex*.

3d. *Influence of Slavery on the condition of the female sex.*—The bare name of this interesting half of the human family, is well calculated to awaken in the breast of the generous, the feeling of tenderness and kindness. The wrongs and sufferings of meek, quiet, forbearing woman, awaken the generous sympathy of every noble heart. Man never suffers without murmuring, and never relinquishes his rights without a struggle. It is not always so with woman: her physical weakness incapacitates her for the combat: her sexual organization, and the part which she takes in bringing forth and nurturing the rising generation, render her necessarily domestic in her habits, and timid and patient in her sufferings. If man choose to exercise his power against woman, she is sure to fall an easy prey to his oppression. Hence, we may always consider her progressing elevation in society, as a mark of advancing civilization, and more particularly of the augmentation of disinterested and generous *virtue*. The lot of women among savages has always been found to be painful and degrading. Doctor Robertson says that in America their condition “is so peculiarly grievous, and their depression so complete, that servitude is a name too mild to describe their wretched state. A wife among most tribes is no better than a beast of burthen, destined to every office of labor and fatigue. While the men loiter out the day in sloth, or spend it in amusement, the women are condemned to excessive toil. Tasks are imposed on them without pity, and services are received without complacence or gratitude. Every circumstance reminds women of this mortifying inferiority. They must approach their lords with reverence. They must regard them as more exalted beings and are not permitted to eat in their presence. There are districts in America where this dominion is so grievous, and so sensibly felt, that some women in a wild emotion of maternal tenderness, have destroyed their female children in their infancy, in order to deliver them from that intolerable bondage to which they knew they were doomed.”*

This harrowing description of woman’s servitude and sufferings among the Aborigenes of America, is applicable to all savage nations. In the Islands of Andaman, in Van Diemen’s Land, in New

* Robertson’s America, vol. 1, p. 176.

Zealand* and New Holland, the lot of woman is the same. The females carry on their heads and bodies, the traces of the superiority of the males. Mr. Collins says of the women of N. S. Wales, "Their condition is so wretched, that I have often, on seeing a female child borne on its mother's shoulders, anticipated the miseries to which it was born, and thought it would be mercy to destroy it." And thus is it, that the most important of all connexions, the marriage tie, is perverted to the production of the degradation and misery of the one sex, and the arrogant assumption and unfeeling cruelty of the other. But the evil stops not with the sufferings of woman—her prolificness is in a measure destroyed." Unaided by the male in the rearing of her children, and being forced to bear them on her shoulders when the huntsmen are roaming through the forest, many of their offspring must die, from the vicissitudes to which they are subjected at so tender an age. Moreover "among wandering tribes," says Dr. Robertson, "the mother cannot attempt to rear a second child until the first has attained such a degree of vigour as to be in some measure independent of her care." . . . "When twins are born one of them is commonly abandoned, because the mother is not equal to the task of rearing both. When a mother dies while she is nursing a child, all hope of preserving its life fails, and it is buried together with her in the same grave."†

It is not necessary that we should continue farther this shocking picture, but let us proceed at once to inquire if the institution of slavery is not calculated to relieve the sufferings and wrongs of injured woman, and elevate her in the scale of existence? Slavery we have just seen changes the hunting into the shepherd and agricultural states—gives rise to augmented productions, and consequently furnishes more abundant supplies for man: the labor of the slave thus becomes a substitute for that of the woman: man no longer wanders through the forest in quest of gain; and woman, consequently, is relieved from following on his track, under the enervating and harassing burthen of her children: She is now surrounded by her domestics, and the abundance of their labor lightens the toil and hardships of the whole family; she ceases to be a mere "*beast of burthen*"—becomes the cheering and animating centre of the family circle—time is afforded for reflection and the cultivation of all those mild and fascinating virtues, which throw a charm and delight around our homes and firesides, and calm and tranquillize the harsher tempers and more restless propensities of the male: Man too, relieved from that endless disquietude about subsistence for the morrow—relieved of the toil of wandering over the forest—more amply provided for by the productions of the soil—finds his habits changed, his temper moderated, his kindness and benevolence increased; he loses that savage and brutal feeling which he had be-

* In New Zealand agriculture has worked a most wonderful change in the lot of woman. She is now more respected and loved.—[See *Library of Entertaining Knowledge*, vol. 5, *New Zealanders*.]

† Robertson's *America*, vol. 1, p. 177.

fore indulged towards all his unfortunate dependents; and consequently even the slave, in the agricultural, is happier than the free man in the hunting state.

In the very first remove from the most savage state, we behold the marked effects of slavery on the condition of woman—we find her at once elevated, clothed with all her charms, mingling with and directing the society to which she belongs, no longer the slave, but the equal and the idol of man. The Greeks and Trojans, at the siege of Troy, were in this state, and some of the most interesting and beautiful passages in the *Iliad* relate to scenes of social intercourse and conjugal affection, where woman, unawed and in all the pride of conscious equality, bears a most conspicuous part.—Thus, Helen and Andromache, are frequently represented as appearing in company with the Trojan chiefs, and mingling freely in conversation with them. Attended only by one or two maid servants, they walk through the streets of Troy, as business or fancy directs: even the prudent Penelope, persecuted as she is by her suitors, does not scruple occasionally to appear among them; and scarcely more reserve seems to be imposed on virgins than married women. Mitford, has well observed, that “Homer’s elegant eulogiums and Hesiod’s severe sarcasm, equally prove women to have been in their days important members of society. The character of Penelope in the *Odyssey*, is the completest panegyric on the sex that ever was composed; and no language can give a more elegant or more highly coloured picture of conjugal affection, than is displayed in the conversations of Hector and Andromache, in the 6th book of the *Iliad*.”*

☞ The Teutonic races who inhabited the mountains and fastnesses of Germany were similarly situated to the Greeks, and even before they left their homes to move down upon the Roman Empire, they were no more distinguished by their deeds in arms, than for devotion and attention to the weaker sex: So much were they characterized by this elevation of the female sex, that Gilbert Stuart does not hesitate to trace the institution of chivalry, whose origin has never yet been satisfactorily illustrated, to the German manners.†

☞ Again—if we descend to modern times, we see much the largest portion of Africa existing in this second stage of civilization, and consequently we find woman in an infinitely better condition, than we any where find her among the Aborigines on the American continent. And thus is it a most singular and curious fact, that woman, whose sympathies are ever alive to the distresses of others, whose heart is filled with benevolence and philanthropy, and whose fine feelings unchecked by considerations of interest or calculations of remote consequences, have ever prompted to embrace with eagerness even the wildest and most destructive schemes of emancipation, has been in a most peculiar and eminent degree indebted to

* See Mitford’s *Greece*, vol. 1, pp. 166, 167, Boston Edition.

† See Stuart’s *View of Society*, particularly book 1, chap. 2, sec. 4 and 5.

slavery for that very elevation in society which first raised her to an equality with man. We will not stop here to investigate the advantages resulting from the ameliorated condition of woman: her immense influence on the destiny of our race is acknowledged by all: upon her must ever devolve in a peculiar degree the duty of rearing into manhood a creature in its infancy, the frailest and feeblest which heaven has made—of forming the plastic mind—of training the ignorance and imbecility of infancy, into virtue and efficiency. “There is perhaps no moral power the magnitude of which swells so far beyond the grasp of calculation as the influence of the female character on the virtues and happiness of mankind: it is so searching, so versatile, so multifarious and so universal: it turns on us like the eye of a beautiful portrait wherever we take our position: it bears upon us in such an infinite variety of points, on our instincts, our passions, our vanity, our tastes and our necessities; above all on the first impressions of education and the associations of infancy.” The *role* which woman should act in the great drama of life is truly an important and an indispensable one—it must and will be acted, and that too, either for our weal or woe: All must wish then that she should be guided by virtue, intelligence and the purest affection—which can only be secured by elevating, honouring and loving *her* in whose career we feel so deep an interest.

We have thus traced out the origin and progress of slavery, and pointed out its effects in promoting the civilization of mankind. We should next proceed to an investigation of those causes of a general character which have a tendency in the progress of society gradually to remove and extinguish slavery, but these we shall have such frequent opportunities of noticing in the sequel, while discussing various schemes of abolition that have been proposed, that we have determined to omit their separate consideration.

We shall now proceed to inquire into the origin of slavery in the United States.

It is well known to all at all conversant with the history of our country, that negro slavery in the United States, the West India Islands and South America, was originally derived from the African slave trade, by which the African negro was torn from his home, and transferred to the Western hemisphere, to live out his days in bondage; we shall briefly advert—First, to the origin and progress of this trade—Secondly, to its effects on Africa; and lastly, to the consideration of the part which the United States have taken in this traffic, and the share of responsibility which must be laid at their door.

1st. *Origin and Progress of the African Slave Trade.*—This trade, which seems so shocking to the feelings of mankind, dates its origin as far back as to the year 1442: Antony Gonzales, a Portuguese mariner, while exploring the coast of Africa in 1440, seized some Moors near *Cape Bojador*, and was subsequently forced by his king, the celebrated Prince Henry of Portugal, to carry them back to Africa: he carried them to *Rio del Oro*, and receiv-

ed from the Moors in exchange, *ten blacks* and a quantity of gold dust, with which he returned to Lisbon, and this, which occurred in 1442, was the simple beginning of that extensive trade in human flesh, which has given so singular an aspect to the texture of our population, and which has and will continue to influence the character and destiny of the greatest portion of the inhabitants of the two Americas."

"The success of Gonzales, not only awakened the admiration, but stimulated the avarice of his countrymen; who, in the course of a few succeeding years, fitted out no less than thirty-seven ships, in the pursuit of the same gainful traffic." "So early as the year 1502, the Spaniards began to employ a few negroes in the mines of Hispaniola, and in the year 1517 the Emperor, Charles the V., granted a patent to certain persons for the exclusive supply of 4000 negroes annually, to the Islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica and Puerto Rico."*

African slaves were first imported into this country in 1620, more than a century after their introduction in the West Indies.—It seems, that in the year 1620, the trade to Virginia was thrown open to all nations, and a Dutch vessel availing itself of the commercial liberty which prevailed, brought into James River twenty Africans, who were immediately purchased as slaves; "and as that hardy race," says Robertson, "was found more capable of enduring fatigue under a sultry climate than Europeans, their number has been increased by continual importations."†—Slavery was thus introduced into the new world, and its fertile soil and extensive territory, its sparse population and warm climate so congenial to the African constitution, soon gave a powerful stimulus to the trade, and drew towards it the mercantile enterprise of every commercial nation of Europe. England being the most commercial of European nations, naturally engrossed a large portion of the trade; Bryan Edwards says, that from the year 1680 to 1786, there were imported into the British possessions alone 2,130,000 slaves—making an average annual importation of more than 20,000.

The annual importation into the two Americas from all quarters, has frequently transcended 100,000! But our limits will not allow us to enter more fully into this subject; and therefore, we must content ourselves by calling the attention of the reader to the 9th section of *Walsh's Appeal* on the subject of negro slavery and the slave trade, in which he has brought together all the information upon this subject up to the time at which he wrote (1819).

We will now proceed to consider 2nd—*The effects of the Slave Trade on the condition of Africa*—and first, will briefly advert to the supposed advantages. It is well known that almost the whole of Africa exists in a barbarous state—only one or two removes above the Indian of America. At the commencement of the slave trade,

* See Bryant Edwards' *West Indies*, vol. 2d, page 233, and the sequel.

† See upon this subject 2d chapter of the first volume of Marshall's *Life of Washington* and Robertson's *Virginia*.

slavery as we have already seen, was established throughout Africa, and had led on to great mitigation of the cruel practices of war ;— but still in consequence of the limited demand for slaves under their very rude system of agriculture, the prisoner of war was frequently put to death.

So soon however as the slave trade was established, great care was taken in the preservation of the lives of prisoners, in consequence of the great demand for them occasioned by the slave traffic, so that although an extension has been given to the system of slavery, many lives are supposed to have been saved by it.

Again, it has been contended, that the slave trade by giving a value to the African negro which would not otherwise have been attached to him, has produced much more mildness and kindness, in the treatment of slaves in Africa, that the utmost care is now taken in the rearing of children, and consequently that although Africa has lost many of her inhabitants from this cause, yet a stimulus has thereby been given to population, which has in some measure made up the loss.

“Africa,” says Malthus, “has been at all times the principal mart of slaves. The drains of its population in this way have been great and constant, particularly since their introduction into the European colonies; but perhaps, as Doctor Franklin observes, it would be difficult to find the gap that has been made by a hundred years exportation of negroes, which has blackened half America.”* Lastly, it has been urged and with great apparent justness, that the slave trade has contributed greatly to the civilization of a large portion of the African population,—that by transportation to the Western world, they have been placed in contact with the civilized white, and have been greatly benefited by the change; that the system of slavery throughout our continent and the Islands, is much less cruel than in Africa,—that there no where prevails in America, the horrid practice of sacrificing the slave on the death of his master, in order that he may be well attended in another world—a practice which all travellers in Africa assert to be extremely common in many nations;—and finally, that the climate of our temperate and torrid zones, is much more suitable to the African constitution, than even their own climate; and consequently, that the physical condition of the race has greatly improved by the transplantation.

There is certainly much truth in the above assertions; but still we cannot agree that the advantages to Africa from the slave trade, have preponderated over the disadvantages. Although wars have been made more mild by the trade, yet they have been made much more frequent: an additional and powerful motive for strife has been furnished. Countries have been overrun, and cities pillaged, mainly with a view of procuring slaves for the slave dealer. Brougham likens the operation of the slave trade in this respect, to the effect

* See Malthus on Population, vol. 1, page 179, Georgetown Edition.

which the different menageries in the world and the consequent demand for wild beasts, have produced on the inferior animals of Africa. They are now taken alive, instead of being killed as formerly; but they are certainly more hunted and more harassed than if no foreign demand existed for them. The unsettled state of Africa, caused by the slave trade, is most undoubtedly unfavorable to the progress of civilization in that extensive region. In proof of the fatal effects of the slave trade on the peace, order and civilization of Africa, Mr. Wilberforce asserted, and his assertion is upheld by the statements of all travellers who have penetrated far into the interior, that while in every region the sea coast and the banks of navigable rivers, those districts which from their situation had most intercourse with civilized nations, were found to be most civilized and cultivated, the effects of the slave trade had been such in Africa, that those parts of the coast which had been the seats of the longest and closest intercourse with European nations in carrying on a flourishing slave trade, were far inferior in civilization and knowledge to many tracts of the interior country, where the face of the white man had never been seen; and thus has the slave trade been able to reverse the ordinary effects of Christianity and Mahomedanism, and to cause the latter to be the instructor and enlightener of mankind, while the former left them under the undisturbed or rather increased influence of all their native superstitions.*

Again; the condition of the negro during what is called the *middle passage*, is allowed by all to be wretched in the extreme. The slave traders are too often tempted to take on board more slaves than can be conveniently carried, they are then stored away in much too narrow space, and left to all the horrors and privations incident to a voyage through tropical seas. The Edinburgh Review asserts, that about seventeen in a hundred died generally during the passage, and about thirty-three afterwards in the seasoning—making the loss of the negroes exported, rise to the frightful amount of 50 per cent. It has been further asserted, that the treatment of the negroes after importation has been generally so cruel, as that the population has not by its procreative energies kept up its numbers in any of the West-India Islands—that it has been cheaper for the West Indian to *work out* his negroes, and trust to the slave trade for a supply, than to raise them in the Islands where provisions are so dear. We believe the accounts of the ill treatment of slaves in the West-Indies have been greatly exaggerated, and have no doubt that their condition has generally been better than in Africa; but still it is true that breeding has been discouraged generally where the slave trade was in full operation; and children not being allowed full attention from the mother, have too frequently died from the want of care. And this is most probably a principal reason of the

* It is proper to state here, that Parke ascribes the superior condition of the interior districts of Africa, principally to a more healthy climate.

slow increase of the slaves in the West-Indies by procreation.* Upon the whole then, we must come to the conclusion that the slave trade has been disadvantageous to Africa, has caused a violation of the principles of humanity, and given rise to much suffering and to considerable destruction of human life.† Judging by its effects, we must condemn it, and consequently agree that slavery in our hemisphere was based upon injustice in the first instance.

But we believe that there are many circumstances of an alleviating character, which form at least a strong apology for the slave trade;—thus: slavery exists throughout the whole of Africa; the slave must necessarily be looked upon in the light of property, and subject to bargain, sale and removal, as all kinds of moveable property are. The *Adscripti Glebæ*, or slaves attached to the soil, and not suffered to be removed, fare the worst. When they multiply too greatly for the products of the soil on which they are situated, their subsistence is scanty and their condition is miserable. When not in proportion to the extent of the soil, then they are sure to be overworked as there is a deficiency of labor. It is certainly best therefore if slavery exists at all, that buying and selling should be allowed, and upon this principle the *middle passage* certainly constitutes the greatest objection to the slave trade, when those alone are imported who were slaves in Africa.

But again; it is extremely difficult in all questions of morality, to say how far ignorance, conscientious opinions and concomitant circumstances, may atone for acts extremely hurtful and improper in themselves; we all agree that these produce great modifications. The bigot who burns his religious enemy at the stake, and conscientiously believes he has done his God a service, and the North American Indian who torments with every refinement of cruelty the prisoner who has unfortunately fallen into his hands, and believes that the Great Spirit applauds him, and that the blood of his fathers calls for it, surely do not commit the same amount of sin as the perfectly enlightened statesman, who should do the same things from policy, *knowing them to be wrong*. In like manner, the slave trade at its origin, can lay claim to the same sort of apology, from the condition of the world when it arose, and the peculiar circumstances which generated it. Slavery was then common throughout almost every country of Europe.

Indeed the slaves under the appellation of *main mortables*‡ in

* Another cause of the difficulty of keeping up the slave population of the West Indies, is the great disproportion between the sexes among those imported,—the males being greatly more numerous than the females.

† We do not by any means wish to be understood as contending that negro slavery in our hemisphere, has lessened the number of negroes throughout the world. On the contrary, there is nothing more true, than that the number has greatly increased by it. We only allude to the destruction of life in the *Middle Passage*, and the *Seasoning*.

‡ It is a singular fact, that the slaves belonging to the Church, were the last liberated—a striking illustration of the feeble effects of Religion and Philanthropy, when arrayed against interest.

France, were never liberated until the revolution in 1789. The public law of Europe too, justified the killing or enslaving of the prisoner at the option of the captor. Under these circumstances, we are not to wonder that the slave trade, so far from exciting the horrors of mankind, as now, actually commanded the admiration of Europe. Gonzales, we have just seen, during the reign of the celebrated Prince Henry, in 1442, brought the first negro slaves into Lisbon, and the deed excited the admiration of all; again three years afterwards, Dinis Fernandez, a citizen of Lisbon and an Esquire to the King Don John, captured four negroes on the coast of Africa and brought them into Lisbon; and the Portuguese historian Barras, "eulogizes Dinis," says Walsh, in his notices of Brazil, "that he did not stop at the time, to make forays into the country, and capture more slaves on his own account, but brought those he had caught back to his master, who was *mightily pleased*, not only with the discoveries he had made but with the people he had carried with him, which had not been delivered from the hands of the Moors like the other negroes, which had up to that time come into the kingdom, but had been *caught* on their own soil."

The famous Bartholomew de las Casas, bishop of Chiapi, who is said to have been the first to recommend the importation of Africans into the New World, was a man of the mildest and most philanthropic temper, yet he never doubted at all the right to enslave Africans, though he was the zealous advocate and protector of the Indian. "While he contended," says Robertson, "for the liberty of people born in one quarter of the globe, he labored to enslave the inhabitants of another region; and in the warmth of his zeal to save the Americans from the yoke, pronounced it to be lawful and expedient to impose one *still heavier* upon the Africans."*

We have already seen that Charles the 5th, granted a commission to a company to supply his American possessions with 4000 slaves per annum. Ferdinand and Isabella likewise had permitted the trade before him.

John Hawkins was the first Englishman who embarked in the trade, and he seems by his daring and enterprise in the business to have greatly pleased his sovereign Queen Elizabeth, who so far from disgracing him conferred on him the honors of knighthood, and made him treasurer of the navy.† Elizabeth, James I., Charles I. and II., were all in the habit of chartering companies to carry on the trade. No scruples of conscience seem ever to have disturbed the quiet of these royal personages or of the agents whom they employed. The last Charter Company was called the Royal African Company, and had among the subscribers the King (Charles II.), the Duke of York, his brother, and many other persons of high rank and quality.‡ In fact women, the most virtuous and humane, were often subscribers to this kind of stock, and seem

* Robertson's America.

† See Edward's West Indies, vol. 2, p. 242.

‡ Edward's West Indies, vol. 2, pp. 247—8.

never to have reflected upon the injustice and iniquity of the traffic, which has so long scandalized civilized Europe. It would indeed be a most difficult question in casuistry, to determine the amount of sin and wickedness committed by the various governments of Europe, in sanctioning a trade which the condition of Europe, Africa and America and all the habits and practices of the day seemed so completely to justify.

We shall now proceed, 3rdly, *to the consideration of the share of responsibility which attaches to the United States in the commission of the original sin by which slavery was first introduced into this country.*—The colonies, being under the control and guidance of the mother country, were of course responsible for no commercial acts and regulations in which they had no share whatever. The slave trade on the part of Great Britain, commenced during the reign of Elizabeth, who personally took a share in it. *The colonies did not then exist.* It was encouraged in the successive reigns of Charles I. and II., and James II.; and William the III., outdid them all:—With Lord Somers for his minister, he declared the slave trade *to be highly beneficial to the nation.* The colonies all this time took no share in it themselves, *merely purchasing* what the British merchants brought them, and doing therein what the British government invited them to do, by every means in their power. And now let us see, who it was, that first marked it with disapprobation, and sought to confine it within narrower bounds. The colonies began in 1760. South Carolina, a British colony, passed an act to prohibit further importation,—but Great Britain rejected this act with indignation, and declared that the slave trade *was beneficial and necessary to the mother country.* The governors of the colonies had positive orders to sanction no law enacted against the slave trade. In Jamaica, in the year 1765, an attempt was made to abolish the trade to that Island. The governor declared that his instructions would never allow him to sign the bill. It was tried again in the same Island in 1774, but Great Britain by the Earl of Dartmouth, president of the board, answered—“*We cannot allow the colonies to check or discourage in any degree a traffic so beneficial to the nation.*” The above historical account we have taken from a *British writer* (Barham’s Observations on the Abolition of Negro Slavery).

Among all the colonies, none seem to have been more eager and more pressing for the abolition of the slave trade than Virginia—in which State the citizens, wonderful to relate, seem now more remorseful and conscience stricken than any where else in the whole Southern country. Judge Tucker, in his Notes on Blackstone’s Commentaries, has collected a list of no less than twenty-three acts imposing duties on slaves, which occur in the compilations of Virginia laws. The first, bears date as far back as 1699; and the real design of all of them, was not revenue, but the repression of the importation. In 1772, most of the duties previously imposed, were re-enacted, and the Assembly transmitted at the same time a

petition to the throne, which, as Mr. Walsh most justly observes, speaks almost all that could be desired, for the *confusion* of our slanderers. The following are extracts: "We are encouraged to look up to the throne and implore your majesty's paternal assistance in averting a calamity of a most alarming nature." "The importation of slaves into the colonies from the coast of Africa, hath long been considered a trade of *great inhumanity*, and under its present encouragement, we have too much reason to fear, will endanger the very existence of your majesty's American Dominions."

"Deeply impressed with these sentiments, we most humbly beseech your majesty to *remove all those restraints on your majesty's governors of this colony*, which inhibit their assenting to such laws as might check so very pernicious a commerce." The petition of course was unavailing. The very first Assembly which met in Virginia, after the adoption of her constitution, prohibited the traffic; and the "*inhuman use of the royal negative*" against the action of the colony upon this subject, is enumerated in the first clause of the first Virginia Constitution, as a reason of the separation from the mother country.

The action of the United States government likewise upon the slave trade, seems to have been as speedy and efficient as could possibly have been expected from a government necessarily placed under great restraint and limitation.

Not being able to enter into details, we quote with great pleasure the following remark from Mr. Walsh, who with most indefatigable zeal and industry, has collected all the important information on the subject of the slave trade, and furnished the world with a complete and triumphant vindication of the United States, against the taunts and illiberal insinuations of British writers.—"It is seen," says Mr. Walsh, "by the foregoing abstract, that Federal America interdicted the trade from her ports, thirteen years before Great Britain; that she made it punishable as a crime seven years before; that she fixed four years sooner the period for non-importation—which period was earlier than that determined upon by Great Britain for her colonies. We ought not to overlook the circumstance, that these measures were taken by a Legislature composed in considerable part of the *representatives of slave holding states*; *slave holders* themselves, in whom of course according to the Edinburgh Review "conscience had suspended its functions" and "justice, gentleness and pity were extinguished."—In truth, the *representatives from our Southern States have been foremost in testifying their abhorrence of the traffic*.* Are we not then fully justified, from a historical review of the part which the colonists took, before and after their independence, in relation to the slave trade, in asserting that slavery was forced upon them, and the slave trade continued contrary to their wishes. If ever nation

* See Walsh's Appeal 2nd Edition, page 323.

stood justified before Heaven, in regard to an evil, which had become interwoven with her social system, is not that country ours? Are not our hands unpolluted with the original sin, and did we not wash them clean of the contagion the moment our independent existence was established? Where is the stain that rests upon our escutcheon? There is none! United America has done her duty, and Virginia has the honor of taking the lead in the abolition of the slave trade, whose example has been so tardily and reluctantly followed by the civilized nations of Europe. Virginia, therefore, *especially*, has nothing to reproach herself with—"the still small voice of conscience" can never disturb her quiet. She truly stands upon this subject like the Chevalier Bayard—"sans peur et sans reproche."

We have now finished the first principal division of our subject—in which we have treated, we hope satisfactorily, of the origin of slavery in ancient and modern times, and have closed with a consideration of the slave trade, by which slavery has been introduced into the United States. We hope that this preliminary discussion will not be considered inappropriate to our main subject.—We have considered it indispensably necessary, to point out the true sources of slavery and the principles upon which it rests, in order that we might appreciate fully the value of those arguments based upon the principles that "all men are born equal"—that "slavery in the abstract is wrong," that "the slave has a natural right to regain his liberty," &c. &c.—all of which doctrines were most pompously and ostentatiously put forth by some of the abolitionists in the Virginia Legislature. No set of legislators ever have, or ever can legislate upon purely abstract principles, entirely independent of circumstances, without the ruin of the body politic which should have the misfortune to be under the guidance of such quackery. Well and philosophically has Burke remarked, that circumstances give in reality to every political principle, its distinguishing colour and discriminating effect. The circumstances are what render every political scheme beneficial or noxious to mankind, and we cannot stand forward and give praise or blame to any thing which relates to human actions and human concerns, on a simple view of the object, as it stands stript of every relation in all the nakedness and solitude of metaphysical abstraction. The historical view which we have given of the origin and progress of slavery, shews most conclusively that something else is requisite to convert slavery into freedom, than the mere enunciation of abstract truths, divested of all adventitious circumstances and relations.—We shall now then proceed to the second great division of our subject, and inquire seriously and fairly, whether there be any means by which we may get rid of slavery.

II. Plans for the Abolition of Negro Slavery.

Under this head we will examine, first, those schemes which propose abolition and deportation, and secondly, those which contemplate emancipation without deportation.

1st. *Emancipation and Deportation.*—In the late Virginia Legislature, where the subject of slavery underwent the most thorough discussion, all seemed to be perfectly agreed in the necessity of removal in case of emancipation. Several members from the lower counties, which are deeply interested in this question, seemed to be sanguine in their anticipations of the final success of some project of emancipation and deportation to Africa, the original home of the negro. "Let us translate them," said one of the most respected and able members of the Legislature, (Gen. Broadnax,) "to those realms from which, in evil times, under inauspicious influences, their fathers were unfortunately abducted.—Mr. Speaker, the idea of restoring these people to the region in which nature had planted them, and to whose climate she had fitted their constitutions—the idea of benefitting not only our condition and their condition by the removal, but making them the means of carrying back to a great continent, lost in the profoundest depths of savage barbarity, unconscious of the existence even of the God who created them, not only the arts and comforts and multiplied advantages of civilized life, but what is of more value than all, a knowledge of true religion—intelligence of a Redeemer—is one of the grandest and noblest, one of the most expansive and glorious ideas which ever entered into the imagination of man. The conception, whether to the philosopher, the statesman, the philanthropist, or the Christian, of rearing up a colony which is to be the nucleus around which future emigration will center, and open all Africa to civilization and commerce, and science and arts and religion—when Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands, indeed, is one which warms the heart with delight." (*Speech of Gen. Broadnax of Dinwiddie*, pp. 36 and 37.) We fear that this splendid vision, the creation of a brilliant imagination, influenced by the pure feelings of a philanthropic and generous heart, is destined to vanish at the severe touch of analysis. Fortunately for reason and common sense, all these projects of deportation may be subjected to the most rigid and accurate calculations, which are amply sufficient to dispel all doubt, even in the minds of the most sanguine, as to their practicability.

We take it for granted that the right of the owner to his slave is to be respected, and consequently that he is not required to emancipate him, unless his full value is paid by the state. Let us then, keeping this in view, proceed to the very simple calculation of the expense of emancipation and deportation in Virginia. The slaves, by the last census (1830) amounted within a small fraction to 470,000; the average value of each one of these is \$ 200; consequently the whole aggregate value of the slave population of

Virginia in 1830, was \$94,000,000, and allowing for the increase since, we cannot err far in putting the present value at \$100,000,000. The assessed value of all the houses and lands in the state amounts to \$206,000,000, and these constitute the material items in the wealth of the state, the whole personal property besides bearing but a very small proportion to the value of slaves, lands, and houses. Now, do not these very simple statistics speak volumes upon this subject? It is gravely recommended to the state of Virginia to give up a species of property which constitutes nearly one-third of the wealth of the whole state, and almost one-half of that of Lower Virginia, and with the remaining two-thirds to encounter the additional enormous expense of transportation and colonization on the coast of Africa. But the loss of \$100,000,000 of property is scarcely the half of what Virginia would lose, if the immutable laws of nature could suffer (as fortunately they cannot) this tremendous scheme of colonization to be carried into full effect. Is it not population which makes our lands and houses valuable? Why are lots in Paris and London worth more than the silver dollars which it might take to cover them? Why are lands of equal fertility in England and France worth more than those of our Northern States, and those again worth more than Southern soils, and those in turn worth more than the soils of the distant West? It is the presence or absence of population which alone can explain the fact. It is in truth the slave labor in Virginia which gives value to her soil and her habitations—take away this and you pull down the atlas that upholds the whole system—eject from the state the whole slave population, and we risk nothing in the prediction, that on the day in which it shall be accomplished, the worn soils of Virginia will not bear the paltry price of the government lands in the West, and the Old Dominion will be a “waste howling wilderness,”—“the grass shall be seen growing in the streets, and the foxes peeping from their holes.”

But the favourers of this scheme say they do not contend for the sudden emancipation and deportation of the whole black population;—they would send off only the increase, and thereby keep down the population to its present amount, while the whites increasing at their usual rate would finally become relatively so numerous as to render the presence of the blacks among us for ever afterwards entirely harmless. This scheme, which at first to the unreflecting seems plausible, and much less wild than the project of sending off the whole, is nevertheless impracticable and visionary, as we think a few remarks will prove. It is computed that the annual increase of the slaves and free coloured population of Virginia is about six thousand. Let us first, then, make a calculation of the expense of purchase and transportation. At \$200 each, the six thousand will amount in value to \$1,200,000. At \$30 each, for transportation, which we shall soon see is too little, we have the whole expense of purchase and transportation \$1,380,000, an expense to be annually incurred by Virginia to keep down her black

population to its present amount. And let us ask, is there any one who can seriously argue that Virginia can incur such an annual expense as this for the next twenty-five or fifty years, until the whites have multiplied so greatly upon the blacks, as in the *opinion* of the *alarmists* for ever to quiet the fears of the community? Vain and delusive hope, if any were ever wild enough to entertain it! Poor old Virginia, the leader of the *poverty stricken team*; which have been for years so heavily dragging along under the intolerable burthen of the Federal government, must inevitably be crushed whenever this new weight is imposed on her, in comparison with which federal exactions are light and mild. We should as soon expect the *Chamois*, the hardy rover over Alpine regions, by his unassisted strength to hurl down the snowy mantle which for ages has clothed the lofty summit of Mont Blanc, as that Virginia will be ever able by her own resources to purchase and colonize on the coast of Africa six thousand slaves for any number of years in succession.

But this does not develope to its full extent the monstrous absurdity of this scheme. There is a view of it yet to be taken, which seems not to have struck very forcibly any of the speakers in the Virginia Legislature, but which appears to us of itself perfectly conclusive against this whole project. We have made some efforts to obtain something like an accurate account of the number of negroes every year carried out of Virginia to the south and southwest. We have not been enabled to succeed completely; but from all the information we can obtain, we have no hesitation in saying, that upwards of six thousand are yearly exported to other states. Virginia is in fact a *negro* raising state for other states; she produces enough for her own supply and six thousand for sale. Now, suppose the government of Virginia enters the slave market, resolved to purchase six thousand for emancipation and deportation, is it not evident that it must overbid the southern seeker, and thus take the very slaves who would have gone to the south? The very first operation then of this scheme, provided slaves be treated as property, is to arrest the current which has been hitherto flowing to the south, and to accumulate the evil in the state. As sure as the moon in her transit over the meridian arrests the current which is gliding to the ocean, so sure will the action of the Virginia government, in an attempt to emancipate and send off 6000 slaves, stop those who are annually going out of the state; and when 6000 are sent off in any one year, (which we never expect to see) it will be found on investigation that they are those who would have been sent out of the state by the operation of our slave trade, and to the utter astonishment and confusion of our abolitionists, the black population will be found advancing with its usual rapidity—the only operation of the scheme being to substitute our government, *alias ourselves*, as purchasers, instead of the planters of the south. This is a view which every legislator in the state should take. He should beware lest in his zeal for action, this efflux, which is now so salutary to the state, and such an abundant

source of wealth, be suddenly dried up, and all the evils of slavery be increased instead of diminished. If government really could enter with capital and zeal enough into the boundless project, we might even in a few years see the laws of nature reversed, and the tide of slavery flowing from the south in Virginia, to satisfy the philanthropic demand for colonization. The only means which the government could use to prevent the above described effect, would be either arbitrarily to fix the price of slaves below their market value, which would be a clear violation of the right of property, (which we shall presently notice,) or to excite a feeling of insecurity and apprehension as to this kind of property, and thus dispose the owner to part with it at less than its true value:—but surely no statesman would openly avow such an object, although it must be confessed that some of the speakers even who contended that slaves should ever be treated as property, avowed sentiments which were calculated to produce such a result.

It is said, however, that the southern market will at all events be closed against us, and consequently that the preceding argument falls to the ground. To this we answer, that as long as the demand to the south exists, the supply will be furnished in some way or other, if our government do not unwisely tamper with the subject. Bryan Edwards has said, that “an attempt to prevent the introduction of slaves into the West Indies would be like chaining the winds, or giving laws to the ocean.” We may with truth affirm, that an attempt to prevent a circulation of this kind of property through the slave-holding states of our confederacy, would be equally if not more impracticable. But there is a most striking illustration of this now exhibiting before our eyes—the Southampton massacre produced great excitement and apprehension throughout the slave-holding states, and two of them, hitherto the largest purchasers of Virginia slaves, have interdicted their introduction under severe penalties. Many in our state looked forward to an immediate fall in the price of slaves from this cause—and what has been the result? Why, wonderful to relate, Virginia slaves are now higher than they have been for many years past—and this rise in price has no doubt been occasioned by the number of southern purchasers who have visited our state, under the belief that Virginians had been frightened into a determination to get clear of their slaves at all events; “and from an artificial demand in the slave purchasing states, caused by an apprehension on the part of the farmers in those states, that the regular supply of slaves would speedily be discontinued by the operation of their non-importation regulations;”^{*} and we are, consequently, at this moment

^{*} From Louisiana, many of the farmers themselves, have come into our state, for the purpose of purchasing their own slaves, and thereby evading the laws. There are in fact, so many plans which will effectually defeat all these preventive regulations, that we may consider their rigid enforcement, utterly impracticable; and moreover, as the excitement produced by the late insurrection in Virginia, dies away, so will these laws be forgotten and remain as dead letters upon the statute books.

exporting slaves more rapidly, through the operation of the internal slave trade, than for many years past.

Let us now examine a moment into the object proposed to be accomplished by this scheme. It is contended that free labor is infinitely superior to slave labor in every point of view, and therefore that it is highly desirable to exchange the latter for the former, and that this will be gradually accomplished by emancipation and deportation; because the vacuum occasioned by the exportation of the slaves will be filled up by the influx of freemen from the north and other portions of the Union—and thus, for every slave we lose, it is contended we shall receive in exchange a free laborer, much more productive and more moral. If we are not greatly mistaken, this, on analysis, will be found to be a complete specimen of that arithmetical *school boy* reasoning, which has ever proved so deceptive in politics, and so ruinous in its practical consequences; and first, let us see whether any thing will be gained in point of productiveness, by this exchange of slave labor for free, even upon the avowed principles of the abolitionists themselves. The great objections to slave labor, seem to be—First, that it is unproductive, or at least, not as productive as free labor; and Secondly, that it is calculated to repel free labor from the sphere in which it is exercised. This latter effect has been briefly and more ingeniously urged, by a writer in the *Richmond Enquirer* of the 3rd of March 1832, over the signature of “York,” than by any one who is known to us, and we shall consequently introduce an extract from his essay.

“Society, naturally revolves itself, “says this writer,” into three classes. The first comprehends professional men, capitalists and large landed proprietors; the Second, embraces artizans and small proprietors; and the Third, is composed of common laborers. Now we are a society placed in the anomalous predicament of being *totally without a laboring class*; for all our labor is performed by slaves, who constitute no part of that society, and who *quoad* that society, may be regarded as brutes or machines. This circumstance operates directly as a check upon the increase of white population. For, as some intelligence or property is required to enable a man to belong to either of the two first classes above enumerated, (and which I have remarked are the only classes which we have) and as no one with ordinary self-respect, can submit to sink below them, and become outcasts, the immediate tendency of the supernumerary members is to emigration.” We will not for the present, dispute the premises of the very intelligent and graceful writer, from whom we have copied the above extract; we have endeavored throughout this review, to shew that our adversaries are not justified in their conclusions, even if we admit the truth of their premises. Now, what is the conclusion arrived at by our adversaries, from the premises just mentioned? That we must deport our slaves as fast as possible, and leave the vacuum to be filled by free labor. In the first place, then, we say upon

their *own* principles even, they cannot expect free labor to take the place of slave, for every one acknowledges it utterly impossible to send away, at *once*, all our slaves—there is scarcely we presume, a single abolitionist in Virginia, who has ever supposed, that we can send away more than the annual increase. Now, then, we ask, how can any one reasonably expect that the taking away of two or three negroes from a body of one hundred, (and this is a much greater proportion than the abolitionists hope to colonize) can destroy that prejudice against laboring with the blacks, which is represented as preventing the whites from laboring, and as sending them in multitudes to the West. If we are too proud to work in a field with fifty negro men this year, we shall surely be no more disposed to do it next year, because one negro, the increase of the fifty, has been sent to Liberia; and consequently the above reasoning, if it prove any thing, proves that we must prevent our laboring classes (the blacks) from increasing, because whites will not work with them—although the whites will be just as averse to working with them after you have checked their increase as before!

But let us suppose, that by some kind of logical *legerdemain*, it can be proven that free labor will supply the place of slave labor, which is deported to Africa—even then, we think they will fail upon their other great principle, that free labor is better than slave, the truth of which principle for the present, we are willing to allow—and their whole argument fails, for this plain and palpable reason, that free labor by association with slave labor, must inevitably be brought down to its level and even below it,—for the vices of the slave you may correct, by means of your authority over him, but those of the associate free laborer you cannot. Every farmer in Virginia, can testify to the truth of this assertion. He knows full well, that if he employs a white laborer to work with a black one, even at *job work*, where of course the inducement to labor is greatest—he will not do more than the negro, and perhaps in a majority of cases, he will not do as much. What then might we expect of him, if he should enter the field with fifty fold his number of blacks, to work along with them regularly through the four seasons of the year? We hazard little in saying, he would be a more unproductive laborer than the black, for he would soon have all his idle propensities, without being subjected to the same salutary restraint.

It is a well known general fact, to all close observers of mankind, that if two different grades of labor as to productiveness be associated together in the same occupation, the higher has a tendency to descend to the level of the lower. Schmalz in his *Political Economy* says, that the indolence and carelessness of the serfs in the north of Europe, corrupt the free laborers who come into *contact* with them. Jones, in his volume on Rents, says, “a new road is at this time (1831) making, which is to connect Hamburg and the Elbe with Berlin; it passes over the sterile sands, of which so much of the north of Germany consists, and the materials for it are sup-

plied by those isolated blocks of granite, of which the presence on the surface of those sands forms a notorious geological puzzle. These blocks, transported to the line of road, are broken to the proper size by workmen, some of whom are Prussian free laborers, others Leibeigeners of the Mecklenburg territory, through a part of which the road passes. They are paid a stipulated sum for breaking *a certain* quantity, *and all are paid alike*. Yet the Leibeigeners could not at first be prevailed upon to break more than one third of the quantity which formed the ordinary task of the Prussians. The men were *mixed*, in the hope that the example and the gains of the more industrious, would animate the sluggish. Now mark the result. A contrary effect followed; the Leibeigeners *did not improve*, but the exertions of the other laborers *sensibly slackened*, and at the time my informant (the English Engineer who superintended the work,) was speaking to me, the men were again at work in *separate* gangs carefully kept asunder."* And thus do we find, by an investigation of this subject, that if we should introduce, by any means, free labor in the stead of slave labor deported to Africa, that it will be certain to deteriorate by association with slave labor, until it sinks down to and even below its level. So far, we have admitted the possibility of exchanging slave for free labor, and have endeavored to prove, upon the principles of the abolitionists, that nothing would be gained by it. We will now endeavor to prove, and we think we can do it incontestibly, that the scheme of abolition and deportation will not and cannot possibly effect this exchange of slave labor for free, even if it were desirable. And in order that we may examine the project fully in this point of view, we will endeavor—first, to trace out its operation on the slave population, and then on the white.

Since the publication of the celebrated work of Dr. Malthus on the "principle of population," the knowledge of the causes which affect its condition and increase, is much more widely diffused. It is now well known to every student of political economy, that in the wide range of legislation, there is nothing more dangerous than too much tampering with the elastic and powerful *spring* of population.

The energies of government are for the most part feeble or impotent when arrayed against its action. It is this procreative power of the human species, either exerted or dormant, which so frequently brushes away *in reality* the visionary fabrics of the philanthropists, and mars the cherished plots and schemes of statesmen. Euler has endeavored to prove, by some calculations, that the human species, under the most favorable circumstances, is capable of doubling itself once in twelve years. In our Western country, the progress of population has, in many extensive districts, been so rapid as to show, in our opinion most conclusively, that it is ca-

* See Jones' Political Economy, vol. 1, pp. 51, 52—London Edition.

pable of doubling itself once in fifteen years without the aid of immigration. The whole of our population, since the independence of the United States, has shown itself fully capable of duplication in periods of twenty-five years, without the accession from abroad.* In some portions of our country the population is stationary, in others but very slowly advancing. We will assume then for the two extremes in our country, the stationary condition on the one side, and such increase on the other as to give rise to a duplication every fifteen years. Now as throughout the whole range comprehended between these extremes, population is capable of exerting various degrees of energy, it is very evident that the statesman who wishes to increase or diminish population, must look cautiously to the effect of his measures on its spring, and see how this will be acted on. If for example his object be to lessen the number of a slowly increasing population, he must be convinced that his plan does not stimulate the procreative energies of society to produce more than he is capable of taking away; or if his object be to increase the numbers, take heed lest this project deaden and paralyze the source of increase so much as to more than counterbalance any effort of his. Now looking at the texture of the Virginia population, the desideratum is to diminish the blacks and increase the whites. Let us see how the scheme of emancipation and deportation will act. We have already shown that the first operation of the plan, if slave property were rigidly respected and never taken without full compensation, would be to put a stop to the efflux from the state through other channels; but this would not be the only effect. Government entering into the market with individuals, would elevate the price of slaves beyond their natural value, and consequently the raising of them would become an object of primary importance throughout the whole state. We can readily imagine that the price of slaves might become so great that each master would do all in his power to encourage marriage among them—would allow the females almost entire exemption from labor, that they might the better breed and nurse—and would so completely concentrate his efforts upon this object, as to neglect other schemes and less productive sources of wealth. Under these circumstances the prolific African might no doubt be stimulated to press hard upon one of the limits above stated, doubling his numbers in fifteen years; and such is the tendency which our abolition schemes, if ever seriously engaged in, will most undoubtedly produce; they will be certain to stimulate the procreative powers of that very race which they are aiming to diminish; they will enlarge and invigorate the very monster which they are endeavoring to stifle, and realize the beautiful but melancholy fable of Sisyphus, by an eternal renovation of hope and disappointment. If it were possible for Virginia to purchase and send off annually for the

* The longest period of duplication has been about twenty-three years and seven months, so that the addition of one year and five months will more than compensate for the emigration.

next twenty-five or fifty years, 12,000 slaves, we should have very little hesitation in affirming, that the number of slaves in Virginia would not be at all lessened by the operation, and at the conclusion of the period such habits would be generated among our blacks, that for a long time after the cessation of the drain, population might advance so rapidly as to produce among us all the calamities and miseries of an over crowded people.

We are not now dealing in mere conjecture; there is ample proof of the correctness of these anticipations in the history of our own hemisphere. The West India Islands, as we have before seen, are supplied with slaves more cheaply by the African slave trader than they can raise them, and consequently the black population in the Islands nowhere keeps up its numbers by natural increase. It appears by a statement of Mr. F. Buxton recently published, that the total number of slaves in the British West Indies in 1817, was 730,112. After a lapse of eleven years, in 1828, the numbers were reduced to 678,527, making a loss on the capital of 1817, in the short space of eleven years, of 51,585.* In the Mauritius in the same space of time, the loss on the capital of 1817 amounting to but 76,774, was 10,767. Even in the Island of Cuba, where the negro slave is treated as humanely as any where on the globe, from 1804 to 1817, the blacks lost 4,461 upon the stock of 1804. "Prior to the annexation of Louisiana to the United States," says Mr. Clay in his Colonization Speech of 1830, "the supply of slaves from Africa was abundant. The price of adults was generally about one hundred dollars, a price less than the cost of raising an infant. Then it was believed that the climate of the province was unfavorable to the rearing of negro children, and comparatively few were raised. After the United States abolished the slave trade, the price of adults rose very considerably—greater attention was consequently bestowed on their children, and now nowhere is the African female more prolific than she is in Louisiana, and the climate of no one of the Southern States is supposed to be more favorable to the rearing of her offspring." For a similar reason now, the slaves in Virginia multiply more rapidly than in most of the Southern States;—the Virginians can raise cheaper than they can buy; in fact it is one of their greatest sources of profit. In many of the other slaveholding States this is not the case, and consequently the same care is not taken to encourage matrimony and the rearing of children.

For a similar reason, in ancient times, few slaves were reared in populous districts and large towns, these being supplied with slaves raised at a distance or taken in war, at a cheaper rate than they could be raised. "The comparison is shocking," says Mr. Hume,

* Bryan Edwards attributes the decrease of the slaves in the W. Indies principally to the disproportion of the sexes. But in the present instance, we are constrained to attribute it to another cause, for we find of the 730,112 slaves in the sugar islands in 1817, 369,577 were males, and 363,535 females, being very nearly an equal division of the sexes.

"between the management of human beings and that of cattle; but being extremely just when applied to the present subject, it may be proper to trace the consequences of it. At the capital, near all great cities, in all populous rich industrious provinces, few cattle are bred. Provisions, lodging, attendance, labor are there dear, and men find their account better in buying the cattle after they come to a certain age, from the remoter and cheaper countries.—These are consequently the only breeding countries for cattle; and by parity of reason for men too, when the latter are put on the same footing with the former, as to buying and selling. To rear a child in London till he could be serviceable, would cost much dearer than to buy one of the same age from Scotland or Ireland, where he had been bred in a cottage, covered with rags, and fed on oatmeal and potatoes. Those who had slaves therefore (in ancient times) in all the richer and more populous countries, would discourage the pregnancy of the females and either prevent or destroy the birth.* . . . A perpetual recruit was therefore wanted from the poorer and more desert provinces. . . . All ancient authors tell us that there was a perpetual flux of slaves to Italy from the remoter provinces, particularly Syria, Cilicia,† Cappadocia and the lesser Asia, Thrace and Egypt. Yet the number of people did not increase in Italy."‡ It is thus we see every where that the spring of population accommodates itself to the demand for human beings, and becomes inert or active in proportion to the value of the laborer, and the small or great expense of rearing him.

It was upon this very principle, that Mr. Pitt, in 1791, based the masterly and unanswerable argument contained in his splendid speech on the abolition of the slave trade; in which he proved, upon data furnished by the West India planters themselves, that the moment an end was put to the slave trade, the natural increase of the negroes would commence, and more than keep up their numbers in the Islands.

But our opponents perhaps may be disposed to answer, that this increase of slavery from the stimulus to the black population afforded by the colonization abroad, ought not to be objected to on our own principles, since each slave will be worth two hundred dollars or more. This answer would be correct enough if it were not that the increase of the blacks is effected at our expense both as to wealth and numbers; and to show this, we will now proceed to point out the operation of the scheme under consideration upon the white population. Malthus has clearly shown that population depends on the *means of subsistence*, and will, under ordinary circumstances,

* Such means as the last mentioned, will never be resorted to by any civilized nation of modern times, either in Europe or America; but others of a less objectionable character most certainly will be, whenever the rearing of slaves entails a great expense on the master.

† "10,000 slaves in a day have often been sold for the use of the Romans at Delos in Cilicia."—*Strabo, Lib. 14.*

‡ See Hume's Essays, Part 2nd, Essay 11th, on Populousness of Ancient Empires.

increase to a level with them. Now by means of subsistence, we must not only comprehend the necessities of life, such as food, clothing, shelter, &c., but likewise such conveniences, comforts, and even luxuries, as the habits of the society may render it essential for all to enjoy. Whatever then has a tendency to destroy the wealth and diminish the aggregate capital of society, has the effect, as long as the *standard of comfort** remains the same, to check the progress of the population.

It is sure to discourage matrimony, and cause children to be less carefully attended to, and to be less abundantly supplied. The heavy burthens which have hitherto been imposed on Virginia, through the operation of Federal exactions, together with the *high standard* of comfort prevalent throughout the whole state, (about which we shall by and by make a few observations) have already imposed checks upon the progress of the white population of the state. If not one single individual were to emigrate from the state of Virginia, it would be found, so inert has become the principle of increase in the state, that the population would not advance with the average rapidity of the American people. Now, under these circumstances, an imposition of an additional burthen of 1,380,000 dollars for the purpose of purchase and deportation of slaves, would add so much to the taxes of the citizens—would subtract so much from the capital of the state, and increase so greatly the embarrassments of the whole population, that fewer persons would be enabled to support families, and consequently to get married.—This great tax, added to those we are already suffering under, would weigh like an incubus upon the whole state—it would operate like the blighting hand of Providence that should render our soil barren and our labor unproductive. It would diminish the value of the *fee simple* of Virginia, and not only check the natural increase of population within the commonwealth, but would make every man desirous of quitting the scenes of his home and his infancy, and fleeing from the heavy burthen which would for ever keep him and his children buried in the depths of poverty. His sale of negroes would partly enable him to emigrate; and we have little doubt, that whenever this wild scheme shall be seriously commenced, it will be found that more whites than negroes will be banished by its operation from the state. And there will be this lamentable difference between those who are left behind; a powerful stimulus will be given to the procreative energies of the blacks, while those of the whites will be paralyzed and destroyed. Every emigrant from among the whites will create a *vacuum* not to be supplied—every removal of a black will stimulate to the generation of another.

“Uno avulso non deficit alter.”

The *poverty* stricken master would rejoice in the prolificness of his female slave, but pray Heaven in its kindness to strike with

* By standard of comfort we mean that amount of necessities, conveniences, and luxuries, which the habits of any people render essential to them.

barrenness his own spouse, lest in the plenitude of his misfortunes, brought on by the wild and Quixotic philanthropy of his government, he might see around him a numerous offspring unprovided for and destined to galling indigence

It is almost useless to inquire whether this deportation of slaves to Africa would, as some seem most strangely to anticipate, invite the whites of other states into the commonwealth. Who would be disposed to enter a state with worn out soil and a black population mortgaged to the payment of millions *per annum*, for the purpose of emancipation and deportation, when in the West the most luxuriant soils, unencumbered with heavy exactions, could be purchased for the paltry sum of \$1 25 per acre?

Where, then, is that multitude of whites to come from, which the glowing fancy of orators has sketched out as flowing into and filling up the *vacuum* created by the removal of slaves? The fact is—throughout the whole debate in the Virginia Legislature, the speakers seemed to consider the increase of population as a sort of fixed quantity, which would remain the same under the endless change of circumstance, and consequently that every man exported from among the blacks, lessened *pro tanto* exactly the black population, and that the whites, moving on with their usual speed, would fill the void; which certainly was an erroneous supposition, and manifested an almost unpardonable inattention to the wonderful *elasticity* of the powerful spring of population. The removal of inhabitants, accompanied with great loss of productive labor and capital, so far from leaving the residue in a better situation, and disposing them to increase and multiply, produces the directly opposite effect; it deteriorates the condition of society, and deadens the spring of population. It is curious to look to the history of the world, and see how completely this position is sustained by facts. Since the downfall of the Roman Empire, there have been three forced emigrations of very considerable extent, from three of the countries of Europe. The Moors were expelled from Spain, the Protestants from the Netherlands, and the Hugonots from France; each of these expulsions came well nigh ruining the country from which it took place. We are best acquainted with the effects of the expulsion of the Hugonots from France, because it happened nearer to our own times, during the reign of Louis XIV. In this case only 500,000 are supposed to have left France, containing then a population of 20 or 25,000,000 of souls. The energies of this mighty country seemed at once paralyzed by this emigration, her prosperity was instantly arrested, her remaining population lost the vigor which characterized them as long as this *leaven* was among them, and to this day, France has not recovered from the tremendous blow. Her inferiority to England, in industry and all the useful arts, is in a great measure to be traced back to this stupid intolerance of her *great* monarch Louis XIV. The reason why these expulsions were so very injurious to the countries in question, was because the emigrants were the laboring classes of

society, and their banishment consequently dried up the sources of production, and lessened the aggregate wealth and capital of the people. Now these expulsions are *nothing* in comparison with that contemplated by our abolitionists. In France only one in fifty of the population was expelled, and no expense was incurred in the deportation; but in Virginia the proportion to be expelled is much greater, and the expense is to devolve on the government.

When the emigration is accompanied with no loss of capital to the state, and no abstraction of *productive* labor, then the population will not be injuriously affected, but sometimes greatly benefited. In the hunting state, the expulsion of half of the tribe would benefit the remainder in a politico-economical light, because they live on the game of the forest, which becomes more abundant as soon as the consumers diminish. Pastoral nations, for a like reason, are rarely injured by emigration, for they live on cattle, and the cattle live on the spontaneous produce of the earth, and when a colony is sent off, the remainder will generally be benefited, since the consumption is relieved while the production is not diminished. And this satisfactorily explains the difficulty which has so much puzzled historians:—how the North of Europe, which Gibbon, Hume, and Robertson, all maintain was in a pastoral state, and not nearly so thickly settled as at present, should nevertheless have been able for several centuries to furnish those terrible swarms of barbarians, who “gathering fresh darkness and terror” as they rolled on upon the South, at length, with their congregated multitudes, “obscured the sun of Italy, and sunk the Roman world in night.” This example of the barbarians in the North of Europe, sending so many hundreds of thousands of emigrants to the South, is a beautiful illustration of the capacity of population to counteract the effects of emigration in all those cases where the spring of population is not weakened. As soon as new swarms left the country, the means of subsistence were more ample for the residue; the vigor of population soon supplied the deficiency; and then another swarm went forth and relieved again the national *hive*. Our purchase and deportation of slaves would produce a similar effect on our blacks, but it would be entirely at the expense of both the numbers and wealth of the whites, and would be therefore one of the most blighting curses that could scathe the land. Ireland, at present, is suffering heavy afflictions from an overcrowded population; but her government could not relieve her by sending off the paupers, and for the simple reason that it would require an expense on the part of Ireland which would produce as great or even greater abstraction of capital than of unproductive mouths, and would moreover give more vigor to the spring of population. If other nations would incur the expense for her, then perhaps there might be for her a temporary benefit; but in a short time such a stimulus would be given to population, as would counteract all the vain efforts of man, and in the end, leave her in a worse condition than before. We doubt whether

England, France, and Germany, by a steady concentration of all their financial resources upon the deportation and comfortable settlement and support of the superabundant population of Ireland, would, at the expiration of fifty years, be found to have lessened the numbers by one single individual. The effect would merely be, to pledge the resources of these three nations to the support of the Irish population, and to substitute the procreation of Irishmen, for that of Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Germans, and as soon as this support was withdrawn, the very habits which had been generated by it in Ireland, would be its greatest curse. The only effectual means of relieving Ireland, will be to raise the *standard of comfort* in that country, and to arrest the population by the preventive checks which would lessen the marriages. Until this be done in some way or other, Ireland is doomed to suffer the heavy penalty.

We are now prepared to explain how it is that so many negroes have been exported from Africa by the slave trade, while the gap, says Franklin, is almost imperceptible. Gen Broadnax, in his speech, computes the average number now annually sent out from Africa by the operation of the slave trade, to be 100,000; and, he adds, if all this can be effected against so many risks and hazards, and in violation of the laws of God and man, shall it be said that the whole state of Virginia cannot export 6,000 to Africa in a year? Yes, strange as it may seem, this is all true; and the simple reason of the great difference is, that Africa incurs no expense, but on the contrary, generally receives a full equivalent for the deported slave, which augments her means of subsistence, and stimulates the spring of population. The slave trade which takes off 100,000 human beings from Africa for the slave market of the West Indies and South America, has by its operation, quickened the procreative powers of society in Africa to such an extent as not only to keep up her numbers, but to furnish besides 100,000 souls for exportation. Could we suppose it possible for this slave trade to be annihilated at a blow, repugnant and shocking as it is to every feeling of humanity, it would be found that its sudden cessation would plunge the whole of Western Africa for a season into the most dreadful anarchy and appalling distress. It would be found that the habits of the people had been formed to suit the slave trade, and accordingly would be much too favorable to the rapid increase of population without that trade,—prisoners of war would be slaughtered, infants murdered, marriages discouraged, and swarms of redundant citizens sent forth to ravage neighboring countries, and all this would arise from the too rapid increase of population, for the means of subsistence, caused by the sudden stopping of the slave trade. It will be thus seen that the 100,000 annually sent off from Africa, are a source of profit and not of expenditure. Saddle Africa with the whole of this burthen, and we are perfectly sure that the entire resources of that immense continent would not suffice to purchase up, send off, and colonize 5,000 per annum. There is the same

difference between this exportation from Africa, and that proposed by the abolitionists from Virginia, that there is between the agriculturist who sends his produce to a foreign state or country and receives back a full equivalent, and him who is condemned to send his abroad at his own expense, and to distribute it gratuitously. We imagine that no one who was acquainted with the condition of these two farmers would wonder that one should grow wealthy, and the other miserably poor. The 6,000 slaves which Virginia annually sends off to the South are a source of wealth to Virginia; but the 1,000 or 2,000 whites who probably go to the West are a source of poverty; because in the former case we have an equivalent left in the place of the exported slave—in the latter we lose both labor and capital without an equivalent; and precisely such a result in a much more aggravated form, will spring from this mad colonization scheme, should it ever be carried into operation. If the governments of Europe were silly enough to appropriate their resources to the purchase of our slaves, at their full marketable value, for the purpose of deportation, they should, for ought that we could do, have every one that they could buy. An equivalent would thus be left for the deported slave, and however much others might suffer for their folly, we should escape.*

Against most of the great difficulties attendant on the plan of emancipation above examined, it was impossible for the abolitionists entirely to close their eyes; and it is really curious to pause a moment and examine some of the reflections and schemes by which Virginia was to be reconciled to the plan. We have been told that it would not be necessary to purchase all the slaves sent away—that many would be surrendered by their owners without an equivalent. "There are a number of slave-holders," (said one who has all the lofty feeling and devoted patriotism which have hitherto so proudly characterized Virginia,) "at this very time, I do not speak from vain conjecture, but from what I know from the best information, and this number would continue to increase, who would voluntarily surrender their slaves, if the state would provide the means of colonizing them elsewhere. And there would be again another class, I have already heard of many, while they could not afford to sacrifice the entire value of their slaves, would cheerfully compromise with the state for half of their value." In the first place, we would remark that the gentleman's anticipation would certainly prove delusive—the surrender of a very few slaves would enhance the importance and value of the residue, and make the owner much more reluctant to part with them. Let any farmer in Lower Virginia ask himself how many he can spare from his plantation—and he will be surprised to see how few can be dispensed with. If

* Perhaps one of the greatest blessings (if it could be reconciled to our conscience) which could be conferred on the southern portion of the Union, would arise from the total abolition of the African slave trade, and the opening the West Indian and South American markets to our slaves. We do not believe that deportation to any other quarter, or in any other way, can ever effect the slightest diminution.

that intelligent gentleman, from the storehouse of his knowledge, would but call up the history of the past, he would see that *mere philanthropy*, with all her splendid boastings, has never yet accomplished one great scheme; he would find the remark of that great judge of human nature, the illustrious author of the *Wealth of Nations*, that no people had the generosity to liberate their slaves until it became their interest to do so, but too true; and the philosophic page of Hume, Robertson, Stuart, and Sismondi, would inform him that the serfs of Europe have been only gradually emancipated through the operation of *self interest* and not *philanthropy*: and we shall soon see that it was fortunate for both parties that this was the cause.

But it is strange indeed that gentlemen have never reflected, that the pecuniary loss to the State, will be precisely the same, whether the negroes be purchased or gratuitously surrendered. In the latter case the burthen is only shifted from the whole State to that portion where the surrender is made—thus if we own \$10,000 worth of this property, and surrender the whole to government, it is evident that we lose the amount of \$10,000; and if the whole of Lower Virginia could at once be induced to give up all of this property, and it could be sent away, the only effect of this generosity and self devotion would be to inflict the *blow of desolation* more exclusively on this portion of the State—the aggregate loss would be the same, the burthen would only be shifted from the whole to a part—the West would dodge the blow, and perhaps every candid citizen of Lower Virginia would confess that he is devoid of that refined incomprehensible patriotism which would call for self immolation on the shrine of folly, and would most conscientiously advise the eastern Virginians never to surrender their slaves to the government without a fair equivalent. Can it be genuine philanthropy to persuade them *alone* to step forward and bear the whole burthen?

Again; some have attempted to evade the difficulties by seizing on the increase of the negroes after a certain time. Thus Mr. Randolph's plan proposed that all born after the year 1840, should be raised by their masters to the age of eighteen for the female and twenty-one for the male, and then hired out, until the neat sum arising therefrom amounted to enough to send them away. Scarcely any one in the legislature—we believe not even the author himself—entirely approved of this plan.* It is obnoxious to the objections we have just been stating against voluntary surrender. It proposes to saddle the slave-holder with the whole burthen; it infringes directly the rights of property; it converts the fee simple possession of this kind of property into an estate for years; and it only puts off the great sacrifice required of the state to 1840, when most of the evils will occur that have already been described. In the mean time it destroys the value of slaves, and

* The difficulty of falling upon any definite plan which can for a moment command the approbation of even a few of the most intelligent abolitionists, is an unerring symptom of the difficulty and impracticability of the whole.

with it all landed possessions—checks the productions of the state, imposes (when 1840 arrives) upon the master the intolerable and grievous burthen of raising his young slaves to the ages of eighteen and twenty-one, and then liberating them to be hired out under the superintendence of government (the most miserable of all managers,) until the proceeds arising therefrom shall be sufficient to send them away. If any man at all conversant with political economy should ever anticipate the day when this shall happen, we can only say that his faith is great indeed, enough to remove mountains, and that he has studied in a totally different school from ourselves. Let us ask in the language of one of Virginia's most cherished statesmen, who has stood by and defended with so much zeal and ability the interests of Lower Virginia—and who shone forth one of the brightest stars in that constellation of talent which met together in the Virginia Convention—"Is it supposed that any tyranny can subdue us to the patient endurance of such a state of things? Every prudent slave holder in the slave holding parts of the state, would either migrate with his slaves to some state where his rights in slave property would be secured to him by the laws, or would surrender at once his rights in the parent stock as well as in their future increase, and seek some land where he may enjoy at least the earnings of his own industry. In the first case, the country would be deserted; in the other it would be abandoned to the slaves, to be cultivated under the management of the state. The plan would result in a sacrifice, more probably an abandonment, of our *landed*, as well as the abolition of our *slave* property. Can any thing but force, can any force tame us to wrongs like these."*

Again; we entirely agree with the assertion of Mr. Brown, one of the ablest and most promising of Virginia's sons, that the ingenuity of man, if exerted for the purpose, could not devise a more efficient mode of producing discontent among our slaves, and thus endangering the peace of the community. There are born annually of this population about 20,000 children. Those which are born before the year 1840 are to be slaves; those which are born after that period are to be free at a certain age. These two classes will be reared together; they will labor together, and commune together. It cannot escape the observation of him who is doomed to servitude, that although of the same colour and born of the same parents, a far different destiny awaits his more fortunate brother—as his thoughts again and again revert to the subject, he begins to regard himself as the victim of injustice. Cheerfulness and contentment will flee from his bosom, and the most harmless and happy creature that lives on earth, will be transformed into a dark designing and desperate rebel. (*Brown's Speech*, pp. 8, 9.)

There are some again who exhaust their ingenuity in devising schemes for taking off the breeding portion of the slaves to Africa,

* Letters of Appomattox to people of Virginia, 1st Letter, p. 13.

or carrying away the sexes in such disproportions as will in a measure prevent those left behind from breeding. All of these plans merit nothing more than the appellation of *vain juggling legislative conceits*, unworthy of a wise statesman and a moral man. If our slaves are ever to be sent away in any systematic manner, *humanity* demands that they should be carried in families. The voice of the world would condemn Virginia if she sanctioned any plan of deportation by which the male and female, husband and wife, parent and child, were systematically and relentlessly separated. If we are to indulge in this kind of regulating vice, why not cure the ill at once, by following the counsel of Xenophon in his *Economics*, and the practice of old Cato the Censor? Let us keep the male and female separate* in *Ergastula* or dungeons, if it be necessary, and then one generation will pass away, and the evil will be removed to the heart's content of our humane philanthropists! But all these puerile conceits fall far short of surmounting the great difficulty which, like Memnon, is eternally present and cannot be removed.

"Sedet eternumque sedebit."

There is \$100,000,000 of slave property in the state of Virginia, and it matters but little how you destroy it, whether by the slow process of the cautious *practitioner*, or with the frightful despatch of the self confident *quack*; when it is gone, no matter how, the deed will be done, and Virginia will be a desert.

We shall now proceed to examine briefly the most dangerous of all the wild doctrines advanced by the abolitionists in the Virginia Legislature, and the one which, no doubt, will be finally acted upon, if ever this business of emancipation shall be seriously commenced. *It was contended that property is the creature of civil society, and is subject to its action even to destruction.* But lest we may misrepresent, we will give the language of the gentleman who first boldly and exultingly announced it. "My views are briefly these," said Mr. Faulkner; "they go to the foundation upon which the social edifice rests—property is the creature of civil society.—So long as that property is not dangerous to the good order of society, it may and will be tolerated. But, sir, so soon as it is ascertained to jeopardize the peace, the happiness, the good order, nay the very existence of society, from that moment the right by which they hold their property is gone, society ceases to give its consent, the condition upon which they are permitted to hold it is violated, their right ceases.—Why, sir, it is ever a rule of municipal law, and we use this merely as an illustration of the great principles of society, *sic utere tuo ut alienum non lædas*. So hold your property as not to injure the property, still less the lives and happiness of your neighbors. And the moment, even in the best regulated communities, there is in practice a departure from this principle, you may abate the nuisance. It may cause loss, but

* See Hume's Essay on the populousness of Ancient Nations, where he ascribes this practice to Cato and others, to prevent their slaves from breeding.

it is what our black letter gentlemen term *Damnum absque injuria*, a loss for which the law affords no remedy." Now for the application of these principles: "Sir, to contend that *full value* shall be paid for the slaves by the commonwealth, now or at any future period of their emancipation, is to deny all right of action upon this subject whatsoever. It is not within the financial ability of the state to purchase them. We have not the means—the utmost extremity of taxation would fall far short of an adequate treasury. What then shall be done? We must endeavor to ascertain some middle ground of compromise between the rights of the community and the rights of individuals, some scheme which, while it responds to the demands of the people for the extermination of the alarming evil, will not in its operation disconcert the settled institutions of society, or involve the slave holder in pecuniary ruin and embarrassment." (*Faulkner's Speech*, pp. 14, 15, 16.)

To these doctrines we call the serious attention of the whole slave-holding population of our Union, for all alike are concerned. It is time indeed for Achilles to rise from his inglorious repose and buckle on his armor, when the enemy are about to set fire to the fleet. This doctrine, absurd as it may seem in the practical application made by the speaker, will be sure to become the most popular with those abolitionists in Virginia, who have no slave property to sacrifice. It is the remark of Hobbes, that men might easily be brought to deny that "things equal to the same are equal to each other," if their fancied interests were opposed in any way to the admission of this axiom. We find that the highly obnoxious doctrine just spoken of, was not entertained by the gentleman from Berkeley alone, but was urged to an equally offensive extent by Mr. M'Dowell, who is supposed by his friends to have made the most able and eloquent speech in favor of abolition. He says, "when it (property) loses its utility, when it no longer contributes to the personal benefits and wants of its holders in any equal degree with the expense or the risk or the danger of keeping it, much more when it jeopardis the security of the public;—when this is the case, then the original purpose for which it is authorized is lost, its character of property in the just and beneficial sense of it is gone, and it may be regulated without private injustice, in any manner which the general good of the community, by whose laws it was licensed, may require." (*M'Dowell's Speech*, see *Richmond Whig*, 24th March 1832.) It is thus, if we may borrow the justly indignant language of Mr. Goode's eloquent and forcible speech, that "our property has been compared to a nuisance which the commonwealth may abate at pleasure. A nation of souls to be abated by the mere effort of the will of the general assembly. A nation of free men to hold their property by the precarious tenure of the precarious will of the general assembly!! and to reconcile us to our condition, we are assured by the gentleman from Berkeley, that the general assembly, in the abundance of its liberality, is ready to enter into a compromise, by which we shall be

permitted to hold *our own* property *twenty eight years!* on condition that we then surrender it absolutely and unconditionally.—Sir, I cannot but admire the frankness with which these gentlemen have treated this subject. They have exhibited themselves in the fulness of their intentions; given us warning of their designs; and we now see in all its nakedness the vanity of all hope of compensation.”—(*Goode's Speech*, p. 29.)

The doctrine of these gentlemen, so far from being true in its application, is not true in theory. The great object of government is the protection of property:—from the days of the patriarchs down to the present time, the great desideratum has been to find out the most efficient mode of protecting property. There is not a government at this moment in Christendom, whose peculiar practical character is not the result of the state of property.

No government can exist which does not conform to the state of property;—it cannot make the latter conform entirely to the government;—an attempt to do it would and ought to revolutionize any state. The great difficulty in forming the government of any country arises almost universally from the state of property, and the necessity of making it conform to that state; and it was the state of property in Virginia which really constituted the whole difficulty in the late convention. There is a right which these gentlemen seem likewise to have had in their minds, which writers on the law of nations call the right of *eminent* or *transcendental domain*; that right by which, in an exigency, the government or its agents may seize on persons or property, to be used for the general weal. Now, upon this there are two suggestions which at once present themselves.—First, that this right only occurs in cases of real exigency;* and secondly, that the writers on national law—and the Constitution of the United States expressly sanctions the principle—say, that no property can be thus taken without full and fair compensation.†

These gentlemen, we hope to prove conclusively before finishing, have failed to show the *exigency*; and even if they have proved that, they deny the right of compensation, and upon what principle? why, that the whole state is not competent to afford it, and may therefore justly *abate* the nuisance. And is it possible that a burthen, in this christian land, is most unfeelingly and remorselessly to be imposed upon a portion of the state, which, by the very confession of the gentlemen who urge it, could not be borne by the whole without inevitable ruin? But it was the main object of their speeches to show, that slave property is valueless, that it is a burthen, a *nuisance* to the owner; and they seemed most anxious to enlighten the poor ignorant farmers on this point, who hold on with such pertinacity to

* It is, then, the right of necessity, and may be defined that right which authorizes the performance of an act absolutely necessary for the discharge of an indisputable duty. But private property must always be paid for.

† The Congress of the United States, in the case of Marigny d'Auterive, placed slave property upon precisely the same footing, in this respect, with all other kinds.

this kind of property, which is inflicting its bitterest sting upon them. Now, is it not enough for the slave holder to reply, that the circumstance of the slave bearing the price of two hundred dollars in the market, is an evidence of his value with every one acquainted with the elements of political economy; that, generally speaking, the market value of the slave is even less than his real value; for no one would like to own and manage slaves unless equally or more profitable than other kinds of investments in the same community; and if this or that owner may be pointed out as ruined by this species of property, might we not point to merchants, mechanics, lawyers, doctors, and divines, all of whom have been ruined by their several pursuits; and must all these employments be abated as *nuisances*, to satisfy the crude, undigested theories of tampering legislators? "It is remarkable," we quote the language of the author of the *Letters of Appomattox*, "that this, 'nuisance' is more offensive in a direct ratio to its distance from the complaining party, and in an inverse ratio to the quantity of offending matter in his neighborhood; that a 'magazine of gunpowder' in the town of Norfolk is a 'nuisance' to the county of Berkeley, and to all the people of the west! The people of the west, in which there are comparatively few slaves, in which there never can be any great increase of that kind of property, because their agriculture does not require it, and because in a great part of their country the negro race cannot be acclimated—the people of the west find our slave property in our *planting country*, where it is valuable, a 'nuisance' to *them*. This reverses the proverb, that men bear the ills of others better than their own. I have known men sell all their slave property and vest the proceeds in the stocks, and become zealous for the abolition of slavery. And it would be a matter of curiosity to ascertain (if it could be done) the aggregate number of slaves, held by all the orators and all the printers who are so willing to abate the nuisance of slave property held by other people. I suspect the census would be very short."—*Letters of Appomattox to the People of Virginia*.

The fact is, it is always a most delicate and dangerous task for one set of people to legislate for another, without any community of interests. It is sure to destroy the great principle of responsibility, and in the end to lay the weaker interest at the mercy of the stronger. It subverts the very end for which all governments are established, and becomes intolerable, and consequently against the fundamental rights of man, whether prohibited by the constitution or not.

If a convention of the whole state of Virginia were called, and in due form the right of slave property were abolished by the votes of Western Virginia alone, does any one think that Eastern Virginia would be bound to yield to the decree? Certainly not. The strong and unjust man in a state of nature robs the weaker, and you establish government to prevent this oppression. Now, only sanction the doctrine of the Virginia orators, let one interest in

the government (the west) rob another at pleasure (the east), and is there any man who can fail to see that government is systematically producing that very oppression which it is intended to remedy, and for which alone it is established? In forming the late Constitution of Virginia, the East objected to the "white basis principle," upon the very grounds that it would enable Western to oppress Eastern Virginia, through the medium of slave property. The most solemn asseverations of a total unwillingness, on the part of the West, to meddle with or touch the slave population, beyond the rightful and equitable demands of revenue, were repeatedly made by their orators. And now, what has the lapse of two short years developed? Why, that the West, unmindful of former professions, and regardless of the eternal principles of justice, is urging on an invasion and final abolition of that kind of property which it was solemnly pledged to protect! Is it possible that gentlemen can have reflected upon the consequences which even the avowal of such doctrines is calculated to produce? Are they conciliatory? Can they be taken kindly by the East? Is it not degrading for freemen to stand quailing with the fear of losing that property which they have been accumulating for ages—to stand waiting in fearful anxiety for the capricious edict of the West, which may say to one man, "sir, you must give up your property, although you have amassed it under the guarantee of the laws and constitutions of your state and of the United States;" and to another, who is near him and has an equal amount of property of a different description, and has no more virtue and no more conscience than the slave holder, "you may hold yours, because we do not yet consider it a 'nuisance'?" This is language which cannot fail to awaken the people to a sense of their danger. These doctrines, whenever announced in debate, have a tendency to disorganize and unhinge the condition of society, and to produce uncertainty and alarm;* to create revulsions of capital; to cause the land of Old Virginia, and real source of wealth, to be abandoned; and her white wealthy population to flee the state, and seek an asylum in a land where they will be protected in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry. In fine, we would say, these doctrines are "nuisances," and if we were disposed to retaliate, would add that they ought to be "abated." We will close our remarks on this dangerous doctrine, by calling upon Western Virginia and the non-slaveholders of Eastern Virginia, not to be allured by the syren song. It is as delusive as it may appear fascinating; all the sources of wealth and departments of industry, all the great interests of society, are really interwoven with one another—they form an indissoluble chain; a blow at any part quickly vibrates through the whole length—the destruction of one interest involves another.

* We look upon these doctrines as calculated to produce precisely the same results as are produced by the government of Turkey, which, by rendering property insecure, has been able to arrest, and permanently to repress, the prosperity of the fairest and most fertile portions of the globe.

Destroy agriculture, destroy tillage, and the ruin of the farmer will draw down ruin upon the mechanic, the merchant, the sailor, and the manufacturer—they must all flee together from the land of desolation.

We hope we have now satisfactorily proved the impracticability of sending off the whole of our slave population, or even the annual increase; and we think we have been enabled to do this by pointing out only one half of the difficulties which attend the scheme. We have so far confined our attention to the expense and difficulty of purchasing the slaves, and sending them across the ocean. We have now to look a little to the recipient or territory to which the blacks are to be sent; and if we know any thing of the history and nature of colonization, we shall be completely upheld in the assertion, that the difficulties on this score are just as great and insurmountable as those which we have shown to be attendant on the purchase and deportation. We shall be enabled to prove, if we may use the expression, *a double impracticability* attendant on all these schemes.

The Impossibility of Colonizing the Blacks.

The whole subject of colonization is much more difficult and intricate than is generally imagined, and the difficulties are often very different from what would, on slight reflection, be anticipated. They are of three kinds, physical, moral, and national. The former embraces unhealthy climate or want of proper seasoning, a difficulty of procuring subsistence and the conveniences of life, ignorance of the adaptations and character of the soils, want of habitations, and the necessity of living together in multitudes for the purposes of defence, whilst purposes of agriculture require that they should live as dispersed as possible. The moral difficulties arise from a want of adaptation on the part of the new colonists to their new situation, want of conformity in habits, manners, tempers, and dispositions, producing a heterogeneous mass of population, uncemented and unharmonizing. Lastly, the difficulties of a national character embrace all the causes of altercation and rupture between the colonists and neighboring tribes or nations; all these dangers, difficulties, and hardships, are much greater than generally believed. Every new colony requires the most constant attention, the most cautious and judicious management in both the number and character of the emigrants, a liberal supply of both capital and provisions, together with a most watchful and paternal government on the part of the mother country, which may defend it against the incursions and depredations of warlike or savage neighbors. Hence the very slow progress made by all colonies in their first settlement.

The history of colonization is well calculated of itself to dissipate all the splendid visions which our chimerical philanthropists have indulged, in regard to its efficiency in draining off a redun-

dant or noxious population. The rage for emigration to the New World, discovered by Columbus, was at first very considerable; the brilliant prospects which were presented to the view of the Spaniards, of realizing fortunes in the abundant mines and on the rich soils of the islands and the continent, enticed many at first to leave their homes in search of wealth, happiness, and distinction—and what was the consequence? “The numerous hardships with which the members of infant colonies have to struggle,” says Robertson, “the diseases of unwholesome climates, fatal to the constitutions of Europeans; the difficulty of bringing a country covered with forests into culture; the want of hands necessary for labor in some provinces, and the slow reward of industry in all, unless where the accidental discovery of mines enriched a few fortunate adventurers, were evils immensely felt and magnified. Discouraged by the view of these, the spirit of migration was so much damped, that sixty years after the discovery of the New World, the number of Spaniards in all its provinces is computed not to have exceeded 15,000!”* Even these few were settled at an expense of life both to the emigrants and the natives, which is really shocking to the feelings of humanity; and we cannot peruse the accounts of the conquests of Mexico and Peru, without feeling that the race destroyed was equal, in moral worth at least, to their destroyers.

In the settlement of Virginia, begun by Sir Walter Raleigh, and established by Lord Delaware, three attempts completely failed; nearly half of the first colony was destroyed by the savages, and the rest, consumed and worn down by fatigue and famine, deserted the country and returned home in despair. The second colony was cut off to a man in a manner unknown; but they were supposed to have been destroyed by the Indians. The third experienced the same dismal fate; and the remains of the fourth, after it had been reduced by famine and disease, in the course of six months, from five hundred to sixty persons, were returning in a famished and desperate condition to England, when they were met in the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay by Lord Delaware, with a squadron loaded with provisions, and every thing for their relief and defence.† The first puritan settlers, in like manner, suffered “woes unnumbered,”—nearly half perished by want, scurvy, and the severity of the climate.

The attempts to settle New-Holland, have presented a melancholy and affecting picture of the extreme hardships which infant colonies have to struggle with before the produce is even equal to the support of the colonists. The establishment of colonies, too, in the eastern part of the Russian dominions, has been attended with precisely the same difficulties and hardships.

After this very brief general review of the history of modern co-

* Robertson's America, Vol. 2. p. 151.

† Malthus on Population, given upon the authority of both Burke's and Robertson's Virginia.

lonization, we will now proceed to examine into the prospects of colonizing our blacks on the coast of Africa, in such numbers as to lessen those left behind. And in the first place we would remark, that almost all countries, especially those in southern and tropical latitudes, are extremely unfavorable to life when first cleared and cultivated. Almost the whole territory of the United States and South America, offer a conclusive illustration of this fact. We are daily witnessing, in the progress of tillage in our country, the visitation of diseases of the most destructive kind, over regions hitherto entirely exempt; our bilious fevers, for example, seem to travel in great measure with the progress of opening, clearing, and draining of the country. Now, when we turn our attention to Africa, on which continent all agree that we must colonize, if at all, we find almost the whole continent possessing an insalubrious climate under the most favorable circumstances; and, consequently, we may expect this evil will be enhanced during the incipient stages of society, at any given point, while the progress of clearing, draining, and tilling is going forward. All the travellers through Africa agree in their descriptions of the general insalubrity of the climate. Park and Buffon agree in stating, that longevity is very rare among the negroes. At forty they are described as wrinkled and gray haired, and few of them survive the age of fifty-five or sixty; a Shangalla woman, says Bruce, at twenty-two, is more wrinkled and deformed by age, than a European at sixty; this short duration of life is attributable to the climate, for in looking over the returns of the census in our country, we find a much larger proportional number of cases of longevity among the blacks than the whites. "If accurate registers of mortality," says Malthus, (and no one was more indefatigable in his researches, or more capable of drawing accurate conclusions) "were kept among these nations (African), I have little doubt, that including the mortality from wars, one in seventeen or eighteen, at least, dies annually, instead of one in thirty-four or thirty-six, as in the generality of European states."* The sea coast is described as being generally much more unhealthy than the interior. "Perhaps it is on this account chiefly," says Park, "that the interior countries abound more with inhabitants than the maritime districts."† The deleterious effects of African climate, are of course much greater upon those accustomed to different latitudes and not yet acclimated. It is melancholy, indeed, to peruse the dreadful hardships and unexampled mortality attendant upon those companies which have from time to time, actuated by the most praiseworthy views, penetrated into the interior of Africa.

It is difficult to say, which has presented most obstacles to the inquisitive traveller, the suspicion and barbarity of the natives, or the dreadful insalubrity of the climate. Now, it is to this conti-

* See Malthus on Population, Book I. l. 8.

† See Park's Travels in Africa, p. 193. New York Edition.

ment, the original home of our blacks, to this destructive climate we propose to send the slave of our country, after the lapse of ages has completely inured him to our colder and more salubrious continent. It is true, that a territory has already been secured for the Colonization Society of this country, which is said to enjoy an unusually healthful climate. Granting that this may be the case, still when we come to examine into the capacity of the purchased territory for the reception of emigrants, we find that it only amounts to about 10,000 square miles, not a seventh of the superficies of Virginia. When other sites are fixed upon, we may not, and cannot expect to be so fortunate;—are not the most healthy districts in Africa the most populous, according to Park and all travellers? Will not these comparatively powerful nations, in all probability relinquish their territory with great reluctance? Will not our lot be consequently cast on barren sands or amid pestilential atmospheres, and then what exaggerated tales and false statements must be made if we would reconcile the poor blacks to a change of country pregnant with their fate?

But we believe that the very laudable zeal of many conscientious philanthropists has excited an overweening desire to make our colony in Liberia, in every point of view, appear greatly superior to what it is. We know the disposition of all travellers to exaggerate; we know the benevolent feelings of the human heart, which prompt us to gratify and minister to the desires and sympathies of those around us, and we know that philanthropic schemes, emancipation, and colonization societies, now occupy the public mind, and receive the largest share of public applause. Under these circumstances, we are not to wonder if coloring should sometimes impair the statements of those who have visited the colony; for ourselves, we may be too sceptical, but are rather disposed to judge from facts which are acknowledged by all, than from general statements from officers and interested agents. In 1819, two agents were sent to Africa to survey the coast and make a selection of a suitable situation for a colony. In their passage home in 1820, one died. In the same year, 1820, the *Elizabeth* was chartered and sent out with three agents and eighty emigrants. All three of the agents and twenty of the emigrants died, a proportional mortality greater than in the *middle passage*, which has so justly shocked the humane feelings of mankind, and much greater than that occasioned by that dreadful plague (the Cholera) which is now clothing our land in mourning, and causing our citizens to flee in every direction to avoid impending destruction. In the spring of 1821, four new agents were sent out, of whom one returned sick, one died in August, one in September, and we know not what became of the fourth.* It is agreed on all hands, that there is a seasoning necessary, and a formidable fever to be encountered, be-

* These facts we have stated upon the authority of Mr. Carey, of Philadelphia, who has given us an interesting, but I fear too flattering account of the Colony, in a series of letters addressed to the Hon. Charles F. Mercer.

fore the colonists can enjoy tolerable health. Mr. Ashmun, who afterwards fell a victim to the climate, insisted that the night air of Liberia was free from all noxious effects; and yet we find that the emigrants, carried by the Volador to Liberia a year or two since, are said to have fared well, losing only two, in consequence of every precaution having been taken against the night air, while the most dreadful mortality destroyed those of the Carolinian, which went out nearly contemporaneously with the Volador. The letter of Mr. Reynolds marked G, at the conclusion of the Fifteenth Annual report of the American Colonization Society, instructs us in the proper method of preserving health on the coast of Africa, and in spite of the flattering accounts and assurances of agents and philanthropists, we should be disposed to take warning from these salutary hints. The following are some of them;—

“1st. On no account to suffer any of the crew to be out of the ship *at sunset*.

“2d. To have a sail stretched on the windward *side* of the vessel; and an awning was also provided, which extended over the poop and the whole main deck, *to defend the crew from the night air*.

“3d. The night watch was encouraged to smoke tobacco.

“4th. To distribute French brandy to the crew whilst in port, in lieu of rum. (The editor of the Report modestly recommends strong coffee.) The crew on rising were served with a liberal allowance of strong coffee before commencing their day's work.

“The result was that the ships on each side of the Cambridge lost the *greater* part of their crews; and not one man of her crew was seriously unwell.” (*Fifteenth Annual Report, p. 51, published in Georgetown, 1832.*)

We have said enough to show that the Continent of Africa, and its coasts particularly, are extremely unhealthy—that the natives themselves are not long lived—and that unacclimated foreigners are in most imminent danger. That there may be some healthy points on the sea shore, and salubrious districts in the interior, and that Liberia may be fortunately one of them, we are even willing to admit—but then we know that generally the most insalubrious portions will fall into our possession, because those of an opposite character are already too densely populated to be deserted by the natives—and consequently, let us view the subject as we please, we shall have this mighty evil of unhealthy climate to overcome. We have seen already, in the past history of our colony, that the slightest blunder, in landing on an unhealthy coast, in exposure to a deadly night air, or in neglecting the necessary precautions during the period of acclimating, has proved most frightfully fatal to both blacks and whites. Suppose now, that instead of the one or two hundred sent by the Colonization Society, Virginia should actually send out six thousand—or if we extend our views to the whole United States, that sixty thousand should be annually exported, accompanied of course by some hundreds of whites, what an awful fatality might we not occasionally expect? The chance for blundering would be infinitely increased, and if some

ships might fortunately distribute their cargoes with the loss of few lives, others again might lose all their whites and a fourth or more of the blacks, as we know has already happened; and although this fatality might arise from blunder or accident, yet would it strike the imagination of men—and that which may be kept comparatively concealed now, would, when the number of emigrants swelled to such multitudes, produce alarm and consternation. We look forward confidently to the day, if this wild scheme should be persevered in for a few years, when the poor African slave, on bended knees, might implore a remission of that fatal sentence which would send him to the land of his forefathers.

But the fact is, that all climates will prove fatal to emigrants who come out in too great crowds, whether they are naturally unhealthy or not. One of the greatest attempts at colonization in modern times, was the effort of the French to plant at once 12,000 emigrants on the coast of Guiana. The consequence was, that in a very short time 10,000 of them lost their lives in all the horrors of despair, 2,000 returned to France, the scheme failed, and 25,000,000 of francs, says Raynal, were totally lost. Seventy-five thousand Christians, says Mr. Eaton in his account of the Turkish empire, were expelled by Russia from the Crimea, and forced to inhabit the country deserted by the Nogai Tartars, and in a few years only 7000 of them remained. In like manner, if 6000, or much more, if 60,000 negroes, with their careless and filthy habits, were annually sent to Africa, we could not calculate, for the first one or two years, upon less than the death of one-half or perhaps three-fourths; and, repugnant as the assertion may be to the feelings of benevolence, we have no hesitation in saying, that nothing but a most unparalleled mortality among the emigrants, would enable us to support the colony for even a year or two. Aristotle was of opinion, that the keeping of 5000 soldiers in idleness would ruin an empire. If the brilliant anticipations of our colonization friends shall be realized, and the day actually arrives, when 60,000, or even 6000 blacks can be annually landed in health upon the coast of Africa, then will the United States, or broken down Virginia, be obliged to support an *empire* in idleness. "The first establishment of a new colony," says Malthus, "generally presents an instance of a country peopled considerably beyond its actual produce; and the natural consequence seems to be, that this population, if not amply supplied by the mother country, should, at the commencement, be diminished to the level of the first scanty productions, and not begin permanently to increase till the remaining numbers had so far cultivated the soil as to make it yield a quantity of food more than sufficient for their own support, and which consequently they could divide with a family. The frequent failures of new colonies tend strongly to show the order of precedence between food and population."* It is for

* Malthus on Population, vol. 2. pp. 140, 141.

this reason that colonies so slowly advance at first, and it becomes necessary to *feed* them (if we may so express ourselves) with extreme caution, and with limited numbers, in the beginning. But a few additional mouths will render support from the mother country necessary. If this state of things continues for a short time, you make the colony a great *pauper* establishment, and generate all those habits of idleness and worthlessness which will ever characterize a people dependent on the bounty of others for their subsistence. If Virginia should send out 6000 emigrants to Africa, and much more, if the United States should send 60,000, the whole colony would inevitably perish, if the wealth of the mother country was not exhausted for their supply. Suppose a member in Congress should propose to send out an army of 60,000 troops, and maintain them on the coast of Africa; would not every sensible man see at once that the thing would be impracticable, if even the existence of our country depended upon it?—it would ruin the greatest empire on the globe—and yet, strange to tell, the philanthropists of Virginia are seriously urging her to attempt that which would every year impose upon her a burthen proportionally greater than all this!

If any man will for a moment revert to the history of Liberia, which has been as flourishing or even more flourishing than similar colonies, there will be seen at once enough to convince the most sceptical of the truth of this assertion. What says Mr. Ashmun, perhaps the most intelligent and most judicious of colonial agents?—“If rice grew spontaneously,” said he, “and covered the country, yet it is possible by sending few or none able to reap and clean it, to starve 10,000 helpless children and infirm old people in the midst of plenty. Rice does not grow spontaneously however; nor can any thing necessary for the subsistence of the human species, be procured here without the sweat of the brow. Clothing, tools, and building materials are much dearer here than in America. But send out your emigrants, laboring men and their families only, or laborious men and their families, accompanied only with their natural proportion of inefficient; and *with the ordinary blessings of God*, you may depend on their causing you a *light expense* in Liberia,” &c. Again, “If such persons (those who cannot work,) are to be *supported* by American funds, *why not keep them in America*, where they can do something, by picking cotton and stemming tobacco, towards supporting themselves. I know that nothing is effectually done in colonizing this country, till the colony’s own resources can sustain *its own*, and a *considerable annual increase of population*.” Here then are statements from one most zealous and enthusiastic in the cause of colonization, one who has sacrificed his life in the business, which clearly show that the Colonization Society, with its very limited means, has over supplied the colony with emigrants. What then might not be expected from the tremendous action of the state and general governments on this subject? they would raise up a pauper establishment, which we con-

scientifically believe, would require the disposable wealth of the rest of the world to support, and the thousands of emigrants who would be sent, so far from being *laborious men*, would be the most idle and worthless of a race, who only desire liberty because they regard it as an exemption from labor and toil. Every man, too, at all conversant with the subject, knows that such alone are the slaves which a kind master will ever consent to sell, to be carried to a distant land. Sixty thousand emigrants per annum to the United States, would even now sink the wages of labor, and embarrass the whole of our industrious classes, although we have at this moment lands, capable of supporting millions more when gradually added to our population.

The Irish emigrants to Great Britain, have already begun to produce disastrous effects. "I am firmly persuaded," says Mr. M'Culloch, "that nothing so deeply injurious to the character and habits of our people, has ever occurred, as the late extraordinary influx of Irish laborers.—If another bias be not given to the current of emigration, Great Britain will necessarily continue to be the grand outlet for the pauper population of Ireland, nor will the tide of beggary and degradation cease to flow, until the plague of poverty has spread its ravages over both divisions of the empire."* Where, then, in the wide world, can we find a *fulcrum* upon which to place our mighty lever of colonization? nowhere! we repeat it, *nowhere!* unless we condemn emigrants to absolute starvation. Sir Josiah Childe, who lived in an age of comparative ignorance, could well have instructed our modern philanthropists in the true principles of colonization. "*Such as our employment is,*" says he, "*so will our people be;* and if we should imagine we have in England employment but for one hundred people, and we have born and bred (or he might have added brought) amongst us one hundred and fifty—fifty must away from us, or starve, or be hanged to prevent it."† And so say we in regard to our colonization—if our new colony cannot absorb readily more than one or two hundred per annum, and we send them £900 or 60,000, the surplus "must either flee away or starve or be hanged," or be fed by the mother country, (which is impossible.)

So far we have been attending principally to the difficulties of procuring subsistence; but the habits and moral character of our slaves present others of equal importance and magnitude. Doctor Franklin says that one of the reasons why we see so many fruitless attempts to settle colonies at an immense public and private expense by several of the powers of Europe, is that the moral and mechanical habits adapted to the mother country, are frequently not so to the new settled one, and to external events, many of which are unforeseen, and that it is to be remarked that none of the English colonies became any way considerable, till the necessary

* M'Culloch's Edition of the *Wealth of Nations*, 4th vol. pp. 154, 155. Edinburgh Edition.

† Sir Josiah Childe's *Discourse on Trade*.

manners were born and grew up in the country. Now, with what peculiar and overwhelming force does this remark apply to our colonization of liberated blacks? We are to send out thousands of these, taken from a state of slavery and ignorance, unaccustomed to guide and direct themselves, void of all the attributes of free agents, with dangerous notions of liberty and idleness, to elevate them at once to the condition of freemen, and invest them with the power of governing an empire, which will require more wisdom, more prudence, and at the same time more firmness than ever government required before. We are enabled to support our position by a quotation from an eloquent supporter of the American colonization scheme. "Indeed," said the Rev. Mr. Bacon, at the last meeting of the American Colonization Society, "it is something auspicious, that in the earlier stages of our undertaking, there has not been a general rush of emigration to the colony. In *any single year* since Cape Montserado was purchased, the influx of *a thousand emigrants* might have been fatal to our enterprize.—The new comers into any community must always be a *minority*, else every arrival is a *revolution*; they must be a *decided minority*, easily absorbed into the system and mingled with mass, else the community is constantly liable to convulsion. Let 10,000 *foreigners, rude and ignorant*, be landed at once in this District (of Columbia,) and what would be the result? Why you must have an armed force here to keep the peace;—so *one thousand* now landing *at once* in our colony, might be its ruin."*

The fact is, the *true* and *enlightened* friends of colonization, must reprobate all those chimerical schemes proposing to deport any thing like the increase of one state, and more particularly of the whole United States. The difficulty just explained, has already been severely felt in Liberia, though hitherto supplied very scantily with emigrants, and those generally the most exemplary of the free blacks: thus in 1828 it was the decided opinion of Mr. Ashmun, "that for at least two years to come, a much more discriminating selection of settlers must be made, than ever has been—even in the first and second expeditions by the Elizabeth and Nautilus in 1820 and '21, or that the prosperity of the colony will *inevitably and rapidly decline*." Now when to all these difficulties we add the prospect of frequent wars with the natives of Africa,† the great expense we must incur to support the colony, and the anomalous position of Virginia, an *imperium in imperio*, holding an empire abroad, we do not see how the whole scheme can be pronounced any thing less than a *stupendous piece of folly*."

The progress of the British colony at Sierra Leone is well calculated to illustrate the great difficulties of colonizing negroes on the coast of Africa, and we shall at once present our readers with a brief history of this colony, given by one who seems to be a warm

* See Fifteenth Annual Report of American Colonization Society, p. 10.

† The Colony has already had one conflict with the natives, in which it had like to be overwhelmed.

advocate of colonization, and consequently disposed to present the facts in the most favorable aspect. On the 8th of April 1787, 400 negroes and 60 Europeans sailed from England, supplied with provisions for 6 or 8 months, for Sierra Leone. Now mark the consequences:—"The result was unfortunate and even discouraging. The *crowded* condition of the transports, the *unfavorable* season at which they arrived on the coast, and the *intemperance* and *imprudence* of the emigrants, brought on a mortality which reduced their numbers nearly *one-half* during the *first* year. Others *deserted* soon after landing, until *forty* individuals only remained. In 1788, Mr. Sharp sent out thirty nine more, and then a number of the deserters returned, and the settlement *gradually* gained strength. But during the next year, a *controversy* with a *neighboring native chief*, ended in *wholly* dispersing the colony; and sometime elapsed before the remnants could be again collected. A charter of incorporation was obtained in 1791. Not long afterwards, about 1200 new emigrants were introduced, being originally refugees from *this* country (United States,) who had placed themselves under British protection. Still, affairs were *very badly* managed. *One-tenth* of the Nova Scotians, and *half* of the Europeans, died during *one* season, as much from *want of provisions* as any other cause. Two years afterwards, a store-ship belonging to the company, which had been made the receptacle of African produce, was lost by fire, with a cargo valued at £15,000. Then INSURRECTIONS arose among the blacks! *Worst of all*, in 1794, a large French squadron, wholly without provocation, *attacked* the settlement, and although the colors were immediately struck, proceeded to an *indiscriminate pillage*.*———(Some years) afterwards a large number of the worst part of the settlers, chiefly the Nova Scotians, *rebelled* against the Colonial Government. The governor called in the assistance of the *neighboring African tribes*, and matters were on the eve of a battle, when a transport arrived in the harbor, bringing 550 Maroons from Jamaica. Lots of land were given to these men; they proved regular and industrious, and the insurgents laid down their arms. *Wars* next ensued with the *natives*, which were not finally concluded until 1807. On the first January 1808, all the rights and possessions of the company were surrendered to the British Crown; and in this situation they have ever since remained." (See 76th No. of the *North American Review*, pp. 120 and 121.) The progress of the colony since 1808, has been as little flattering as before that period; and even Mr. Everett, before the Colonization Society in Washington, has been forced to acknowledge its failure. (See *Mr. Everett's Speech 15th Annual Report*.)

Thus does this negro colony at Sierra Leone, illustrate most

* We would beg leave most respectfully to ask our Virginia Abolitionists, how an insult of this character offered to any colony which we might establish in Africa, would be resented? Would the *Nation* of Virginia, declare war on the aggressor? and if she did, where would be her navy, her sailors, her soldiers, and the *constitutionality* of the act?

fully the fearful and tremendous difficulties, which must ever attend every infant colony formed on the coast of Africa. During the brief period of its existence, it has been visited by all the plagues that colonial establishments "are heir to." It has been cursed with the intemperance, imprudence, and desertion of the colonists, with want of homogeneous character and consequent dissensions, civil wars and insurrections. It has experienced famines, and suffered insult and pillage. Its numbers have been thinned by the blighting climate of Africa. Its government has been wretched, and it has been almost continually engaged in war with the neighboring Afric tribes.*

Some have supposed that the circumstance of the Africans being removed a stage or two above the savages of North America, will render the colonization of Africa much easier than that of America:—we draw directly the opposite conclusion. The Indians of North America had nowhere taken possession of the soil; they were wanderers over the face of the country; their titles could be extinguished for slight considerations; and it is ever melancholy to reflect that their habits of improvidence and of intoxication, and even their cruel practices in war, have all been (such has been for them the woeful march of events,) favorable to the rapid increase of the whites, who have thus been enabled to exterminate the *red men*, and take their places.

The natives of Africa exist in the rude agricultural state, much more numerous than the natives of America. Their titles to land will be extinguished with much more difficulty and expense. The very first contact with our colony will carry to them the whole art and implements of war.† As our colonists spread and press upon them, border wars will arise; and in vain will the attempt be made to extirpate the African nations, as we have the Indian tribes: every inhabitant of Liberia who is taken prisoner by his enemy, will be consigned, according to the universal practice of Africa, to the most wretched slavery either in Africa or the West Indies. And what will our colony do? Must they murder, while their enemies enslave? Oh, no, it is too cruel, and will produce barbarizing and exterminating wars. Will they spare the prisoners of war? No! There does not and never will exist a people on

* Perhaps it may be said, that all these things may be avoided in our colonies, by wise management and proper caution. To this we answer, that in speculating upon the destiny of multitudes or nations, we must embrace within our calculation all the elements as they actually exist—civil, political, moral, and physical—and our deductions to be true, must be taken, not from the *beau ideal* which a vivid imagination may sketch out, but from the *average* of concomitant circumstances. It would be a poor apology which a statesman could offer, for the failure of a certain campaign which he had planned, to say that he had calculated that every officer in the army was a Napoleon or a Cesar, and that every regiment was equal to Cesar's 10th Legion or the Imperial guard of Napoleon. The physicians say there is not much danger to be apprehended from Cholera, when due caution and prudence are exercised. Yet, we apprehend it would be a very unfair conclusion if we were to assert, that when the Cholera breaks out in Charleston there will not be *one* single death,—and yet we have just as much right to make this assertion, as to say that our colony in Africa will be free from all the accidents, plagues and calamities to which all such establishments have ever been subjected.

† Powder and fire-arms formed material items in the purchase of Liberia,

earth, who would tamely look on and see their wives, mothers, brothers, and sisters, ignominiously enslaved, and not resent the insult. What, then, will be done? Why, they will be certain to enslave too; and if domestic slavery should be interdicted in the colony, it would be certain to encourage the slave trade;* and if we could ever look forward to the time when the slave trade should be destroyed, then the throwing back of this immense current upon Africa would inundate all the countries of that region. It would be like the checking of the emigration from the northern hives upon the Roman world. The northern nations, in consequence of this check, soon experienced all the evils of a redundant population, and broke forth with their redundant numbers in another quarter; both England and France were overrun, and the repose of all Europe was again disturbed. So, would a sudden check to the African slave trade, cause the redundant population of Africa to break in, like the Normans and the Danes, on the abodes of civilization situated in their neighborhood. Let, then, the real philanthropist ponder over these things, and tremble for the fate of colonies which may be imprudently planted on the African soil. The history of the world has too conclusively shown, that two races, differing in manners, customs, language, and civilization, can never harmonize upon a footing of equality. One must rule the other, or exterminating wars must be waged. In the case of the savages of North America, we have been successful in exterminating them; but in the case of African nations, we do think, from a view of the whole subject, that our colonists will most probably be the victims; but the alternative is almost equally shocking, should this not be the case. They must, then, be the exterminators or enslavers of all the nations of Africa with which they come into contact. The whole history of colonization, indeed, presents one of the most gloomy and horrific pictures to the imagination of the genuine philanthropist which can possibly be conceived. The many Indians who have been murdered, or driven in despair from the haunts and hunting grounds of their fathers—the heathen driven from his heritage, or hurried into the presence of his God in the full blossom of all his heathenish sins—the cruel slaughter of Ashantees—the murder of Burmese—all, *all* but too eloquently tell the misery and despair portended by the advance of civilization to the savage and the pagan, whether in America, Africa, or Asia. In the very few cases where the work of desolation ceased, and a commingling of races ensued, it has been found that the civilized man has sunk down to the level of barbarism, and there has ended the mighty work of civilization! Such are the melancholy pictures which sober reason is constrained to draw of the future destinies of our colony in Africa. And what, then, will become of that grand and glorious idea of carrying religion,

* We fear our colony at Liberia is not entirely free from this stain even now; it is well known that the British colony at Sierra Leone has frequently aided the slave trade.

intelligence, industry, and the arts, to the already wronged and injured Africa? It is destined to vanish, and prove worse than mere delusion. The rainbow of promise will be swept away, and we shall awake at last to all the sad realities of savage warfare and increasing barbarism. We have thus stated some of the principal difficulties and dangers accompanying a scheme of colonization, upon a scale as large as proposed in the Virginia Legislature. We have said enough to show, that if we ever send off 6000 per annum, we must incur an expense far beyond the purchase money.

The expense of deportation to Africa we have estimated at thirty dollars; but when there is taken into the calculation the further expense of collecting in Virginia,* of feeding, protecting, &c., in Africa, the amount swells beyond all calculation. Mr. Tazewell, in his able Report on the colonization of free people of colour on the African coast, represents this expense as certainly amounting to one hundred dollars; and judging from actual experience, was disposed to think two hundred dollars would fall below the fair estimate. If the Virginia scheme shall ever be adopted, we have no doubt that both these estimates will fall below the real expense. The annual cost of removing 6000, instead of being \$1,380,000, will swell beyond \$2,400,000, an expense sufficient to destroy the entire value of the whole property of Virginia. Voltaire, in his Philosophical Dictionary, has said, that such is the inherent and preservative vigour of nations, that governments cannot possibly ruin them; that almost all governments which had

* Even supposing the number of blacks, to be annually deported, should ever be fixed by the State, the difficulty of settling upon a proper plan of purchase and collection, will be infinitely greater than any man would be willing to admit, who has not seriously reflected on the subject, and the *apple of discord* will be thrown into the Virginia Legislature the moment it shall ever come to discuss the details. Suppose, for example, 6000 are to be sent off annually, will you send negro buyers through the country to buy up slaves wherever they can be bought, until 6000 are purchased? If you do, you will inevitably gather together the very *dregs* of creation, the most *vicious*, the most *worthless* and the most *idle*, for these alone will be sold! a frightful population, whose multitudes when gathered together and poured upon the infant settlements in Africa, will be far more destructive than the *Lava flood* from the Volcano. Again, some portions of the state might sell cheaper than others, and an undue proportion of slaves would be purchased from these quarters, and cause the system to operate unequally. Will you divide the state into sections, and purchase from each according to black population? Then, what miserable sectional controversy, should we have in the state? What dreadful grumbling in the west! Moreover, the same relative numbers abstracted from a very dense and a very sparse black population, will produce a very different effect on the labor market. Thus, we will suppose along the margin of the James River, from Richmond to Norfolk, the blacks are 20 for 1 white, and that in some county beyond the Blue Ridge, this proportion is reversed. Suppose farther, that a 20th of the blacks are to be bought up and sent off, this demand will have but a slight effect on the labor market in the county beyond the Ridge, because it calls for only one in 400 of the population; whereas the effect would be great along the James River, as it would take away one in 21 of the population. The slaves, in every section, would command a different price; and we should be obliged to establish our *Océroi* and *Douanier*, and tax or prevent the migration of negroes from one section to another. But we will not pursue further the examination of mere details, which do not fall within our original design. It will be discovered from even a slight analysis, that every single branch of this gigantic scheme of folly, like the teeth of the fabled Dragon, will bring you forth an *armed man* to arrest your progress.

been established in the world had made the attempt, but had failed. If the sage of France had lived in our days, he would have had a receipt furnished by some of our philanthropists, by which this work might have been accomplished! We read in holy writ of one great emigration from the land of Egypt, and the concomitant circumstances should bid us well beware of an imitation, unless assisted by the constant presence of Jehovah. Ten plagues were sent upon the land of Egypt before Pharaoh would consent to part with the Israelites, the productive laborers of his kingdom. But a short time convinced him of the heavy loss which he sustained by their removal, and he gave pursuit; but God was present with the Israelites—He parted the waters of the Red Sea for *their* passage, and closed them over the Egyptians—He led on his chosen people through the wilderness, testifying his presence in a pillar of fire by night and a cloud of smoke by day—He supplied them with manna in their long journey, sending a sufficiency on the sixth for that and the seventh day. When they were thirsty the rocks poured forth waters, and when they finally arrived in the land of promise, after the loss of a generation, the mysterious will of heaven had doomed the tribes of Canaan to destruction; fear and apprehension confounded all their counsels; their battlements sunk down at the trumpet's sound; the native hosts, under heaven's command, were all slaughtered; and the children of Israel took possession of the habitations and property of the slaughtered inhabitants. The whole history of this emigration beautifully illustrates the great difficulties and hardships of removal to foreign lands of multitudes of people. And as a citizen of Virginia, we can never consent to so grand a scheme of colonization on the coast of Africa, until it is sanctioned by a *decree* of heaven, made known by signs, far more intelligible than an *eclipse* and *greenness* of the sun—till *manna* shall be rained down for the subsistence of our black emigrants—till seas shall be parted, and waters flow from rocks for their accommodation—till we shall have a leader like Moses, who, in the full confidence of all his piety and all his religion, can, in the midst of all the appalling difficulties and calamities by which he may be surrounded, speak forth to his murmuring people, in the language of comfort, "Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord, which he will shew to you to-day."

But, say some, if Virginia cannot accomplish this work, let us call upon the general government for aid—let Hercules be requested to put his shoulders to the wheels, and roll us through the formidable *quagmire* of our difficulties. Delusive prospect! Corrupting scheme! We will throw all constitutional difficulties out of view, and ask if the federal government can be requested to undertake the expense for Virginia, without encountering it for the whole slave holding population? And then, whence can be drawn the funds to purchase more than 2,000,000 of slaves, worth at the lowest calculation \$400,000,000; or if the increase alone be sent

off, can Congress undertake annually to purchase at least 60,000 slaves at an expense of \$ 12,000,000, and deport and colonize them at an expense of twelve or fifteen millions more? * But the fabled hydra would be more than realized in this project. We have no doubt that if the United States in good faith should enter into the slave markets of the country, determined to purchase up the whole annual increase of our slaves, so unwise a project, by its artificial demand, would immediately produce a rise in this property, throughout the whole southern country, of at least 33 1-3 per cent. It would stimulate and invigorate the *spring* of black population, which, by its tremendous action, would set at naught the puny efforts of man, and like the Grecian matron, unweave in the night what had been woven in the day. We might well calculate upon an annual increase of at least four and an half per cent. upon our two millions of slaves, if ever the United States should create the artificial demand which we have just spoken of; and then, instead of an increase of 60,000, there will be 90,000, bearing the average price of \$ 300 each, making the enormous annual expense of purchase alone \$ 27,000,000 !—and difficulties, too, on the side of the colony, would more than enlarge with the increase of the evil at home. Our Colonization Society has been more than fifteen years at work; it has purchased, according to its friends, a district of country as congenial to the constitution of the black as any in Africa; it has, as we have seen, frequently over-supplied the colony with emigrants; and mark the *result*, for it is worthy of all observation, there are now not more than 2000 or 2500 inhabitants in Liberia! And these are alarmed lest the Southampton insurrection may cause such an emigration as to inundate the colony. When, then, in the lapse of time, can we ever expect to build up a colony which can receive sixty or ninety thousand slaves per annum? And if this should ever arrive, what guarantee could be furnished us that their ports would always be open to our emigrants? Would law or compact answer? Oh, no! Some legislator, in the plenitude of his wisdom, might arise, who could easily and *truly* persuade his countrymen that these annual importations of blacks were *nuisances*, and that the laws of God, whatever might be those of men, would justify their abatement. And the drama would be wound up in this land of promise and expectation, by turning the cannon's mouth against the liberated emigrant and deluded philanthropist. The scheme of colonizing our blacks on the coast of Africa, or any where else, by the United States, is thus seen to be more stupendously absurd than even the Virginia project. King Canute, the Dane, seated on the sea shore, and ordering the rising flood to recede from his royal feet, was not guilty of more vanity and presumption than the government of the United States would manifest, in the vain effort of removing and coloniz-

* We must recollect, that the expense of colonizing increases much more rapidly than in proportion to the simple increase of the number of emigrants.

ing the annual increase of our blacks. So far from being able to remove the whole annual increase every year, we shall not be enabled to send off a number sufficiently great, to check *even* the *geometrical rate of increase*. Our black population, is now producing 60,000 per annum, and next year, we must add to this sum 1800, which the increment alone, is capable of producing, and the year after, the increment upon the increment, &c. Now, let us throw out of view for a moment, the idea of grappling with the whole annual increase, and see whether by colonization, we can expect to turn this geometrical increase into an arithmetical one. We will then take the annual increase, 60,000, as our capital, and it will be necessary to send off the increase upon this, 1800, to prevent the geometrical increase of the whole black population. Let us, then, for a moment, inquire whether the abolitionists can expect to realize this *petty advantage*.

Mr. Bacon admits, that 1000 emigrants now thrown on Liberia, would ruin it. We believe that every reflecting sober member of the Colonization Society, will acknowledge, that 500 annually, are fully as many as the colony can now receive. We will assume this number, though no doubt greatly beyond the truth; and we will admit further, (what we could easily demonstrate to be much too liberal a concession,) that the capacity of the colony for the reception of emigrants, may be made to enlarge in a geometrical ratio, equal to that of the rate of increase of the blacks in the United States. Now with these very liberal concessions on our part, let us examine into the effect of the colonization scheme. At the end of the first year, we shall have for the amount of the 60,000, increasing at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. 61,800; and subtracting 500, we shall begin the second year, with the number of 61,300, which increasing at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. gives 63,139 for the amount at the end of the second year. Proceeding thus, we obtain at the end of 25 years, for the amount of the 60,000, 101,208. The number taken away, that is the sum of $500 + 500 \times 1,003 + 500 \times 1,003^2$ &c. will be 18,197. It is thus seen, that in spite of the efforts of the colonization scheme, the bare annual increase of our slaves, will produce 41,208 more than can be sent off; which number of course must be added to the capital of 60,000;—and long, *very long*, before the colony in Africa upon our system of calculation even could receive the increase upon this accumulating capital, its capacity as a recipient would be checked by the limitation of territory and the rapid filling up of the population, both by immigration and natural increase. And thus by a simple arithmetical calculation, we may be convinced that the effort to check even the geometrical rate of increase, by sending off the increment upon the annual increase of our slaves, is greatly more than we can accomplish, and must inevitably terminate in disappointment,—more than realizing the fable of the Frog and the Ox,—for in this case we should have the frog *swelling*, not for the purpose of rivalling the ox in *size*, but to *swallow him down horns and all!!*

Seeing then, that the effort to send away the increase, on even the present increase of our slaves, must be vain and fruitless—how stupendously absurd must be the project, proposing to send off the whole increase, so as to keep down the negro population at its present amount! There are some things which man arrayed in all his “brief authority”—cannot accomplish, and this is one of them. Colonization schemers, big and busy in the management of all their *little machinery*, and gravely proposing it as an *engine* by which our black population may be sent to the now uncongenial home of their ancestors, across an ocean of thousands of miles in width, but too strongly remind us of the vain man, who in all the pomp and circumstance of power, ordered his servile attendants to stop the rise of ocean’s tide, by carrying off its accumulating waters. Emigration has rarely checked the increase of population, by directly lessening its number—it can only do it by the abstraction of capital and by paralyzing the spring of population,—and then it blights and withers the prosperity of the land. The population of Europe has not been thinned by emigration to the new world—the province of Andalusia in Spain, which sent out the greatest number of emigrants to the Islands and to Mexico and Peru, has been precisely the district in Spain which has increased its population most rapidly. Ireland now sends forth a greater number of emigrants, than any other country in the world; and yet the population of Ireland, is now increasing faster than any other population of Europe!

We hope, we have now said enough of these colonization schemes, to show that we can never expect to send off our black population, by their means,—and we cannot conclude without addressing a word of caution to the generous sons of the Old Dominion. It behooves them well to beware with what intent they look to the Federal Government, for aid in the accomplishment of these delusive—these *impracticable* projects. The guileful tempter of our original parents, seduced them with the offer of an *apple*, which proved their heaviest curse, drove them from the garden of Eden, and destroyed forever, their state of innocence and purity. Let Virginia beware then, that she be not tempted by the apple, to descend from that lofty eminence which she has hitherto occupied in our confederacy, and sacrifice upon the altar of misconceived interests—those pure political principles by which she has hitherto been so proudly characterised. This whole question of emancipation and deportation, is but too well calculated to furnish the political *lever*, by which Virginia is to be prised out of her natural and honorable position in the union, and made to sacrifice her noble political creed. We have witnessed with feelings of no common kind, the almost suppliant look cast towards the general government, by some of the orators in the Virginia debate. It has pained us to read speeches and pamphlets and newspaper essays, suggesting changes in the constitution, or at once boldly imploring without such changes, the action of the Federal Government. Unless the

sturdy patriots of Virginia stand forth, we fear indeed, that her noble principles will be swept away by the tide of corruption. The agitation of the slave question in the last Virginia Legislature, has already begun the work, and the consent of Virginia to receive federal aid in the scheme of emancipation and deportation, would complete it. As long as a state relies upon its own resources, and looks to no foreign quarter for aid or support, so long does she place herself without the sphere of temptation, and preserve her political virtue. This is one principal reason why Virginia has produced so many disinterested patriots—we will go further still, the generous, disinterested and noble character of southern politics generally, is in a great measure attributable to this very cause—the South has hitherto had nothing to ask of the Federal Government—she has been no dependent, no expectant at the door of the Federal Treasury—she has never therefore, betrayed the interest of the Union, for some paltry benefit to herself. But let her once consent to supplicate the aid of the general government on this slave question—and that moment will she sacrifice her high political principles, and become a dependent on that government. When Virginia shall consent to receive this boon, her hands will be tied forever, the *emancipating* interest will be added to the *internal improvement* and *Tariff* interests, and Virginia can no more array herself against the torrent of federal oppression; hitched to the car of the Federal Government, she will be ignominiously dragged forward, a conscience-stricken partner in the unholy alliance for oppression; and in that day, the genuine patriot, may well cast a longing, lingering look back to the days of purer principles, and “sigh for the loss of Eden.” And in this melancholy saddening retrospect, he will not have the poor consolation left, of seeing his once noble state, reap the paltry reward, which had so fatally tempted her to an abandonment of all her principles. Can any reflecting man, for a moment believe, that the North and West, forming the majority in our confederacy, would ever *seriously* consent to that enormous expenditure which would be necessary to carry into effect, this gigantic colonization scheme—a scheme whose direct operation would be, to take away that *very labor*, which now bears the burthen of federal exactions—a scheme whose operation would be to dry up the sources of that *very revenue*, upon which its success entirely depends!! Vain and delusive hope! Not one negro slave will ever be sent away from this country by federal funds—and heaven forbid there ever should,—and yet we fear the longing, lingering hope, will corrupt the pure principles of many a deluded patriot.

We have thus examined fully this scheme of emancipation and deportation, and trust we have satisfactorily shown, that the whole plan is utterly impracticable, requiring an expense and sacrifice of property far beyond the entire resources of the state and federal governments. We shall now proceed to inquire, whether we can emancipate our slaves with permission that they remain among us.

Emancipation without Deportation.

We candidly confess, that we look upon this last mentioned scheme as much more practicable and likely to be forced upon us, than the former. We consider it at the same time so fraught with danger and mischief both to the whites and blacks—so utterly subversive of the welfare of the slave holding country, in both an economical and moral point of view, that we cannot, upon any principle of right or expediency, give it our sanction. Almost all the speakers in the Virginia Legislature seemed to think there ought to be no emancipation without deportation. Mr. Clay, too, in his celebrated Colonization speech of 1830, says, “If the question were submitted whether there should be immediate or gradual emancipation of all the slaves in the United States, without their removal or colonization, painful as it is to express the opinion, *I have no doubt that it would be unwise to emancipate them.*” I believe, that the aggregate of evils which would be engendered in society, upon the supposition of general emancipation, and of the liberated slaves remaining principally among us, would be greater than *all* the evils of slavery, great as they unquestionably are.” Even the northern philanthropists themselves admit, generally, that there should be no emancipation without removal. Perhaps, then, under these circumstances, we might have been justified in closing our review with a consideration of the colonization scheme; but as we are anxious to survey this subject fully in all its aspects, and to demonstrate upon every ground the complete justification of the whole southern country in a further continuance of that system of slavery which has been originated by no fault of theirs, and continued and increased contrary to their most earnest desires and petitions, we have determined briefly to examine this scheme likewise. As we believe the scheme of deportation *utterly* impracticable, we have come to the conclusion that in the present great question, the real and decisive line of conduct is either *abolition without removal*, or a *steady perseverance* in the system now established. “Paltry and timid minds,” says the present Lord Chancellor of England on this very subject, “shudder at the thought of *mere inactivity*, as cowardly troops tremble at the idea of calmly waiting for the enemy’s approach. Both the one and the other hasten their fate by relentless and foolish movements.”

The great ground upon which we shall rest our argument on this subject is, *that the slaves, in both an economical and moral point of view, are entirely unfit for a state of freedom among the whites*; and we shall produce such proofs and illustrations of our position, as seem to us perfectly conclusive. That condition of our species from which the most important consequences flow, says Mr. Mill the Utilitarian, is the necessity of labor for the supply of the fund of our necessities and conveniences. It is this which influences, perhaps more than any other, even our moral and religious character, and determines more than every thing else besides, the social

and political state of man. It must enter into the calculations of not only the political economist, but even of the metaphysician, the moralist, the theologian, and politician.

We shall therefore proceed at once to inquire what effect would be produced upon the slaves of the South in an economical point of view, by emancipation with permission to remain—whether the *voluntary* labor of the freedman would be as great as the *involuntary* labor of the slave? Fortunately for us this question has been so frequently and fairly subjected to the test of experience, that we are no longer left to vain and fruitless conjecture. Much was said in the legislature of Virginia about superiority of free labor over slave, and perhaps under certain circumstances this might be true; but in the present instance, the question is between *the relative amounts of labor which may be obtained from slaves before and after their emancipation*. Let us then first commence with our country, where it is well known to every body, that slave labor is vastly more efficient and productive, than the labor of free blacks.

Taken as a whole class, the latter must be considered the most worthless and indolent of the citizens of the United States. It is well known that throughout the whole extent of our Union, they are looked upon as the very *drones* and *pests* of society. Nor does this character arise from the disabilities and disfranchisement by which the law attempts to guard against them. In the non-slave-holding states, where they have been more elevated by law, this kind of population is in a worse condition and much more troublesome to society, than in the slave holding, and especially in the planting states. Ohio, some years ago, formed a sort of land of promise for this deluded class, to which many repaired from the slave holding states; and what has been the consequence? They have been most harshly expelled from that state and forced to take refuge in a foreign land. Look through all the Northern States, and mark the class upon whom the eye of the police is most steadily and constantly kept—see with what vigilance and care they are hunted down from place to place—and you cannot fail to see, that idleness and improvidencé are at the root of all their misfortunes. Not only does the experience of our own country illustrate this great fact, but others furnish abundant testimony.

“The free negroes,” says Brougham, “in the West Indies, are, with a very few exceptions, chiefly in the Spanish and Portuguese settlements, equally averse to all sorts of labor which do not contribute to the supply of their immediate and most urgent wants. Improvident and careless of the future, they are not actuated by that principle which inclines more civilized men to equalize their exertions at all times, and to work after the necessities of the day have been procured, in order to make up for the possible deficiencies of the morrow; nor has their intercourse with the whites taught them to consider any gratification as worth obtaining, which cannot be procured by slight exertion of desultory and ca-

precious industry.”* In the Report of the Committee of the Privy Council in Great Britain, in 1788, the most ample proof of this assertion is brought forward. In Jamaica and Barbadoes, it was stated, that free negroes were never known to work for hire, and they have all the vices of the slaves. Mr. Braithwait the agent for Barbadoes, affirmed, that if the slaves in that Island were offered their freedom on condition of working for themselves, not one-tenth of them would accept it. In all the other colonies the statements agree most accurately with those collected by the Committee of the Privy Council. “M. Malouet, who bore a special commission from the present government to examine the character and habits of the Maroons in Dutch Guiana, and to determine whether or not they were adapted to become hired laborers, informs us that they will only work one day in the week, which they find abundantly sufficient in the fertile soil and genial climate of the New World, to supply all the wants that they have yet learnt to feel. The rest of their time is spent in absolute indolence and sloth. ‘*Le repos,*’ says he, ‘*et l’oisivete sont devenus dans leur etat social leur unique passion.*’ He gives the very same description of the free negroes in the French colonies, although many of them possess lands and slaves. The spectacle, he tells us, was never yet exhibited of a free negro supporting his family by the culture of his little property. All other authors agree in giving the same description of free negroes in the British, French, and Dutch colonies, by whatever denomination they may be distinguished, whether Maroons, Carabes, free blacks, or fugitive slaves. The Abbe Raynal, with all his ridiculous fondness for savages, cannot, in the present instance, so far twist the facts according to his fancies and feelings, as to give a favorable portrait of this degraded race.”†

From these facts, it would require no great sagacity to come to the conclusion, that slave cannot be converted into free labor without imminent danger to the prosperity and wealth of the country where the change takes place—and in this particular it matters not what may be the color of the slave. In the commencement of the reign of Charles V., the representations of Las Casas determined Cardinal Ximenes, the prime minister of Charles, to make an experiment of the conversion of slave labor into free; and for this purpose pious commissioners were sent out, attended by Las Casas himself, for the purpose of liberating the Indian slaves in the New World. Now mark the result—these commissioners, chosen from the cloister, and big with real philanthropy, repaired to the Western World intent upon the great work of emancipation. “Their ears,” says Robertson, “were open to information from every quarter—they compared the different accounts which they received—and after a *mature* consideration of the

* Brougham’s Colonial Policy, Book IV. sec. 1.

† Brougham’s Colonial Policy.

whole, they were fully satisfied that the state of the colony rendered it *impossible*, to adopt the plan proposed by Las Casas, and recommended by the Cardinal. They plainly perceived, that no allure-ment was so powerful as to surmount the natural aversion of the Indians to any laborious effort, and that nothing but the authority of a master could compel them to work; and if they were not kept constantly under the eye and discipline of a superior, so great were their natural listlessness and indifference, that they would neither attend to religious instruction, nor observe those rights of Christianity which they had been already taught. Upon all these accounts the superintendents found it *necessary* to tolerate *repartimientos*, and to suffer the Indians to remain under subjection to their Spanish masters."* In the latter part of his reign, Charles, with most imprudent and fatal decision, proclaimed the immediate and universal emancipation of all the Indians—and precisely what any man of reflection might have anticipated resulted. Their industry and freedom were found entirely incompatible. The alarm was instantly spread over the whole Spanish colonies. Peru, for a time lost to the monarchy, was only restored by the repeal of the obnoxious law; and in New Spain quiet was only preserved by a combination of the governor and subjects to suspend its execution. During the mad career of the French revolution, the slaves in the French colonies were for a time liberated, and even in Cayenne, where the experiment succeeded best in consequence of the paucity of slaves, it completely demonstrated the superiority of slave over free black labor; and generally the re-establishment of slavery was attended with the most happy consequences, and even courted by the negroes themselves, who became heartily tired of their short lived liberty. Of the great experiment which has been recently made in Colombia and Guatemala, we shall presently speak. We believe it has completely proved the same well established fact—the great superiority of slave over free negro labor.

Mr. Clarkson, in his pamphlet on Slavery, has alluded in terms of high commendation to an experiment made in Barbadoes, on Mr. Steele's plantation, which he contends has proved the safety and facility of the transition from slave to free labor. It seems Mr. Steele parcelled out his land among his negroes, and paid them wages for their labor. Now, we invite particularly the attention of our readers to the following extracts from the letter of Mr. Sealy, a neighbor of Mr. Steele, which will not only serve to establish our position, but afford an illustration of the melancholy fact, that the best of men cannot be relied on when under the influence of prejudice and passion. "It so happened," says Mr. Sealy, "that I resided on the nearest adjoining estate to Mr. Steele, and superintended the management of it myself for many years; I had therefore a better opportunity of forming an opinion than Mr. Clarkson can have—he has read Mr. Steele's account—I witness-

* Robertson's America, vol. 1, p. 123.

sed the operations and effects of his plans. He possessed one of the largest and most seasonable plantations, in a delightful part of the island; with all these advantages his estate was never in as good order as those in the same neighborhood, and the crops were neither adequate to the size and resources of the estate, nor in proportion to those of other estates in the same part of the island. Finally, after an experiment of thirty years under Mr. Steele, and his executor, Mr. T. Bell, Mr. Steele's debts remained unpaid, and the plantation was sold by a decree of the Court of Chancery. After the debts and costs of suit were paid, very little remained out of £45,000 to go to the residuary legatees.

"It was very well known that the negroes rejoiced when the change took place, and thanked their God that they were relieved from the copyhold system. Such was the final result and success that attended this system, which has been so much eulogized by Mr. Clarkson. After the estate was sold and the system changed, I had equally an opportunity of observing the management, and certainly the manifest improvement was strong evidence in favor of the change. Fields which had been covered with bushes for a series of years, were brought into cultivation, and the number of pounds of sugar was in some years more than doubled under the new management; the provision crops also were abundant; consequently the negroes and stock were amply provided for." Again; the Attorney General of Barbadoes corroborates the statements of Mr. Sealy in the most positive terms: he says, "I was surprised to see it asserted lately in print, that his, Mr. Steele's plantation, succeeded well under that management. *I know it to be false.* It failed considerably; and had he lived a few years longer, he would have died not worth a *farthing*. Upon his death they reverted to the old system, to which the slaves readily and willingly returned; the plantation now succeeds, and the slaves are contented and happy, and think themselves much better off than under the copyhold system, for their wages would not afford them many comforts which they have now."* (Upon this subject see No. LX. *London Quarterly*. ART. *West India Colonies*.) But a short time since, a highly respectable, and one of the most intelligent farmers of Virginia, informed us that he had actually tried, upon a much smaller scale, a similar experiment, and that it entirely failed; the

* If it were not that the experiment would be too dangerous and costly, we would have no objection to see our slaves gratified with the enjoyment of freedom for a short time. There is no doubt but that they, like the Poles, Livonians, &c., and the negroes of Mr. Steele, would soon sigh again for a master's control, and a master's support and protection. It is a well known fact, that upon the borders of the free states, our slaves are not as much disposed to elope, as those who are situated farther off, and the reason is, they are near enough to witness the condition of the free black laborer, and they know it is far more wretched than their own. A citizen of the west, who is as well acquainted with this whole subject as any other in the state, or in the United States, informed us a short time since that the slaves of Botetourt and Montgomery, were much more disposed to elope and settle in Ohio than those of Cabel and Mason, situated on the borders—because the former are not so well acquainted with the real condition of the free black as the latter.

negroes, devoid of judgment and good management, became lazy and improvident, and every time one was so unfortunate as to fall sick, it immediately became necessary to support him. The whole plan soon disgusted the master, and proved that the free labor system would not answer for the best of our negroes; for those he tried were his best. Now these experiments were the more conclusive, because the master reserved the right of reimposing slavery upon them in case the experiment should not meet his approbation: every stimulus was thus offered, in case their freedom were really desirable, to work hard, but their natural indolence and carelessness triumphed over love of liberty, and demonstrated the fact, that free labor made out of slave, is the worst in the world.

So far we have adduced instances from among mixed populations alone. Some have imagined that the indolence of the liberated black in these cases, has arisen entirely from the presence of the whites, acknowledged to be the superior race both by law and custom; that consequently if the blacks could be freed from the degrading influence exerted by the mere pressure of the whites, they would quickly manifest more desire to accumulate and acquire all the industrious habits of the English operative or New-England laborer. Although this is foreign to our immediate object, which is to prove the inefficacy of free black labor in our country, where of course whites must always be present, we will nevertheless examine this opinion, because it has been urged in favor of that grand scheme of colonization recommended by some of the orators in the Virginia Legislature. Our own opinion is that the presence of the whites ought rather to be an incentive and encouragement to labor. Habits of industry are more easily acquired when all are busy and active around us. A man feels a spirit of industry and activity stir within him, from moving amongst such societies as those of Marseilles, Liverpool, and New-York, where the din of business and bustle assails his ears at every turn, whereas he soon becomes indolent and listless at Bath or Saratoga. Why then are our colored free men so generally indolent and worthless among the industrious and enterprising citizens of even our northern and New-England states? It is because there is an inherent and intrinsic cause at work, which will produce its effect under all circumstances. In the free black, the principle of idleness and dissipation triumphs over that of accumulation and the desire to better our condition; the animal part of the man gains the victory over the *moral*; and he consequently prefers sinking down into the listless inglorious repose of the brute creation, to rising to that energetic activity which can only be generated amid the multiplied, refined and artificial wants of civilized society. The very conception which nine slaves in ten have of liberty, is that of idleness and sloth with the enjoyment of plenty; and we are not to wonder that they should hasten to practice upon their theory so soon as liberated. But the experiment has been sufficiently tried

to prove most conclusively that the free black will work nowhere except by compulsion.

St. Domingo is often spoken of by philanthropists and schemers; the trial has there been made upon a scale sufficiently grand to test our opinions, and we are perfectly willing to abide the result of the experiment.

The main purpose of the mission of Consul General M'Kenzie to Hayti, by the British government, was to clear up this very question. We have made every exertion to procure the very valuable notes of that gentleman on Hayti, but have failed: we are therefore obliged to rely upon the eighty-ninth number of the *London Quarterly*, in one article of which, mention is made of the result of M'Kenzie's observations. "By all candid persons," says the Review, "the deliberate opinion which that able man has formed from careful observation, and the whole tenor of the evidence he has furnished, will be thought conclusive. Such invincible repugnance do the free negroes of that island feel to labor, that the system of the *code rural* of 1826, about the genuineness of which so much doubt was entertained a few years ago, is described as falling little short of the compulsion to which the slaves had been subjected previous to their emancipation. 'The consequences of delinquency,' he says, 'are heavy fine and imprisonment, and the provisions of the law are as despotic as can well be conceived.' He afterwards subjoins:—'Such have been the various modes for inducing or compelling labor for nearly forty years. It is next necessary to ascertain as far as it is practicable, the degree of success which has attended each; and the only mode with which I am acquainted, is to give the returns of the exported agricultural produce during the same period, marking, where it can be done, any accidental circumstance that may have had an influence.' He then quotes the returns at length, and observes—'There is one decided inference from the whole of these six returns, viz. the positive decrease of cane cultivation in all its branches—the diminution of other branches of industry, though not equally well marked, is no less certain, than that articles of spontaneous growth maintain, if not exceed, their former amount.' We may further add, that even the light labor required for trimming the planting coffee trees, has been so much neglected, that the export of coffee in 1830, falls short of that of 1829, by no less than 10,000,000 pounds." (*See London Quarterly Review, No. 89, Art. West India Question.*)

We subjoin here, to exhibit the facts asserted by Mr. M'Kenzie in a more striking manner, a tabular view of some of the principal exports from St. Domingo, during her subjection to France, and during the best years of the reigns of Toussaint, Dessalines, and Boyer,* upon the authority of James Franklin on the Present State of Hayti.

* It is known that under Boyer there was a union of the Island under one government.

Produce.	French.	Toussaint.	Dessalines.	Boyer.
	1791.	1802.	1804.	1822.*
Sugar,	163,405,220 lbs.	53,400,000 lbs.	47,600,000 lbs.	652,541 lbs.
Coffee,	68,151,180	34,370,000	31,000,000	35,117,834
Cotton,	6,286,126	4,050,000	3,000,000	891,950

There has been a gradual diminution of the amount of the products of Hayti since 1822. In 1825 the whole value of exports was about \$8,000,000, more than \$1,000,000 less than in 1822, and the revenue of the island was not equal to the public expenditure. Is not this fair experiment for forty years, under more favorable circumstances than any reasonable man had a right to anticipate, sufficient to convince and overwhelm the most sceptical as to the unproductiveness of slave labor converted into free labor?

But the British colony at Sierra Leone is another case in point, to establish the same position. Evidence was taken in 1830 before a committee of the House of Commons. Captain Bullen, R. N. stated that at Sierra Leone they gave the blacks a portion of land to cultivate, and they cultivate *just as much* as will keep them and not *an inch* more. Mr. Jackson, one of the judges of the mixed commission court, being asked—"Taking into consideration the situation of Sierra Leone, and the attention paid by government to promote their comfort, what progress have they made towards civilization or the comforts of civilized life?" makes this answer—"I should say very inadequate to the efforts which have been made to promote their comfort and civilization." Captain Spence, being asked a similar question, replies—"I have formed a very indifferent opinion as to their progress in industry. I have not been able to observe that they seem inclined to cultivate the country farther than vegetables and things of that kind. They do not seem inclined to cultivate for exportation. Their wants are very few, and they are very wild; and their wants are supplied by the little exertion they make. They have sufficient to maintain them in clothing and food, and these are all their wants."

Our own colony upon the coast of Africa proves too the same fact. It has been fed slowly and cautiously with emigrants, and yet Mr. Ashmun's intreaties to colonization-friends in the United States, to recollect that rice did not grow spontaneously in Africa, to send out *laboring men* of good character, &c., but too conclusively show, in spite of the colored and exaggerated statements of prejudiced friends, the great difficulty of making the negroes work in even Liberia;† and we have no doubt that if 6000 or 60,000

* The other years give the returns for the French part of the Island, this for the Spanish and French, and ought therefore to be proportionably greater.

† We understand from most undoubted authority, that Mr. Barbour, a negro gentleman from Liberia, who lately visited the Virginia Springs for the purpose of re-establishing his health, which had given way under the deleterious influence of an African climate, bears most unequivocal testimony to the idleness of the blacks in Liberia—thinks the statements which have been generally given of the colony greatly exaggerated—considers it a partial failure at least; and laughs at the idea of its being made a recipient for the immense and rapidly increasing mass of our whole black population.

could be colonized annually in Africa, there would not be a more worthless and indolent race of people upon the face of the globe than our African colonies would exhibit.

We have now, we think, proved our position that slave labor in an economical point of view, is far superior to free negro labor ; and have no doubt that if an immediate emancipation of the negroes were to take place, the whole southern country would be visited with an immediate general famine, from which the productive resources of all the other states of the Union could not deliver them.

It is now easy for us to demonstrate the second point in our argument—that the slave is not only *economically* but *morally* unfit for freedom. And first, idleness and consequent want, are of themselves sufficient to generate a catalogue of vices of the most mischievous and destructive character. Look to the penal prosecutions of every country, and mark the situation of those who fall victims to the laws. And what a frightful proportion do we find among the indigent and idle classes of society ! Idleness generates want—want gives rise to temptation—and strong temptation makes the villain. The most appropriate prayer for frail imperfect man, is, “lead us not into temptation.” Mr. Archer of Virginia well observed in a speech before the Colonization Society, that “the free blacks were destined by an insurmountable barrier—to the want of occupation—thence to the want of food—thence to the distresses which ensue that want—thence to the settled deprivation which grows out of those distresses, and is nursed at their bosoms ; and this condition *was not casualty but fate*. The evidence was not speculation in political economy—it was geometrical demonstration.”

We are not to wonder that this class of citizens should be so depraved and immoral. An idle population will always be worthless ; and it is a mistake to think that they are only worthless in the Southern States, where it is erroneously supposed the slavery of a portion of their race depresses them below their condition in the free states : on the contrary, we are disposed rather to think their condition better in the slave than the free states. Mr. Everett, in a speech before the Colonization Society, during the present year, says, “they (the free blacks) form in Massachusetts about one-seventy-fifth part of the population ; *one-sixth of the convicts in our prisons are of this class*.” The average number of annual convictions in the state of Virginia, estimated by the late Governor Giles, from the penitentiary reports, up to 1829, is seventy-one for the whole population—making one in every sixteen thousand of the white population, one in every twenty-two thousand of the slaves, and one for every five thousand of the free colored people. Thus, it will be seen, that crimes among the free blacks are more than three times as numerous as among the whites, and four and a half times more numerous than among the slaves. But although the free blacks have thus much the largest proportion of crime to

answer for, yet the proportion is not so great in Virginia as in Massachusetts. Although they are relatively to the other classes more numerous, making the one-thirtieth of the population of the state, not one-eighth of the whole number of convicts are from among them in Virginia, while in Massachusetts there is one-sixth. We may infer, then, they are not so degraded and vicious in Virginia, a slave-holding state, as in Massachusetts, a non-slave-holding state. But there is one fact to which we invite particularly the attention of those philanthropists who have the elevation of southern slaves so much at heart—that *the slaves in Virginia furnish a much smaller annual proportion of convicts than the whites, and among the latter a very large proportion of the convicts consist of foreigners or citizens of other states.*

There is one disadvantage attendant upon free blacks, in the slave holding states, which is not felt in the non-slave-holding. In the former they corrupt the slaves, encourage them to steal from their masters by purchasing from them, and they are, too, a sort of moral conductor by which the slaves can better organize and concert plans of mischief among themselves.

So far we have been speaking of the evils resulting from mere idleness; but there are other circumstances which must not be omitted in an enumeration of the obstacles to emancipation. The blacks have now all the habits and feelings of slaves, the whites have those of masters; the prejudices are formed, and mere legislation cannot remove them. "Give me," said a wise man, "the formation of the habits and manners of a people, and I care not who makes the laws." Declare the negroes of the South free to-morrow, and vain will be your decree until you have prepared them for it; you depress, instead of elevating. The law would, in every point of view, be one of the most cruel and inhumane which could possibly be passed. The law would make them freemen, and custom or prejudice, we care not which you call it, would degrade them to the condition of slaves; and soon should we see, that "it is happened unto them, according to the true proverb, the dog is turned to his own vomit again, and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire." "*Ne quid nimis*," should be our maxim; and we must never endeavor to elevate beyond what circumstances will allow. It is better that each one should remain in society in the condition in which he has been born and trained, and not to mount too fast without preparation. If a Virginia or South Carolina farmer wished to make his *overseer* perfectly miserable, he could not better do it, than by persuading him that he was not only a freeman, but a *polished gentleman* likewise, and consequently, induce him to enter his drawing room. He would soon sigh for the fields, and less polished but more suitable companions. Hence, in the southern states the condition of the free blacks is better than in the northern; in the latter he is told that he is a freeman and entirely equal to the white, and prejudice assigns to him a degraded station—light is furnished him by which to view

the interior of the fairy palace which is fitted up for him, and custom expels him from it, after the law has told him it was his. He consequently leads a life of endless mortification and disappointment. Tantalus like, he has frequently the cup to his lips, and imperious custom dashes it untasted from him. In the southern states, law and custom more generally coincide; the former makes no profession which the latter does not sanction, and consequently the free black has nothing to grieve and disappoint him.

We have already said, in the course of this review, that if we were to liberate the slaves, we could not, in fact, alter their condition—they would still be virtually slaves; talent, habit, and wealth, would make the white the master still, and the emancipation would only have the tendency to deprive him of those sympathies and kind feelings for the black which now characterize him. Liberty has been the heaviest curse to the slave, when given too soon; we have already spoken of the eagerness and joy with which the negroes of Mr. Steele, in Barbadoes, returned to a state of slavery. The east of Europe affords hundreds of similar instances. In 1791, Stanislaus Augustus, preparing a hopeless resistance to the threatened attack of Russia, in concert with the states, gave to Poland a constitution which established the complete personal freedom of the peasantry. The boon has never been recalled, and what was the consequence? “Finding,” (says Jones, in his volume on Rents,) “their dependence on their proprietors for subsistence remained undiminished, the peasants showed no very grateful sense of the boon bestowed upon them; they feared they should now be deprived of all claim upon the proprietors for assistance, when calamity or infirmity overtook them. It is only since they have discovered that the *connexion* between them and the owners of the estates on which they reside is *little altered in practice*, and that their old masters very generally *continue*, from expediency or humanity, the occasional aid they formerly lent them, that they have become *reconciled* to their new character of freemen.” “The Polish boors are, therefore, in *fact* still slaves,” says Burnett, in his “View of the Present State of Poland,” “and relatively to their political existence, absolutely subject to the will of their lord as in all the barbarism of the feudal times.”—“I was once on a short journey with a nobleman, when we stopped to bait at a farm-house of a village. The peasants got intelligence of the presence of their lord, and assembled in a body of twenty or thirty to prefer a petition to him. I was never more struck with the appearance of these poor wretches, and the *contrast* of their condition with that of their master; I stood at a distance, and perceived that he did not yield to their supplication. When he dismissed them, I had the curiosity to inquire the object of their petition; and he replied, that they had begged for an increased allowance of land, on the plea that what they had was insufficient for their support. He added, ‘I did not grant it them because their present allotment is the usual quantity, and as it has sufficed hith-

erto, so I know it will in time to come. Besides,' said he, 'if I give them more, I well know that it will not in *reality* better their circumstances.' Poland does not furnish a man of more humanity than the one who rejected this apparently reasonable petition; but it must be allowed that he had reasons for what he did. Those degraded and wretched beings, instead of hoarding the small surplus of their absolute necessities, are almost universally *accustomed to expend* it in that abominable spirit, which they call *schnaps*. It is incredible what quantities of this pernicious liquor are drunk by the peasant men and women. The first time I saw any of these withered creatures was at Dantzic. I was prepared, by printed accounts, to expect a sight of singular wretchedness; but I shrunk involuntarily from the sight of the reality. Some involuntary exclamation of surprise, mixed with compassion, escaped me; a thoughtless and a feelingless person (which are about the same thing) was standing by, 'Oh, sir,' says he, 'you will find plenty of such people as these in Poland; and you may strike them and kick them, or do what you please with them, and they will never resist you: they dare not.' Far be it from me to ascribe the feelings of this man to the more cultivated and humanized Poles; but such incidental and thoughtless expressions betray but too sensibly the general state of feeling which exists in regard to these oppressed men." The traveller will now look in vain, throughout our slaveholding country, for such misery as is here depicted; and in spite of all the tales told by gossiping travellers, he will find no master so relentless as the Polish proprietor, and no young man so "thoughtless" and "feelingless" as the young Pole above mentioned. But liberate our slaves, and in a very few years we shall have all these horrors and reproaches added unto us.

In Livonia, likewise, the serfs were prematurely liberated; and mark the consequences. Von Halen, who travelled through Livonia in 1819, observes, "along the high-road through Livonia are found, at short distances, filthy public houses, called in the country *Rhatcharuas*, before the doors of which are usually seen a multitude of wretched carts and sledges belonging to the peasants, who are so addicted to brandy and strong liquors*, that they spend whole hours in those places. Nothing proves so much the state of barbarism in which those men are sunk, as the manner in which they received the decree issued about this time. These savages, unwilling to depend upon their own exertions for support, *made all the resistance in their power* to that decree, the execution of which was at length *intrusted to an armed force*." The Livonian peasants, therefore, received their new privileges yet more ungraciously than the Poles, though accompanied with the gift of property and secure means of subsistence, if they *chose to exert themselves*. By an edict of Maria Theresa, called, by the Hungarians, the

* We believe, in case of an emancipation of our blacks, that drunkenness would be among them like the destroying angel.

ubarium, personal slavery and attachment to the soil were abolished, and the peasants declared to be "*homines liberæ transmigrationis*;" and yet, says Jones, "the authority of the owners of the soil over the persons and property of their tenantry has been very imperfectly abrogated; the necessities of the peasants oblige them frequently to resort to their landlords for loans of food; they become laden with heavy debts, to be discharged by labor.* The proprietors retain the right of employing them at pleasure, paying them, in lieu of subsistence, about one-third of the actual value of their labor; and lastly, the administration of justice is still in the hands of the nobles; and one of the first sights which strikes a foreigner, on approaching their mansions, is a sort of low framework of posts, to which a serf is tied when it is thought proper to administer the discipline of the whip, for offences which do not seem grave enough to demand a formal trial."

Let us for a moment revert to the black republic of Hayti, and we shall see that the negroes have gained nothing by their bloody revolution. Mr. Franklin, who derives his information from personal inspection, gives the following account of the present state of the island:—"Oppressed with the weight of an overwhelming debt, contracted without an equivalent, with an empty treasury, and destitute of the ways and means for supplying it; the soil almost neglected, or at least very partially tilled; without commerce or credit. Such is the present state of the republic; and it seems almost impossible that, under the system which is now pursued, there should be any melioration of its condition, or that it can arrive at any very high state of improvement. Hence, there appears every reason to apprehend that it *will recede into irrecoverable insignificance, poverty, and disorder.*" (p. 265.) And the great mass of the Haytiens are virtually in a state of as abject slavery as when the island was under the French dominion. The government soon found it absolutely necessary to establish a system of compulsion in all respects as bad, and more intolerable, than when slavery existed. The *Code Henri* prescribed the most mortifying regulations, to be obeyed by the laborers of the island; *work was to commence at day light, and continue uninterruptedly till eight o'clock; one hour was then allowed to the laborer to breakfast on the spot; at nine work commenced again and continued until twelve, when two hours repose was given to the laborer; at two he commenced again, and worked until night.* All these regulations were enforced by severe penal enactments. Even Toussaint l'Ouverture, who is supposed to have had the welfare of the negroes as much at heart as any other ruler in St. Domingo, in one of his proclamations in the ninth year of the French republic,

* Almost all our free negroes will run in debt to the full amount of their credit. "I never knew a free negro," says an intelligent correspondent, in a late letter, "who would not contract debts, if allowed, to greater amount than he could pay; and those whom I have suffered to reside on my land, although good mechanics, have been generally so indolent and improvident as to be in my debt at the end of the year, for provisions, brandy, &c., when I would allow it."

peremptorily directs—"all *free laborers*, men and women, now in a state of idleness, and living in towns, villages, and on other plantations than those to which they belong, with the intention to evade work, even those of both sexes who had not been employed in field labor since the revolution, *are required to return immediately to their respective plantations.*" And in article seven, he directs, that "the *overseers and drivers* of every plantation shall make it their business to inform the commanding officer of the district in regard to the conduct of the laborers *under their management*, as well as those who shall absent themselves from their plantations *without a pass*, and of those who residing on the plantations shall refuse to work; they shall be forced to go to the labor of the field, and if they prove obstinate, they shall be arrested and carried before the military commandant, in order to suffer the punishment above prescribed, according to the exigence of the case, the punishment being fine and imprisonment." And here is the boasted freedom of the negroes of St. Domingo;—the appalling vocabulary of "overseer," "driver," "pass," &c., is not even abolished. Slavery to the government and its military officers is substituted for private slavery; the black master has stepped into the shoes of the white; and we all know that he is the most cruel of masters, and more dreaded by the negro than any of the ten plagues of Egypt. We are well convinced, that there is not a single negro in the commonwealth of Virginia who would accept such *freedom*; and yet the happiest of the human race are constantly invited to sigh for such freedom, and to sacrifice all their happiness in the vain wish. But it is not necessary further to multiply examples; enough has already been said, we hope, to convince the most sceptical of the great disadvantage to the slave himself, of freedom, when he is not prepared for it. It is unfortunate, indeed, that prejudiced and misguided philanthropists so often assert as *facts*, what, on investigation, turns out not only false, but even hostile to the very theories which they are attempting to support by them. We have already given one example of this kind of deception, in relation to Mr. Steele. We will now give another.

"In the year 1760, the Chancellor Zamoyski," says Burnett, "enfranchised six villages in the Palatinate of Masovia. This experiment has been much vaunted by Mr. Coxé, as having been attended with all the good effects desired; and he asserts that the chancellor had, in consequence, enfranchised the peasants on all his estates. *Both of these assertions are false.* I inquired particularly of the son of the present Count Zamoyski respecting these six villages, and was grieved to learn, that the experiment had completely failed. The count said, that within a few years he had sold the estate; and added, I was glad to get rid of it from the trouble the peasants gave me. These degraded beings, on receiving their freedom, were overjoyed at they knew not what, having no distinct comprehension of what freedom meant; but merely a

rude notion that they may now do what they like.* They ran into every species of excess and extravagance which their circumstances admitted. Drunkenness, instead of being occasional, became almost perpetual; riot and disorder usurped the place of quietness and industry; the necessary labor suspended, the lands were worse cultivated than before; the small rents required of them they were often unable to pay." (*Burnett's View of Poland*, p. 105.) Indeed, it is a calamity to mankind, that zealous and overheated philanthropists will not suffer the truth to circulate, when believed hostile to their visionary schemes. Such examples as the foregoing ought to be known and attended to. They would prevent a great deal of that impatient silly action which has drawn down such incalculable misery, so frequently, upon the human family. "There is a time for all things," and nothing in this world should be done before its time. An emancipation of our slaves would check at once that progress of improvement, which is now so manifest among them. The whites would either gradually withdraw, and leave whole districts or settlements in their possession, in which case they would sink rapidly in the scale of civilization; or the blacks, by closer intercourse, would bring the whites down to their level. In the contact between the civilized and uncivilized man, all history and experience show, that the former will be sure to sink to the level of the latter. In these cases it is always easier to descend than ascend, and nothing will prevent the *facilis descensus* but slavery.

The great evil, however, of these schemes of emancipation, remains yet to be told. They are admirably calculated to excite plots, murders, and insurrections; whether gradual or rapid in their operation, this is the inevitable tendency. In the former case, you disturb the quiet and contentment of the slave who is left unemancipated; and he becomes the midnight murderer to gain that fatal freedom whose blessings he does not comprehend. In the latter case, want and invidious distinction will prompt to revenge. Two totally different races, as we have before seen, cannot easily harmonize together; and although we have no idea that any organized plan of insurrection or rebellion can ever secure for the black the superiority, even when free,† yet his idleness will produce want and worthlessness, and his very worthlessness and degradation will stimulate him to deeds of rapine and vengeance; he will oftener engage in plots and massacres, and thereby draw down on his devoted head the vengeance of the provoked whites. But one limited massacre is recorded in Virginia history; let her liberate her slaves, and every year you would hear of insurrections and plots, and every day would perhaps record a murder; the

* Precisely such a notion as that entertained by the slaves of this country and the West Indies.

† Power can never be dislodged from the hands of the intelligent, the wealthy, and the courageous, by any plans that can be formed by the poor, the ignorant, and the habitually subservient; history scarce furnishes such an example.

melancholy tale of Southampton would not alone blacken the page of our history, and make the tender mother shed the tear of horror over her babe as she clasped it to her bosom; others of a deeper die would thicken upon us; those regions where the brightness of polished life has dawned and brightened into full day, would relapse into darkness, thick and full of horrors, and in those dark and dismal hours, we might well exclaim, in the shuddering language of the poet—

“Nox atra cava circumvolat umbra
 Quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando
 Explicit? * * * *
 Urbs antiqua ruit, multos dominata per annos
 Plurima perque vias sternuntur inertia passim
 Corpora per que domos, et religiosa deorum
 Limina. * * Crudelis ubique
 Luctus ubique pavor, et plurima mortis imago.”

Colombia and Guatemala have tried the dangerous experiment of emancipation, and we invite the attention of the reader to the following dismal picture of the city of Guatemala, drawn by the graphic pencil of Mr. Dunn—“With Lazaroni in rags and filth, a *colored population drunken and revengeful*, her females licentious and her males shameless, she *ranks as a true child of that accursed city*, which still remains as a living monument of the fulfilment of prophesy and the forbearance of God, the hole of every foul spirit, the cage of every unclean and hateful bird. The pure and simple sweets of domestic life, with its thousand tendernesses and its gentle affections, are here exchanged for the feverish joys of a dissipated hour;—and the peaceful home of love is converted into a theatre of mutual accusations and recriminations. This leads to violent excesses; *men carry a large knife in a belt, women one fastened in the garter. Not a day passes without murder*; on fast days and on Sundays, the average number killed is from four to five. From the number admitted in the hospital of St. Juan de Dios, it appears that in the year 1827, near fifteen hundred were stabbed, of whom from three to four hundred died.”* Thank Heaven no such scenes as these have yet been witnessed in our country. From the day of the arrival of the negro slaves upon our coast in the Dutch vessel, up to the present hour, a period of more than two hundred years, there have not perished in the whole southern country by the hands of slaves, a number of whites equal to the average annual stabbings in the city of Guatemala, containing a population of 30,000 souls!! “Nor is the freed African,” says Dunn, “one degree raised in the scale—*under fewer restraints, his vices display themselves more disgustingly;—insolent and proud, indolent and a liar*, he imitates only the vices of his superiors, and to the catalogue of his former crimes adds drunkenness and theft.” Do not all these appalling examples but too eloquently tell the consequences of emancipation, and bid us

* See Dunn's Sketches of Guatemala, in 1827 and 1828, pp. 95, 96, and 97.

well beware how we enter on any system which will be almost certain to bring down ruin and degradation on both the whites and the blacks?

But in despite of all the reasoning and illustrations which can be urged, the example of the northern states of our confederacy and the west of Europe afford, it is thought by some, conclusive evidence of the facility of changing the slave into the freeman. As to the former, it is enough to say that paucity of numbers,* uncongenial climate, and the state of agriculture to the north, together with the great demand of slaves to the south, alone accomplished the business. In reference to the west of Europe, it was the rise of the towns, the springing up of a middle class, and a change of agriculture, which gradually and silently effected the emancipation of the slaves, in a great measure through the operation of the selfish principle itself. Commerce and manufactures arose in the western countries, and with them sprang up a middle class of freemen, in the cities and the country too, which gradually and imperceptibly absorbed into its body all the slaves. But for this middle class, which acted as the *absorbent*, the slaves could not have been liberated with safety or advantage to either party. Now, in our southern country, there is no body of this kind to become the *absorbent*, nor are we likely to have such a body, unless we look into the vista of the future, and imagine a time when the south shall be to the north, what England now is to Ireland, and will consequently be *overrun* with northern laborers, underbidding the *means of subsistence* which will be furnished to the negro: then *perhaps* such a laboring class, devoid of all pride and habits of lofty bearing, may become a proper *recipient* or *absorbent* for emancipated slaves. But even then we fear the effects of difference of color. The slave of Italy or France could be emancipated or escape to the city, and soon all records of his former state would perish, and he would gradually sink into the mass of freemen around him. But unfortunately the emancipated black carries a mark which no time can erase; he forever wears the indelible symbol of his inferior condition; *the Ethiopian cannot change his skin, nor the leopard his spots.*

In Greece and Rome, and we imagine it was so during the feudal ages, the domestic slaves were frequently among the most learned, virtuous, and intelligent members of society. Terence, Phædrus, Esop, and Epictetus were all slaves. They were frequently taught all the arts and sciences, in order that they might be more valuable to their masters. "Seneca relates," says Wallace in his *Numbers of Mankind*, "that Calvisius Labinus had many anagnostæ slaves, or such as were learned and could read to their masters, and that none of them were purchased under £807 5s. 10d. According to Pliny, Daphnis the grammarian cost £5651 10s. 10d. Ros-

* "There are more free negroes and mulattoes, said Judge Tucker in 1803, in Virginia alone, than are to be found in the four New-England states, and Vermont in addition to them." (*Tucker's Blackstone*, vol. 1. Part 2nd. p. 66, foot note.)

cious the actor would gain yearly £4036 9s. 2d. A morio, or fool, was sold for £161 9s. 2d." (*Wallace on the Numbers of Mankind*, page 142.) There was no obstacle, therefore, to the emancipation of such men as these (except as to the fool,) either on the score of color, intelligence, habits, or any thing else—the *body* of freemen could readily and without difficulty or danger absorb them. Not so now—nor ever will it be in all time to come, with our blacks. With these remarks, we shall close our examination of the plans by which it has been or may be proposed to get rid of slavery. If our arguments are sound, and reasonings conclusive, we have shown they are all wild and visionary, calculated to involve the south in ruin and degradation: and we now most solemnly call upon the statesman and the patriot, the editor and the philanthropist, to pause, and consider well, before they move in this dangerous and delicate business. But a few hasty and fatal steps in advance, and the work may be irretrievable. For Heaven's sake then let us pause, and recollect, that on this subject, so pregnant with the safety, happiness, and prosperity of millions, we shall be doomed to realize the fearful motto, "*nulla vestigia retrorsum.*"

There are some who, in the plenitude of their folly and recklessness, have likened the cause of the blacks to Poland and France, and have *darkly hinted* that the same aspirations which the generous heart breathes for the cause of bleeding, suffering Poland, and revolutionary France, must be indulged for the *insurrectionary blacks*. And has it come at last to this? that the hellish plots and massacres of Dessalines, Gabriel, and Nat Turner, are to be compared to the noble deeds and devoted patriotism of Lafayette, Kosciusko, and Schrynecki? and we suppose the same logic would elevate Lundi and Garrison to Niches in the Temple of Fame, by the side of Locke and Rousseau. There is an absurdity in this conception, which so outrages reason and the most common feelings of humanity, as to render it unworthy of serious patient refutation. But we will, nevertheless, for a moment examine it, and we shall find, on their own principles, if such reasoners have any principles, that their conception is entirely fallacious. The true theory of the right of revolution we conceive to be the following: no men or set of men are justifiable in attempting a revolution which must *certainly* fail; or if successful must produce *necessarily* a much worse state of things than the pre-existent order. We have not the right to plunge the dagger into the monarch's bosom merely because he is a monarch—we must be sure it is the *only means* of dethroning a tyrant and giving peace and happiness to an aggrieved and suffering people. Brutus would have had no right to kill Cæsar if he could have foreseen the consequences. If France and Poland had been peopled with a race of serfs and degraded citizens, totally unfit for freedom and self-government, and Lafayette and Kosciusko could have known

it, they would have been *parricides* instead of *patriots*, to have roused such ignorant and unhappy wretches to engage in a revolution whose object they could not comprehend, and which would inevitably involve them in all the horrors of relentless carnage and massacre. No man has ever yet contended that the blacks could gain their liberty and an ascendancy over the whites by wild insurrections; no one has ever imagined that they could do more than bring down, by their rash and barbarous achievements, the vengeance of the infuriated whites upon their devoted heads. Where then is the analogy to Poland and to France, lands of generous achievement, of learning, and of high and noble purposes, and with people capable of self-government? We shall conclude this branch of our subject with the following splendid extract from a speech of Mr. Canning, which should at least make the rash legislator more distrustful of his specifics.

“In dealing with a negro we must remember that we are dealing with a being possessing the form and strength of a man, but the intellect only of a child. - To turn him loose in the manhood of his physical passions, but in the infancy of his uninstructed reason, would be to raise up a creature resembling the splendid fiction of a recent romance; the hero of which constructs a human form with all the physical capabilities of man, and with the thews and sinews of a giant, but being unable to impart to the work of his hands a perception of right and wrong, he finds too late that he has only created a more than mortal power of doing mischief, and himself recoils from the monster which he has made. What is it we have to deal with? is it an evil of yesterday's origin? with a thing which has grown up in our time—of which we have watched the growth—measured the extent—and which we have ascertained the means of correcting or controlling? No, we have to deal with an evil which is the growth of centuries and of tens of centuries; which is almost coeval with the deluge; which has existed under different modifications since man was man. Do gentlemen, in their passion for legislation, think, that after only thirty years discussion, they can now at once manage as they will the most unmanageable perhaps of all subjects? or do we forget, sir, that in fact not more than thirty years have elapsed since we first presumed to approach even the outworks of this great question? Do we, in the ardor of our nascent reformation, forget that during the ages which this system has existed, no preceding generation of legislators has ventured to touch it with a reforming hand; and have we the vanity to flatter ourselves that we can annihilate it at a blow? No Sir, No!—If we are to do good it is not to be done by sudden and violent measures.” Let the warning language of Mr. Canning be attended to in our legislative halls, and all rash and intemperate legislation avoided. We will now proceed to the last division of our subject, and examine a little into the injustice and evils of slavery, with the view of ascertaining if we are really exposed

to those dangers and horrors which many seem to anticipate in the current of time.

III. *Injustice and Evils of Slavery.*

1st. It is said slavery is wrong, in the *abstract* at least, and contrary to the spirit of Christianity. To this we answer as before, that any question must be determined by its circumstances, and if, as really is the case, we cannot get rid of slavery without producing a greater injury to both the masters and slaves, there is no rule of conscience or revealed law of God which *can* condemn us. The physician will not order the spreading cancer to be extirpated although it will eventually cause the death of his patient, because he would thereby hasten the fatal issue. So if slavery had commenced even contrary to the laws of God and man, and the sin of its introduction rested upon our hands, and it was even carrying forward the nation by slow degrees to final ruin—yet if it were *certain* that an attempt to remove it would only hasten and heighten the final catastrophe—that it was in fact a “*vulnus immedicabile*” on the body politic, which no legislation could safely remove, then, we would not only not be found to attempt the extirpation, but we would stand guilty of a high offence in the sight of both God and man, if we should rashly make the effort. But the original sin of introduction rests not on our heads, and we shall soon see that all those dreadful calamities which the false prophets of our day are pointing to, will never in all probability occur. With regard to the assertion, that slavery is against the spirit of Christianity, we are ready to admit the general assertion, but deny most positively that there is any thing in the Old or New Testament, which would go to show that slavery, when once introduced, ought at all events to be abrogated, or that the master commits any offence in holding slaves. The children of Israel themselves were slave holders, and were not condemned for it. All the patriarchs themselves were slave holders—Abraham had more than three hundred—Isaac had a “*great store*”^{*} of them,—and even the patient and meek Job himself, had “*a very great household.*” When the children of Israel conquered the land of Canaan, they made one whole tribe “*hewers of wood and drawers of water,*” and they were at that very time under the special guidance of Jehovah; they were permitted expressly to purchase slaves of the heathens, and keep them as an inheritance for their posterity—and even the Children of Israel might be enslaved for six years. When we turn to the New Testament, we find not one single passage at all calculated to disturb the conscience of an honest slave holder. No one can read it without seeing and admiring that the meek and humble Saviour of the world in no instance meddled with the established institutions of mankind—he

^{*}“And the man (Isaac) waxed great and went forward, and grew until he became very great; for he had possession of flocks, and possession of herds, and *great store of servants.*” (Gen. chap. 26.)

came to save a fallen world, and not to excite the black passions of men and array them in deadly hostility against each other. From no one did he turn away; his plan was offered alike to all—to the monarch and the subject—the rich and the poor—the master and the slave. He was born in the Roman world, a world in which the most galling slavery existed, a thousand times more cruel than the slavery in our own country—and yet he no where encourages insurrection—he nowhere fosters discontent—but exhorts *always* to implicit obedience and fidelity. What a rebuke does the practice of the Redeemer of mankind imply upon the conduct of some of his nominal disciples of the day, who seek to destroy the contentment of the slaves, to rouse their most deadly passions, to break up the deep foundations of society, and to lead on to a night of darkness and confusion! “Let every man (says Paul,) abide in the same calling wherein he is called. Art thou called *being* a servant? care not for it; but if thou mayest be made free use *it* rather.” (1 *Corinthians*, vii. 20, 21.) Again; “Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrines be not blasphemed; and they that have believing masters, let them not despise *them*, because they are brethren, but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort.” (1 *Tim.* vi. 1, 2.) Servants are even commanded in Scripture to be faithful and obedient to unkind masters. “Servants, (says Peter,) be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but to the froward. For what glory is it if when ye shall be buffeted for your faults ye take it patiently; but if when ye do well and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God.” (1 *Peter*, ii. 18, 20.) These, and many other passages in the New Testament, most convincingly prove, that slavery in the Roman world was nowhere charged as a fault or crime upon the holder, and everywhere is the most implicit obedience enjoined.*

We here leave, before quitting this topic, to address a few remarks to those who have conscientious scruples about the holding of slaves, and therefore consider themselves under an obligation to break all the ties of friendship and kindred—dissolve all the associations of happier days, to flee to a land where this evil does not exist. We cannot condemn the conscientious actions of mankind, but we must be permitted to say, that if the assumption even of these pious gentlemen be correct, we do consider their conduct as very unphilosophical, and we will go further still, we look upon it as even immoral upon their own principles. Let us admit that slavery is an evil, and what then? why it has been entailed upon us by no fault of ours, and must we shrink from the charge which devolves upon us, and throw the slave in consequence into the hands of those who have no scruples of conscience—those who will not perhaps treat him

* See *Ephesians*, vi. 5, 9, *Titus*, ii. 9, 10. *Philemon*. *Colossians*, iii, 22, and iv. 1.

so kindly? No! this is not philosophy, it is not morality; we must recollect that the unprofitable man was thrown into utter darkness. To the slave-holder has truly been intrusted the five talents. Let him but recollect the exhortation of the Apostle—"Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a master in Heaven;" and in the final day he shall have nothing on this score with which his conscience need be smitten, and he may expect the welcome plaudit—"Well done thou good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things; enter thou into the joy of the Lord." Hallam, in his History of the Middle Ages, says, that the greatest moral evil flowing from monastic establishments, consisted in withdrawing the good and religious from society, and leaving the remainder unchecked and unrestrained in the pursuit of their vicious practices. Would not such principles as those just mentioned lead to a similar result? We cannot, therefore, but consider them as *whining and sickly*, and highly unphilosophical and detrimental to society.

2dly. *But it is further said that the moral effects of slavery are of the most deleterious and hurtful kind*; and as Mr. Jefferson has given the sanction of his great name to this charge, we shall proceed to examine it with all that respectful deference to which every sentiment of so pure and philanthropic a heart is justly entitled.

"The whole commerce between master and slave," says he, "is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions—the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it, for man is an imitative animal—this quality is the germ of education in him. From his cradle to his grave, he is learning what he sees others do. If a parent had no other motive, either in his own philanthropy or self love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to his worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in the worst of tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities."* Now we boldly assert that the fact does not bear Mr. Jefferson out in his conclusions. He has supposed the master in a continual passion—in the constant exercise of the most odious tyranny, and the child, a creature of imitation, looking on and learning. But is not this master sometimes kind and indulgent to his slaves? does he not mete out to them, for faithful service, the reward of his cordial approbation? Is it not his interest to do it? and when thus acting humanely, and speaking kindly, where is the child, the creature of imitation, that he does not look on and learn? We may rest assured, in this intercourse between a good master

* Jefferson's Notes on Virginia.

and his servant, more good than evil *may* be taught the child, the exalted principles of morality and religion may thereby be sometimes indelibly inculcated upon his mind, and instead of being reared a selfish contracted being, with nought but self to look to—he acquires a more exalted benevolence, a greater generosity and elevation of soul, and embraces for the sphere of his generous actions a much wider field. Look to the slave holding population of our country, and you every where find them characterized by noble and elevated sentiment, by humane and virtuous feelings. We do not find among them that cold, contracted, calculating *selfishness*, which withers and repels every thing around it, and lessens or destroys all the multiplied enjoyments of social intercourse. Go into our national councils, and ask for the most generous, the most disinterested, the most conscientious, and the least unjust and oppressive in their principles, and see whether the slave holder will be past by in the selection. Edwards says that slavery in the West Indies seems to awaken the laudable propensities of our nature, such as “frankness, sociability, benevolence, and generosity. In no part of the globe is the virtue of hospitality more prevalent than in the British sugar islands. The gates of the planter are always open to the reception of his guests—to be a stranger is of itself a sufficient introduction.”

Is it not a fact, known to every man in the South, that the most *cruel masters* are those who have been unaccustomed to slavery. It is well known that northern gentlemen who marry southern heiresses, are much severer masters than southern gentlemen.* And yet, if Mr. Jefferson’s reasoning were correct, they ought to be much milder: in fact, it follows from his reasoning, that the authority which the father is called on to exercise over his children, must be seriously detrimental; and yet we know that this is not the case; that on the contrary, there is nothing which so much humanizes and softens the heart, as this *very authority*; and there are none, even among those who have no children themselves, so disposed to pardon the follies and indiscretion of youth, as those who have seen most of them, and suffered greatest annoyance. There may be many cruel relentless masters, and there are unkind and cruel fathers too; but both the one and the other make all those around them shudder with horror. We are disposed to think that their example in society tends rather to strengthen, than weaken the principle of benevolence and humanity.

Let us now look a moment to the slave, and contemplate *his* position. Mr. Jefferson has described him as hating, rather than loving his master, and as losing, too, all that *amor patriæ* which characterizes the true patriot. We assert again, that Mr. Jefferson is not borne out by the fact. We are well convinced that there is no-

* A similar remark is made by Ramsay, and confirmed by Bryan Edwards, in regard to the West Indies. “Adventurers from Europe are universally more cruel and morose towards the slaves, than the Creole or native West Indian.” (*Hist of W. I. Book 4. Chap. 1.*)

thing but the mere relations of husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, which produce a closer tie, than the relation of master and servant.* We have no hesitation in affirming, that throughout the whole slave holding country, the slaves of a good master, are his warmest, most constant, and most devoted friends; they have been accustomed to look up to him as their supporter, director and defender. Every one acquainted with southern slaves, knows that the slave rejoices in the elevation and prosperity of his master; and the heart of no one is more gladdened at the successful debut of young master or miss on the great theatre of the world, than that of either the young slave who has grown up with them, and shared in all their sports, and even partaken of all their delicacies—or the aged one who has looked on and watched them from birth to manhood, with the kindest and most affectionate solicitude, and has ever met from them, all the kind treatment and generous sympathies of feeling tender hearts. Judge Smith in his able speech on Foote's Resolutions in the Senate said, in an emergency he would rely upon his own slaves for his defence—he would put arms into their hands, and he had no doubt they would defend him faithfully. In the late Southampton insurrection, we know that many actually convened their slaves, and armed them for defence, although slaves were here the cause of the evil which was to be repelled. We have often heard slaveholders affirm, that they would sooner rely upon their slaves for fidelity and attachment in the hour of danger and severe trial, than on any other equal number of individuals; and we all know, that the son or daughter, who has been long absent from the paternal roof, on returning to the scenes of infancy, never fails to be greeted with the kindest welcome and the most sincere and heartfelt congratulations from those slaves among whom he has been reared to manhood.

Gilbert Stuart, in his *History of Society*, says that the time when the vassal of the feudal ages was most faithful, most obedient, and most interested in the welfare of his master, was precisely when his dependance was most complete, and when, consequently, he relied upon his lord for every thing. When the feudal tenure was gradually changing, and the law was interposing between landlord and tenant, the close tie between them began to dissolve, and with it, the kindness on one side, and the affection and gratitude on the other, waned and vanished. From all this, we are forced to draw one important inference—that it is dangerous to the happiness and well being of the slave, for either the imprudent philanthropist to attempt to interpose too often, or the rash legislator to obtrude his regulating edicts, between master and slave. They only serve to render the slave more intractable and unhappy, and the master more cruel and unrelenting. The British West India Islands form at this moment a most striking illustration of this remark; the law has inter-

* There are hundreds of slaves in the Southern country, who will desert parents, wives or husbands, brother and sister, to follow a kind master—so strong is the tie of master and slave.

posed between master and servant, and the slave has been made idle and insolent, and consequently worthless; a vague and irrational idea of liberty has been infused into his mind; he has become restless and unhappy; and the planters are deserting the islands, because the very law itself, is corrupting and ruining the slave. The price of slaves it is said, since the passage of those laws, has fallen 50 per cent. and the rapid declension of the number of slaves proves that their condition has been greatly injured, instead of benefitted. This instance is fraught with deep instruction to the legislator, and should make him pause. And we call-upon the reverend clergy, whose examples should be pure, and whose precepts should be fraught with wisdom and prudence, to beware, lest in their zeal for the black, they suffer too much of the passion and prejudice of the human heart to mingle with those pure principles by which they should be governed. Let them beware of "what spirit they are of." "No sound," says Burke, "ought to be heard in the church, but the healing voice of Christian charity. Those who quit their proper character, to assume what does not belong to them, are for the most part ignorant of the character they assume, and of the character they leave off. Wholly unacquainted with the world in which they are so fond of meddling, and inexperienced in all its affairs, on which they pronounce with so much confidence, they have nothing of politics but the *passions* they excite. Surely the church is a place where one day's truce ought to be allowed to the dissensions and animosities of mankind."

In the debate in the Virginia Legislature, no speaker *insinuated even*, we believe, that the slaves in Virginia were not treated kindly; and all, too, agreed that they were most abundantly fed; and we have no doubt but that they form the happiest portion of our society. A merrier being does not exist on the face of the globe, than the negro slave of the United States. *Even* Captain Hall himself, with his thick "crust of prejudice," is obliged to allow that they are happy and contented, and the master much less cruel than is generally imagined. Why then, since the slave is happy, and happiness is the great object of all animated creation, should we endeavor to disturb his contentment by infusing into his mind a vain and indefinite desire for liberty—a something which he cannot comprehend, and which must inevitably dry up the very sources of his happiness.

The fact is that all of us, and the great author of the Declaration of Independence is like us in this respect, are too prone to judge of the happiness of others by ourselves—we make *self* the standard, and endeavor to draw down every one to its dimensions—not recollecting that the benevolence of the omnipotent has made the mind of man pliant and susceptible of happiness in almost every situation and employment. We might rather die than be the obscure slave that waits at our back,—our education and our habits, generate an ambition that makes us aspire at something loftier—and disposes us to look upon the slave as unsusceptible of

happiness in his humble sphere, when he may indeed be much happier than we are, and have his ambition too,—but his ambition is to excel all his fellow slaves in the performance of his servile duties—to please and to gratify his master—and to command the praise of all who witness his exertions. Let the *wily philanthropist*, but come and whisper into the ears of such a slave, that his situation is degrading and his lot a miserable one—let him but light up the dungeon in which he persuades the slave that he is caged—and that moment, like the serpent that entered the garden of Eden, he destroys his happiness and his usefulness. We cannot, therefore, agree with Mr. Jefferson, in the opinion that slavery makes the unfeeling tyrant and the ungrateful dependant; and in regard to Virginia especially, we are almost disposed, judging from the official returns of crimes and convictions, to assert, with a statesman who has descended to his tomb, (Mr. Giles,) “that the whole population of Virginia, consisting of three *castes*—of free white, free colored, and slave colored population, is the soundest and most moral of any other, according to numbers, in the whole world, as far as is known to me.”

3dly. *It has been contended that slavery is unfavorable to a republican spirit:* but the whole history of the world proves that this is far from being the case. In the ancient republics of Greece and Rome, where the spirit of liberty glowed with most intensity, the slaves were more numerous than the freemen. Aristotle, and the great men of antiquity, believed slavery necessary to keep alive the spirit of freedom. In Sparta, the freeman was even forbidden to perform the offices of slaves, lest he might lose the spirit of independence. In modern times, too, liberty has always been more ardently desired by slave holding communities. “Such,” says Burke, “were our Gothic ancestors; such, in our days, were the Poles; and such will be all masters of slaves who are not slaves themselves.”—“These people of the southern (American) colonies are much more strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty, than those of the northward.” And from the time of Burke down to the present day, the southern states have always borne this same honorable distinction. Burke says, “it is because freedom is to them not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege.” Another, and perhaps more efficient cause of this, is the perfect spirit of equality so prevalent among the whites of all the slave holding states. Jack Cade, the Irish reformer, wished all mankind to be brought to one common level. We believe slavery, in the United States, has accomplished this, in regard to the whites, as nearly as can be expected or even desired in this world. The menial and low offices being all performed by the blacks, there is at once taken away the greatest cause of distinction and separation of the ranks of society. The man to the north will not shake hands familiarly with his servant, and converse, and laugh, and dine with him, no matter how honest and respectable he may be. But go to the south, and you will find that no

white man feels such inferiority of rank as to be unworthy of association with those around him. Color alone is here the badge of distinction, the true mark of aristocracy, and all who are white are equal in spite of the variety of occupation. The same thing is observed in the West Indies. "Of the character common to the white resident of the West Indies, it appears to me," says Edwards, "that the leading feature is an independent spirit, and a display of *conscious equality* throughout all ranks and conditions. The poorest white person seems to consider himself nearly on a level with the richest; and emboldened by this idea, approaches his employer with extended hand, and a freedom, which, in the countries of Europe, is seldom displayed by men in the lower orders of life towards their superiors." And it is this spirit of equality which is both the generator and preserver of the genuine spirit of liberty.

4thly. *Insecurity of the whites, arising from plots, insurrections, &c., among the blacks.* This is the evil, after all, let us say what we will, which really operates most powerfully upon the schemers and emancipating philanthropists of those sections where slaves constitute the principal property. Now, if we have shown, as we trust we have, that the scheme of deportation is utterly impracticable, and that emancipation, with permission to remain, will produce all these horrors in *still greater degree*, it follows that this evil of slavery, allowing it to exist in all its latitude, would be no argument for legislative action, and therefore we might well rest contented with this issue; but as we are anxious to exhibit this whole subject in its true bearings, and as we do believe that this evil has been most strangely and causelessly exaggerated, we have determined to examine it a moment, and point out its true extent. It seems to us, that those who insist most upon it, commit the enormous error of looking upon every slave in the whole slave-holding country as actuated by the most deadly enmity to the whites, and possessing all that reckless, fiendish temper, which would lead him to murder and assassinate the moment the opportunity occurs.—This is far from being true; the slave, as we have already said, generally loves the master and his family;* and few indeed there are, who can coldly plot the murder of men, women, and children; and if they do, there are fewer still who can have the villainy to execute. We can sit down and imagine that all the negroes in the south have conspired to rise on a certain night, and murder all the whites in their respective families; we may suppose the secret to be kept, and that they have the physical power to exterminate; and yet, we say the whole is *morally impossible*. No insurrection of this kind can ever occur where the blacks are as much civilized as they are in the United States. Savages and Koromantyn slaves can commit such deeds, because their whole life and education have prepared them, and they glory in the achievement; but the

*We scarcely know a single family, in which the slaves, especially the domestics, do not manifest the most unfeigned grief at the deaths which occur among the whites.

negro of the United States has imbibed the principles, the sentiments, and feelings of the white; in one word, he is civilized—at least, comparatively; his whole education and course of life are at war with such fell deeds. Nothing, then, but the most subtle and poisonous principles, sedulously infused into his mind, can break his allegiance, and transform him into the midnight murderer.—Any man who will attend to the history of the Southampton massacre, must at once see, that the cause of even the partial success of the insurrectionists, was the very circumstance that there was no extensive plot, and that Nat, a demented fanatic, was under the impression that heaven had enjoined him to liberate the blacks, and had made its manifestations by loud noises in the air, an eclipse, and by the greenness of the sun. It was these signs which determined *him*, and ignorance and superstition, together with implicit confidence in Nat, determined a few others, and thus the bloody work began. So fearfully and reluctantly did they proceed to the execution, that we have no doubt but that if Travis,* the first attacked, could have waked whilst they were getting into his house, or could have shot down Nat or Will, the rest would have fled, and the affair would have terminated *in limine*.

We have read with great attention the history of the insurrections in St. Domingo, and have no hesitation in affirming, that to the reflecting mind, that whole history affords the most complete evidence of the difficulty and almost impossibility of succeeding in these plots, even under the most favorable circumstances. It would almost have been a *moral miracle*, if that revolution had not succeeded. The French revolution had kindled a blaze throughout the world. The society of the *Amis des Noirs*, (the friends of the blacks,) in Paris, had educated and disciplined many of the mulattoes, who were almost as numerous as the whites in the island.—The National Assembly, in its mad career, declared these mulattoes to be equal in all respects to the whites, and gave them the same privileges and immunities as the whites. During the ten years, too, immediately preceding the revolution, more than 200,000 negroes were imported into the island from Africa. It is a well known fact, that newly imported negroes, are always greatly more dangerous than those born among us; and of those importations a very large proportion consisted of Koromantyn slaves, from the Gold Coast, who have all the savage ferocity of the North American Indian.* And lastly, the whites themselves, disunited and strangely inharmonious, would nevertheless have suppressed the insurrections, although the blacks and mulattoes were nearly *fifteen-fold* their numbers, if it had not been for the constant and too fatal interference of France. The great sin of that revolution rests

*It was the Koromantyns who brought about the insurrection in Jamaica in 1760.—They are a very hardy race; and the Dutch, who are a calculating, money-making people, and withal the most cruel masters in the world, have generally preferred these slaves, because they might be *forced* to do most work; but the consequence of their avarice has been, that they have been more cursed with insurrections than any other people in the West Indies.

on the *National Assembly*, and should be an awful warning to every legislature to beware of too much tampering with so delicate and difficult a subject as an alteration of the fundamental relations of society.

But there is another cause which will render the success of the blacks for ever impossible in the south, as long as slavery exists. It is, that, in modern times especially, wealth and talent must ever rule over *mere* physical force. During the feudal ages, the vassals never made a settled concerted attempt to throw off the yoke of the lord or landed proprietor; and the true reason was, they had neither property nor talent, and consequently the power, under these circumstances, could be placed no where else than in the hands of the lords; but so soon as the *tiers etat* arose, with commerce and manufactures, there was something to struggle for, and the *crise des revolutions*, (the crisis of revolutions,) was the consequence. No connected, persevering, and well concerted movement, ever takes place, in modern times, unless for the sake of property. Now, the property, talent, concert, and we may add habit, are all with the whites, and render their continued superiority absolutely certain, if they are not meddled with, no matter what may be the disproportion of numbers. We look upon these insurrections in the same light that we do the murders and robberies which occur in society, and in a slave-holding state, they are a sort of substitute for the latter; the robbers and murderers in what are called free states, are generally the poor and needy, who rob for money; negro slaves rarely murder or rob for this purpose; they have no inducement to do it—the fact is, the whole capital of the south is pledged for their maintenance. The present Chief Magistrate of Virginia has informed us that he has never known of but *one single* case in Virginia where negroes murdered for the sake of money. Now, there is no doubt but that the common robberies and murders for money, take off, in the aggregate, more men, and destroy more property, than insurrections among the slaves; the former are the result of fixed causes *eternally* at work, the latter of occasional causes which are rarely, *very rarely*, in action. Accordingly, if we should look to the whole of our southern population, and compare the average number of deaths, by the hands of assassins, with the numbers elsewhere, we would be astonished to find them perhaps as few or fewer than in any other population of equal amount on the globe. In the city of London there is, upon an average, a murder or a house-breaking and robbery every night in the year, which is greater than the amount of deaths by murders, insurrections, &c., in our whole southern country; and yet the inhabitant of London walks the streets and sleeps in perfect confidence, and why should not we who are in fact in much less danger?* These calamities

*We wish that accurate accounts could be published of all the deaths which had occurred from insurrections in the United States, West Indies, and South America, since the establishment of slavery; and that these could be compared to the whole population that have lived since that epoch, and the number of deaths which occur in

in London, very properly give rise to the establishment of a police, and the adoption of precautionary measures; and so they should in our country, and every where else. And if the Virginia Legislature had turned its attention more to this subject during its last session, we think, with all due deference, it would have re-dounded much more to the advantage of the state than the intemperate discussion which was gotten up.

But it is agreed on almost all hands, that the danger of insurrection now is not very great; but a time must arrive, it is supposed by many, when the dangers will infinitely increase, and either the one or the other race must necessarily be exterminated. "I do believe," said one in the Virginia Legislature, "and such must be the judgment of every reflecting man, that unless something is done in time to obviate it, the day must arrive when scenes of inconceivable horror must inevitably occur, and one of these two races of human beings will have their throats cut by the other." Another gentleman anticipates the dark day when a negro legislature would be in session in the capital of the Old Dominion! Mr. Clay, too, seems to be full of gloomy anticipations of the future. In his colonization speech of 1830, he says, "Already the slaves may be estimated at two millions, and the free population at ten; the former being in the proportion of one to five of the latter. Their respective numbers will probably double in periods of thirty-three years. In the year 1863, the number of the whites will probably be twenty, and of the blacks four millions.—In 1896, forty and eight; and in the year 1929, about a century, eighty and sixteen millions. What mind is sufficiently extensive in its reach—what nerve sufficiently strong—to contemplate this vast and progressive augmentation, without an awful foreboding of the tremendous consequences!" If these anticipations are true, then may we, in despair, quietly sit down by the waters of Babylon, and weep over our lot, for we can never remove the blacks.—*"Hæret lateri lethalis arundo."*

But we have none of these awful forebodings. We do not look to the time when the throats of one race must be cut by the other; on the contrary, we have no hesitation in affirming, and we think we can prove it too, that in 1929, taking Mr. Clay's own statistics, we shall be much more secure from plots and insurrections, than we are at this moment. It is an undeniable fact, that in the increase of population, the power and security of the dominant party always increase *much more* than in proportion to the relative augmentation of their numbers. One hundred men can much more easily keep an equal number in subjection than fifty, and a million would rule a million more certainly and securely than any lesser number. The dominant can only be overturned by concert and harmony among the subject party, and the greater the relative

other equal amounts of population, from popular sedition, robberies, &c., and we would be astonished to see what little cause we have for the slightest apprehension on this score.

numbers on both sides, the more impossible does this concert on the part of the subjected become. A police, too, of the same *relative* numbers, is much more efficient amid a numerous population, than a sparse one. We will illustrate by example, which cannot fail to strike even the most sceptical. Mr. Gibbon supposes that the hundredth man in any community, is as much as the people can afford to keep in pay for the purposes of a police. Now suppose the community be only one hundred, then one man alone is the police. Is it not evident that the ninety-nine will be able at any moment to destroy him, and throw off all restraint? Suppose the community one thousand, then ten will form the police, which would have a rather better chance of keeping up order among the nine hundred and ninety, than the one in the one hundred, but still this would be insufficient. Let your community swell to one million, and ten thousand would then form the police, and ten thousand troops will strike terror in any city on the face of the globe. Lord Wellington lately asserted in the British Parliament, that Paris, containing a population of a million of souls, (the most boisterous and ungovernable,) never required, before the reign of Louis Philip, more than forty-five hundred troops to keep it in the most perfect subjection. It is this very principle which explains the fact so frequently noticed, that revolutions are effected much more readily in small states than in large ones. The little republics of Greece underwent revolutions almost every month—the dominant party was never safe for a moment. The little states of modern Italy have undergone more changes and revolutions than all the rest of Europe together, and if foreign influence were withdrawn, almost every ship from Europe, even now, would bring the news of some new revolution in those states. If the standing army will remain firm to the government, a successful revolution in most large empires, as France, Germany, and Russia, is almost impossible. The two revolutions in France, have been successful, in consequence of the disaffection of the troops, who have joined the popular party.

Let us apply these principles to our own case; and for the sake of simplicity we will take a county of a mixed population of twenty thousand, viz: blacks ten thousand, and whites as many:—the patrol which they can keep out, would, according to our rule, be two hundred—double both sides, and the patrol would be four hundred, quadruple and it would be eight hundred—now a patrol of eight hundred would be much more efficient than the two hundred, though they were, relatively to the numbers kept in order, exactly the same; and the same principle is applicable to the progress of population in the whole slave-holding country. In 1929, our police will be much more efficient than now, if the two castes preserve any thing like the same relative numbers. We believe it would be better for the whites that the negro population should double, if they added only one half more to their numbers, than that they should remain stationary on both sides. Hence an insupera-

ble objection to all these deporting schemes—they cannot diminish the relative proportion of the blacks to the whites, but on the contrary increase it, while they check the augmentation of the population as a whole, and consequently lessen the security of the dominant party. We do not fear the increase of the blacks, for that very increase adds to the wealth of society, and enables it to keep up the police. This is the true secret of the security of the West Indies and Brazil. In Jamaica, the blacks are eight fold the whites; throughout the extensive empire of Brazil, they are three to one. Political prophets have been prophesying for fifty years past, that the day would speedily arrive, when all the West Indies would be in possession of the negroes; and the danger is no greater now, than it was at the commencement. We sincerely believe the blacks never will get possession, unless through the mad interference of the mother countries, and *even* then we are doubtful whether they can conquer the whites. Now, we have nowhere in the United States, the immense disproportion between the two races observed in Brazil and the West Indies, and we are not like to have it in all time to come. We have no data, therefore, upon which to anticipate that dreadful crisis, which so torments the imagination of some. The little islands of the West Indies, if such crisis were fated frequently to arrive, ought to exhibit one continued series of massacres and insurrections; for their blacks are relatively, much more numerous than with us, and a small extent of territory is, upon the principle just explained, much more favorable to successful revolution than a large one. Are we not then, most unphilosophically and needlessly tormenting ourselves with the idea of *insurrection*. Seeing that the West India Islands, even, so much worse off than ourselves in this particular, are nevertheless, but rarely disturbed. It is well known that where the range is sufficiently extensive, and the elements sufficiently numerous, the *calculation of chances* may be reduced to almost a mathematical certainty; thus, although you cannot say what will be the profit or loss of a particular gambling house in Paris on any one night, yet you may, with great accuracy, calculate upon the profits for a whole year, and with still greater accuracy, for any longer period, as ten, twenty, or one hundred years. Upon the same principle, we speculate with much greater certainty upon masses of individuals, than upon single persons. Hence bills of mortality, registers of births, marriages, crimes, &c., become very important statistics, when calculated upon large masses of population, although they prove nothing in families or among individuals. Proceeding upon this principle, we cannot fail to derive the greatest consolation from the fact, that although slavery has existed in our country for the last *two hundred years*, there have been but three attempts at insurrection—one in Virginia, one in South Carolina, and, we believe, one in Louisiana—and the loss of lives from this cause has not amounted to *one hundred persons, in all*. We may then calculate in the next two hundred years, upon a similar result, which is

incomparably smaller than the number which will be taken off in free states by murders for the sake of money.

But our population returns have been looked to, and it has been affirmed that they show a steady increase of blacks, which will finally carry them in all proportion beyond the whites, and that this will be particularly the case in Eastern Virginia. We have no fears on this score either: even if it were true, the danger would not be very great. With the increase of the blacks, we can afford to enlarge the police; and we will venture to say, that with the hundredth man at our disposal, and faithful to us, we would keep down insurrection in any large country on the face of the globe. But the speakers in the Virginia Legislature, in our humble opinion, made most unwarrantable inferences from the census returns. They took a period between 1790 and 1830, and judged exclusively from the aggregate results of that whole time. Mr. Brown pointed out their fallacy, and showed that there was but a small portion of the period in which the blacks had rapidly gained upon the whites, but during the residue they were most rapidly losing their high relative increase, and would, perhaps, in 1840, exhibit an augmentation less than the whites. But let us go a little back—in 1740, the slaves in South Carolina, says Marshall, were three times the whites, the danger from them was greater then than it ever has been since, or ever will be again. There was an insurrection in that year, which was put down with the utmost ease, although instigated and aided by the Spaniards. The slaves in Virginia, at the same period, were much more numerous than the whites. Now suppose some of those *peepers* into futurity could have been present, would they not have predicted the speedy arrival of the time when the blacks, running ahead of the whites in numbers, would have destroyed their security? In 1763, the black population of Virginia was 100,000, and the white 70,000. In South Carolina, the blacks were 90,000, and the whites 40,000. Comparing these with the returns of 1740, our prophets, could they have lived so long, might have found some consolation in the greater relative increase of the whites. Again, when we see in 1830, that the blacks in both states have fallen in numbers below the whites, our prophets, were they alive, might truly be pronounced false. (See *Holmes's Annals*, and *Marshall's Life of Washington*, on this subject.)

But we will now proceed to examine more closely, the melancholy inference which has been drawn from the relative advances of the white and black populations in Virginia, during the last forty years, and to show upon principles of an undeniable character, that it is wholly gratuitous, without any well founded data from which to deduce it. During the whole period of forty years, Virginia has been pouring forth emigrants more rapidly to the west than any other state in the union; she has indeed been "the fruitful mother of empires." This emigration has been caused by the cheap fertile and unoccupied lands of the west, and by the op-

pressive action of the Federal Government, on the southern agricultural states. This emigration has operated most injuriously upon Virginia interests, and has had a powerful tendency to check the increase of the whites, without producing any thing like an equal effect on the blacks. As this is a subject of very great importance, we shall endeavor briefly to explain it. We have already said in the progress of this discussion, that the emigration of a class of society, will not injure the community, or check materially the increase of population, where a full *equivalent* is left in the stead of the emigrant. The largest portion of slaves sent out of Virginia, is sent through the operation of our internal slave trade; a full equivalent being thus left in the place of the slave, this emigration becomes an advantage to the state, and does not check the black population as much as at first view we should imagine, because it furnishes every inducement to the master to attend to his negroes, to encourage building, and to cause the greatest possible number to be raised, and thus it affords a powerful stimulus to the *spring* of black population, which in a great measure counteracts the emigration. But when we come to examine into the efflux of the white population from our state to the west, we find a totally different case presented to our view. The emigration of the white man not only takes a laborer from the state, but capital likewise; so far, therefore, in this case, from the state gaining an equivalent for the emigrant, she not only loses him, but his *capital* also, and thus she is impoverished, or at least advances more slowly in the acquisition of wealth from a double cause—from the loss of both persons and capital.

Let us examine a little more fully, the whole extent of the loss which the state thus suffers, and we shall find it immeasurably beyond our hasty conceptions. In the first place, we cannot properly estimate the loss of *labor* by the number of emigrants, for we must recollect that the great majority of emigrants from among the whites, consists of males, who form decidedly the more productive sex; and these males are generally between eighteen and thirty, precisely that period of life, at which the laborer is most productive, and has ceased to be a mere consumer. Up to this period, we are generally an expense to those who rear us, and when we leave the state at this time, it loses not only the individuals, but all the capital, together with interest on that capital, which have been spent in rearing and educating. Thus, a father, perhaps, has been for years spending the whole profits of his estate in educating his sons, and so soon as that education is completed, they roam off to the west. The society of Virginia then loses both the individuals and the capital which had been spent upon them, without an equivalent. Perhaps a young man, thus educated, if he were to remain among us, could make by the exercise of his talents, two or three thousand dollars per annum. This is more than ten field laborers could make by their labor, and consequently, the loss of one such man as above described, is equal to the loss of ten common labo-

ers in a politico-economical view, and perhaps to more than one hundred in a moral point of view. We have made some exertion to ascertain the average annual emigration of whites from the state, but without success; supposing the number to be three thousand, and we have no doubt that it is far less than the true amount, we would err but little in saying that these three thousand would be at least equal to twelve thousand taken from among *mere laborers*.

Now what is the effect of this great abstraction from Virginia, of productive citizens and capital? Why, most assuredly, to prevent the accumulation of wealth, and the increase of white population. You will find, on examination, that this emigration robs the land of its fair proportion of capital and labor, and thus injures our agriculture, and entirely prevents all improvement of our lands; it sweeps off from the state the circulating capital as soon as formed, and leaves scarcely any thing of value behind, but *lands, negroes, and houses*. All this has a tendency to check the increase of the whites, not only by the direct lessening of the population by emigration, but much more by paralyzing the spring of white population. The increase of the blacks, under these circumstances, becomes much more rapid, and has served in part to counteract the deleterious effects springing from the emigration of whites. In this point of view, the augmentation of our black population should be a source of consolation, instead of alarm and despondency. Let us now see whether this state of things is forever to be continued, or whether there be not some cheering signs in the political horizon, portending a better and a brighter day for the Old Dominion, in the *vista* of the future. There are two causes evidently calculated to check this emigration of capital and citizens from Virginia, and to insure a more rapid increase of her white population, and augmentation of her wealth. These are, first, the filling up of our vacant territory with population; and second, the completion of such a system of internal improvement in Virginia, as will administer to the multiplied wants of her people, and take off the surplus produce of the interior of the state to the great market of the world—the first dependent on *time*, and the second on the energy and enterprise of the state.

1st. It is very evident, that as population advances and overflows our western territory, all the good lands will be gradually occupied; a longer and a longer barrier of cultivated and populous region will be interposed between Virginia and cheap western lands, and with this onward march of population and civilization, emigration from the old states must gradually cease. The whole population of the union is now 13,000,000; in less than fifty years from this time, (a short period in the history of nations,) we shall have 50,000,000 of souls—our people will then cease to be migratory, and assume that stability every where witnessed in the older countries of the world; and this result will be greatly accelerated, if the southern country shall, in the meantime, be relieved from

the blighting oppression of federal exactions. As this state of things arrives, the whites in Virginia will be found to increase more rapidly than the blacks; and thus, that most alarming inference drawn from disproportionate increase of the two castes, for the last forty years, will be shewn in the lapse of time, to be a false vision, engendered by *fear*, and unsupported by *philosophy* and *fact*.—We already perceive that the whites, in the ratio of their increase, have been, for the last twenty years, gradually gaining on the blacks; thus, in 1790, east of the Blue Ridge, the whites were 314,523, and the slaves 277,449—in 1830, the proportions were, in the same district, whites 375,935, slaves 416,529; gain of the blacks on the whites, 77,398. “But when did this gain take place? Between 1800 and 1810, the rate of increase of the whites was only seven-tenths of one per cent., while that of the slaves was eleven per cent. From 1810 to 1820, the ratio of the increase of whites was three per cent., and that of slaves was six per cent.—From 1820 to 1830, the ratio of increase of the whites was near eight per cent., and that of the slaves not quite nine per cent.,” and when we take into consideration the whole population of our state, east and west of the Blue Ridge, we find that the whites have been gaining at the rate of 15 per cent. for the last ten years, while the slaves have been increasing at the rate of ten per cent. only—and thus is it we find that those very statistics which are adduced by the abolitionists, to alarm the timid, and operate on the imagination of the unreflecting, turn out, upon closer scrutiny, to be of the most cheering and consolatory character, clearly demonstrating, upon the very principle of calculation assumed by the abolitionists themselves, that the condition of the whites is rapidly altering for the better, with the lapse of time.

We will now proceed to point out the operation of the second cause, above mentioned—a judicious system of *internal improvement* in checking emigration to the west. It is well known, that in proportion to the facilities which are offered to commerce, and the ease and cheapness with which the products of land may be conveyed to market, so do the profits of agriculture rise, and with them, a general prosperity is diffused over the whole country—new products are raised upon the soil—new occupations spring up—old ones are enlarged and rendered more productive—a wider field is opened for the display of the energies of both mind and body, and the rising generation are bound down to the scenes of their infancy, and the homes of their fathers: not by the tie of affection and association alone, but by the still stronger ligament of *interest*.—Sons who have spent in their education all the profits which a kind father has earned by hard industry on the soil, will not now be disposed to wring from his kindness the small patrimony which he may possess, and move off with the proceeds to the west; but general prosperity will induce them to remain in the land which gave them birth, to add to the wealth and the population of the state, and to be a comfort and a solace to their aged parents in the de-

cline of their days. We do indeed consider internal improvement in Virginia, the great *panacea*, by which most of the ills which now weigh down the state may be removed, and health and activity communicated to every department of industry.

We are happy to see that the Legislature of Virginia, during the last session, incorporated a company to complete the James river and Kanawha improvements, and that the city of Richmond has so liberally contributed by her subscriptions, as to render the project almost certain of success. It is this great improvement which is destined to revolutionize the financial condition of the Old Dominion, and speed her on more rapidly in wealth and numbers, than she has ever advanced before: the snail pace at which she has hitherto been crawling, is destined to be converted into the giant's stride, and this very circumstance, of itself, will defeat all the gloomy predictions about the blacks. The first effect of the improvement will be to raise up larger towns in the eastern portion of the state.* Besides other manifold advantages which these towns will diffuse, they will have a tendency to draw into them the capital and free laborers of the north, and in this way to destroy the proportion of the blacks. Baltimore is now an exemplification of this fact, which by its mighty agency is fast making Maryland a non-slave-holding state. Again, the rise of cities in the lower part of Virginia, and increased density of population, will render the division of labor more complete, break down the large farms into small ones, and substitute, in a great measure, the garden for the plantation cultivation: consequently, less slave and more free labor will be requisite, and in due time the abolitionists will find this most lucrative system working to their heart's content, increasing the prosperity of Virginia, and diminishing the evils of slavery, without those impoverishing effects which all other schemes must *necessarily* have.

Upon the west *particularly*, the beneficial effects of a judicious system of improvement, will be almost incalculable. At this moment the emigration from the western and middle counties of Virginia, is almost as great as from the eastern. The western portion of Virginia, in consequence of its great distance from market, and the wretched condition of the various communications leading through the state, is necessarily a grazing country. A grazing country requires but a very sparse population, and consequently, but small additions to our western population renders it redundant, and there is an immediate tendency in the supernumeraries to

* Doct. Cooper of Columbia, whose capacious mind has explored every department of knowledge, and whose ample experience through a long life, has furnished him with the most luminous illustrations and facts; has most admirably pointed out in the 25th chapter of his Political Economy, the great advantages of large towns, and we have no doubt but that the absence of large towns in Virginia, has been one cause of the inferiority of Virginia, to some of the northern states, in energy and industry. We are sorry that our limits will not allow us to insert a portion of the chapter on the advantages of large towns, just referred to, and that we must content ourselves with a warm recommendation of its perusal.

emigration. A gentleman from the west, lately informed us that in his immediate neighborhood, he knew of seventy persons who had moved off and many others were exceedingly anxious to go, but were detained because they could not dispose of their lands. The remedy for all this, is as glaring as the light of midday sun. Give to this portion of the state, the communications which they require. Let our great central improvement be completed, and immediately the grazing system will be converted into the grain growing, and the very first effect of sticking the plough into the soil, which has hitherto grown grass alone, will be an increased demand for labor, which will at once check the tide of emigration, so rapidly flowing on to the distant west—and agricultural profits will rise at once 50 or 100 per cent. One of the most closely observant citizens of the west, has informed us, that he can most conclusively show, that if flour would command \$ 3 00 a barrel on the farms in his neighborhood, the profits of raising grain would be double those of the grazing system. Here, then, is the *true ground for unity of action*, between the eastern and western portions of Virginia: let them steadily unite in pushing forward a vigorous system of internal improvement. Under what a miserably short sighted and suicidal policy must the west act then, if it seriously urges the emancipation of our slaves. The very first effect of it will be, to stop forever, the great central improvement. Where is the state to get the money from, to cut canals and rail roads through her territory, and send out thousands besides to Africa? The very agitation of this most romantic and impracticable scheme, is calculated to *nip in the bud*, our whole system of internal improvements; and we can but hope that the intelligence of the west, will soon discover how very hostile this whole abolition scheme is to all its true interests, and will curb in their wild career, by the right of instruction, those who would uproot the very foundations of society, if their schemes should ever be carried out to their full extent. We venture to predict, that, if these abolition schemes shall ever be seriously studied in Virginia, that there will be but one voice—but one opinion concerning them, throughout the state—that they are at war with the true interests of Virginia, in every quarter—in the west as well as the east. We hope then most sincerely, that those gentlemen who have been so perseveringly engaged in urging forward this great scheme of improvement, will not falter until the work is accomplished. We are well convinced that they are the true benefactors of the state—and they deserve well of the Republic—and at some day not very distant, they will have the consolation of seeing that the moral effects of this system, will be no less salutary than the physical. We hope, then, we have shewn, upon principles which cannot be controverted, that the experience of the last forty years in Virginia, need not fill us with apprehensions for the future. Time and internal improvement will cure all our ills, and speed on the Old Dominion more rapidly in wealth and prosperity.

Many are most willing to allow the force of the preceding reasoning, and to admit that there is no real danger to be apprehended either now, or in future, from our blacks; and yet, they say there is a feeling of insecurity throughout the slave-holding country, and this sense of insecurity destroys our happiness. Now, we are most willing to admit that, after such an insurrection as that in Southampton, the public mind will be disturbed, and alarm and apprehension, will pervade the community. But the fact proves that all this is of short, *very short* duration. We believe that there was not a single citizen in Virginia, who felt any alarm from the negroes, previous to the Southampton tragedy, and we believe at this moment there are very few who feel the slightest apprehension. We have no doubt, paradoxical as it may seem to some, but that the population of our slave-holding country, enjoys as much, or more conscious security, than any other people on the face of the globe! You will find throughout the whole slave-holding portion of Virginia, and we believe it is the same in the southern states generally, that the houses are scarcely ever fastened at night, so as to be completely inaccessible to those without, except in towns. This simple fact, is *demonstration complete*, of the conscious security of our citizens, and their great confidence in the fidelity of the blacks. There is no *bas* people, no *lower class*, on the globe, among whom the life of man is so secure as among the slaves of America, for they rarely murder, as we have already seen, for the sake of money. A negro will rob your *hen roost* or your *stye*, but it is rare indeed, that he can ever be induced to murder you. Upon this subject we speak from experience. We have sojourned in some of the best regulated countries of Europe, and we know that every where the man of property dares not close his eyes before every window and door are barred against intruders from without. And we believe, even in our northern states, these precautions are adopted to a much greater extent, than with us; and consequently, mark a much greater sense of insecurity than exists among us.

5thly, and lastly. *Slave labor is unproductive, and the distressed condition of Virginia and the whole south is owing to this cause.* Our limits will not allow us to investigate fully this assertion, but a very partial analysis will enable us to show that the truth of the general proposition upon which the conclusion is based, depends on circumstances, and that those circumstances do not apply to our southern country. The ground assumed by Smith and Storch, who are the most able supporters of the doctrine of the superior productiveness of free labor, is that each one is actuated by a desire to accumulate when free, and this desire produces much more efficient and constant exertions than can possibly be expected from the feeble operation of fear upon the slave. We are, in the main, converts to this doctrine, but must be permitted to limit it by some considerations. It is very evident, when we look to the various countries in which there is free labor

alone, that a vast difference in its productiveness is manifested. The English operative we are disposed to consider the most productive laborer in the world, and the Irish laborer, in his immediate neighborhood, is not more than equal to the southern slave—the Spanish and even Italian laborers are inferior. Now, how are we to account for this great difference? It will be found *mainly* to depend upon the operation of two great principles, and *secondarily* upon attendant circumstances. These two principles are the desire to accumulate and better our condition, and a desire to indulge in idleness and inactivity.

We have already seen that the principle of idleness triumphed over the desire for accumulation among the savages of North and South America, among the African nations, among the blacks of St. Domingo, &c., and nothing but the strong arm of authority could overcome its operation. In southern countries, idleness is very apt to predominate, even under the most favorable circumstances, over the desire to accumulate, and slave labor, consequently, in such countries, is most productive. Again, staple-growing states are, *cæteris paribus*, more favorable to slave labor than manufacturing states. Slaves in such countries may be worked in bodies under the eye of a superintendent, and made to perform more labor than freemen. There is no instance of the successful cultivation of the sugar cane by free labor. St. Domingo, once the greatest sugar-growing island in the world, makes now scarcely enough for her own supply. We very much doubt even whether slave labor be not best for all southern agricultural countries. Humboldt, in his New Spain, says he doubts whether there be a plant on the globe so productive as the banana, and yet these banana districts, strange to tell, are the poorest and most miserable in all South America, because the people only labor a little to support themselves, and spend the rest of their time in idleness. There is no doubt but slave labor would be the most productive kind in these districts. We doubt whether the extreme south of the United States, and the West India islands, would ever have been cultivated to the same degree of perfection as now, by any other than slave labor. The history of colonization furnishes no example whatever, of the transplantation of whites to very warm or tropical latitudes, without signal deterioration of character, attended with an unconquerable aversion to labor. And it would seem that nothing but slavery can remedy this *otherwise* inevitable tendency. The fact, that to the north, negro slavery has everywhere disappeared, whilst to the south, it has maintained its ground triumphantly against free labor, is of itself conclusive of the superior productiveness of slave labor in southern latitudes. We believe that Virginia and Maryland are too far north for slave labor, but all the states to the south of these are perhaps better adapted to slave labor than free.

But it is said, with the increasing density of population, free labor becomes cheaper than slave, and finally extinguishes it, as

has actually happened in the West of Europe; this we are ready to admit, but think it was owing to a change in the tillage, and the rise of manufactures and commerce, to which free labor alone is adapted. As a proof of this, we can cite the populous empire of China, and the eastern nations generally, where slave labor has stood its ground against free labor, although the population is denser, and the proportional means of subsistence more scanty than any where else on the face of the globe. How is this to be accounted for, let us ask? Does it not prove, that under some circumstances, slave labor is as productive as free? We would as soon look to China to test this principle, as any other nation on earth. The slave districts in China, according to the report of travelers, are determined by latitude and agricultural products. The wheat growing districts have no slaves, but the *rice*, *cotton*, and *sugar* growing districts situated in warm climates, have all of them slaves, affording a perfect exemplification of the remarks above made. Again, looking to the nations of antiquity, if the Scriptural accounts are to be relied on, the number of inhabitants in Palestine must have been more than 6,000,000; at which rate, Palestine was at least, when taking into consideration her limited territory, five times as populous as England.* Now we know that the tribes of Judah and Israel both used slave labor, and it must have been exceedingly productive, for we find the two Kings of Judah and Israel bringing into the field no less than 1,200,000 chosen men;† and Jehosaphat, the son of Asa, had an army consisting of 1,160,000;‡ and what a prodigious force must he have commanded, had he been sovereign of all the tribes! Nothing but the most productive labor could ever have supported the immense armies which were then led into the field.

Wallace thinks that ancient Egypt must have been thrice as populous as England; and yet so valuable was slave labor, that ten of the most dreadful plagues that ever affected mankind, could not dispose the selfish heart of Pharoah to part with his Israelitish slaves; and when he lost them, Egypt sunk, never to rise to her pristine grandeur again. Ancient Italy too, not to mention Greece, was exceedingly populous, and perhaps Rome was a larger city than any of modern times—and yet slave labor supported these dense populations, and even rooted out free labor. All these examples prove sufficiently, that under certain circumstances, slave is as productive, and even more productive, than free labor.

But the southern states, and particularly Virginia, have been compared with the non-slave-holding states, and pronounced far behind them in the general increase of wealth and population; and this, it is said, is a decisive proof of the inferiority of slave labor in this country. We are sorry we have not the space for a thorough investigation of this assertion, but we have no doubt of

* See Wallace on the Numbers of Mankind, p. 52, Edinb. Edit.

† 2 Chron. xiii. 3.

‡ 2 Chron. xvii.

its fallacy. Look to the progress of the colonies before the establishment of the federal government, and you find the slave-holding were the most prosperous and the most wealthy. The north dreaded the formation of the confederated government, *precisely* because of its *poverty*. This is an historic fact. It stood to the south, as Scotland did to England at the period of the Union; and feared lest the south, by its superior wealth, supported by this very *slave labor*, which, all of a *sudden*, has become so unproductive, should abstract the little wealth which it possessed. Again, look to the exports at the present time of the whole confederacy, and what do we see—why, that one-third of the states, and those *slave-holding* too, furnish two-thirds of the whole exports!! But although this is now the case, we are still not prosperous. Let us ask then two simple questions; 1st. How came the south, for two hundred years, to prosper with her slave labor, if so very unproductive and ruinous? and 2dly. How does it happen, that her exports are so great even now, and that her prosperity is nevertheless on the decline? Painful as the accusation may be to the heart of the true patriot, we are forced to assert that the unequal operation of the federal government has principally achieved it. The north has found that it could not compete with the south in agriculture, and has had recourse to the system of duties, for the purpose of raising up the business of manufactures. This is a business in which the slave labor cannot compete with northern, and in order to carry this system through, a coalition has been formed with the west, by which a large portion of the federal funds are to be spent in that quarter for internal improvements. These duties act as a discouragement to southern industry, which furnishes the exports by which the imports are purchased, and a bounty to northern labor, and the partial disbursements of the funds increase the pressure on the south to a still greater degree. It is not slave labor then which has produced our depression, but it is the action of the federal government which is ruining slave labor.

There is at this moment an exemplification of the destructive influence of government agency in the West Indies. The British West India Islands are now in a more depressed condition than any others, and both the Edinburgh and London Quarterly Reviews charge their depression upon the regulations, taxing sugar, coffee, &c., and preventing them, at the same time, from purchasing bread stuffs, &c. from the United States, which can be furnished by them cheaper than from any other quarter. Some of the philanthropists of Great Britain cry out it is slavery which has done it, and the slaves must be liberated; but they are at once refuted by the fact, that never has island flourished more rapidly than Cuba, in their immediate neighborhood. And Cuba flourishes because she enjoys free trade, and has procured of late plenty of slaves. It is curious that the population of this island has, for the last thirty years, kept pace with that of Pennsylvania, one of the most flourishing

of the states of the confederacy, and her wealth has increased in a still greater ratio.* Look again to Brazil, perhaps, at this moment, the most prosperous state of South America, and we find her slaves three times more numerous than the freemen. Mr. Brougham, in his *Colonial Policy*, says that Cayenne never flourished as long as she was scantily supplied with slaves, but her prosperity commenced the moment she was supplied with an abundance of this *unproductive* labor. Now we must earnestly ask an explanation of these phenomena, upon the principle that slave labor is unproductive.

There are other causes too, which have operated in concert with the federal government, to depress the south. The climate is unhealthy, and upon an average, perhaps one-tenth of the labor is suspended during the sickly months. There is a great deal of travelling too, from this cause, to the north, which abstracts the capital from the south, and spreads it over the north. The emigration from the south to the west, as we have before seen, is very great and very injurious; and added to all this, the *standard of comfort* is much higher in the slave holding than the non-slave-holding states.† All these circumstances together, are surely sufficient to account for the depressed condition of the south, without asserting that slave labor is valueless. But we believe all other causes as “dust in the balance,” when compared with the operation of the federal government.

How does it happen that Louisiana, with a greater proportional number of slaves than any other state in the Union, with the most insalubrious climate, with one-fourth of her white population spread over the more northern states in the sickly season, and with a higher *standard of comfort* than perhaps any other state in the Union, is nevertheless one of the most rapidly flourishing in the whole southern country? The true answer is, she has been so fortunately situated as to be able to reap the fruits of federal protection. “Midas’s wand” has touched her, and she has reaped the golden harvest. There is no complaint there of the unproductiveness of slave labor.

*See some interesting statistics concerning this island in Mr. Poinsett’s *Notes on Mexico*.

† In the Virginia debate, it was said that the slow progress of the Virginia population was a most unerring symptom of her want of prosperity, and the inefficacy of slave labor. Now we protest against this criterion, unless very cautiously applied. Ireland suffers more from want and famine than any other country in Europe, and yet her population advances almost as rapidly as ours, and it is this very increase which curses the country with the plague of famine. In the Highlands of Scotland, they have a very sparse population, scarcely increasing at all; and yet they are much better fed, clothed, &c. than in Ireland. Malthus has proved, that there are two species of checks which repress redundant populations—*positive* and *preventive*. It is the latter which keeps down the Scotch population; while the former, always accompanied with misery, keeps down the Irish. We believe at this time the preventive checks are in full operation in Virginia. The people of that state live much better than the same classes to the north, and they will not get married unless there is a prospect of maintaining their families in the same style they have been accustomed to live in. We believe the preventive checks may commence their operation too soon for the wealth of a state, but they always mark a high degree of civilization—so that the slow progress of population in Virginia turns out to be her highest eulogy.

But it is time to bring this long article to a close; it is upon a subject which we have most reluctantly discussed; but, as we have already said, the example was set from a higher quarter; the seal has been broken, and we therefore determined to enter fully into the discussion. If our positions be true, and it does seem to us they may be sustained by reasoning almost as conclusive as the demonstration of the mathematician, it follows, that the time for emancipation has not yet arrived, and perhaps it never will. We hope sincerely, that the intelligent sons of Virginia will ponder well before they move—before they enter into a scheme which will destroy more than half Virginia's wealth, and drag her down from her proud and elevated station among the mean things of the earth,—and when, Sampson like, she shall by this ruinous scheme, be shorn of all her power, and all her glory, the passing stranger may at some future day exclaim,

“The Niobe of Nations; there she stands
“Friendless and helpless in her voiceless woe.”

Once more then, do we call upon our statesmen to pause, 'ere they engage in this ruinous scheme. The power of man has limits, and he should never attempt impossibilities. We do believe, it is beyond the power of man to separate the elements of our population, even, if it were desirable. The deep and solid foundations of society, cannot be broken up by the vain *fiat* of the legislator. We must recollect, that the *laws* of Lycurgus were promulgated, the sublime eloquence of Demosthenes and Cicero was heard, and the glorious achievements of Epaminondas and Scipio were witnessed in countries, where slavery existed—without for *one moment* loosening the tie between master and slave. We must recollect, too, that Poland has been desolated; that Kosciusko, Sobieski, Scrynecki, have fought and bled for the cause of liberty in that country—that one of her monarchs annulled, *in words*, the tie between master and slave; and yet, the *order of nature*, has in the end vindicated itself; and the dependence between master and slave, has scarcely for a moment ceased. We must recollect, in fine, that our own country has waded through two dangerous wars—that the thrilling eloquence of the Demosthenes of our land has been heard with rapture, exhorting to death, rather than slavery—that the most liberal principles, have ever been promulged and sustained, in our deliberative bodies, and before our judicial tribunals—and the whole has passed by, without breaking or tearing asunder the elements of our social fabric. Let us reflect on these things, and learn wisdom from experience; and know, that the relations of society, generated by the *lapse of ages*, cannot be altered in a *day*.

APPENDIX.

The following extracts from a letter received from a gentleman, in answer to some queries which we lately propounded to him in conversation, have reached us too late to take advantage of them in the body of the Review. As, however, they corroborate some of the most important views taken in the Review, and proceed from the pen of a gentleman of great intelligence and patriotism, and one who perhaps understands the various sectional interests of our state better than any other individual, we cannot refrain from the publication of them in an Appendix; and hope the author, to whom we have been so frequently indebted for statistical information, will pardon the liberty which we take.

“In relation to our conversation concerning the culture of the upper country, I can only speak of the south-west, as I am best acquainted with that part—yet, I believe it applies to every portion of it, from Augusta to Tennessee—certainly in the region of the Alleghany.

“Land, in those counties on the Alleghany mountains, and beyond it, are low in price, resulting from the fact, that few of the products of the soil will sell in the market, for a much higher price than will pay for their transportation, which is high, owing to the distance, the wagon alone being used, and on very bad roads, which in the winter and towards spring are nearly impassible.

“From these circumstances, you will perceive the impossibility of the inhabitants of that district sending to market any thing but beef, mutton or pork, which has caused all who have suitable lands, to turn them into grass farms to obtain any revenue.

“This mode of culture requires a large capital in land, and extensive pastures to obtain a comfortable income, and can only be increased by extending the farm.

“The profit per acre, of this mode of farming is small; it may I think, with due regard to the seasons, be estimated at two or three dollars! The process is simple, and requires no labor of consequence after the grounds are well laid down in grass. The ox is purchased poor, and fed, generally, from September of the preceding year until November of the next year, when he is sold for a profit of ten or fifteen dollars, though, if he is of a large size, with a form adapted to rapid improvement in taking on fat, he may command a higher price. Land in that part of the state will be found differing as widely in its ability to produce grass, as almost any where else, but it may be considered safe to allow five acres to the ox; if the pasture is new, I think there is no doubt, this is not more than sufficient.

“The advantage of grass farming is, that it requires no labor—when the stock is purchased and put upon the pasture, two or

three men can readily attend to several hundred, if sold in November, but if reserved for market in January or February then a few laborers will be required to raise corn (maize) to feed them during the winter months, which is given in aid of good hay. None can pursue this business with any hope of success, unless he has large possessions in land.

"Were a conveyance to market practicable of the usual products of the soil, as wheat, barley, potatoes, rye, &c., the grass farm would soon be divided into several farms for the growing of wheat, which is much more profitable.

"The five acres of pasture allowed the ox, if cultivated in wheat, would certainly produce fifty bushels, which would be fully sufficient to manufacture ten barrels of flour, worth at least forty dollars! whereas, the beef produced from the same ground, would only bring from ten to fifteen, at most twenty dollars.

"By this last mode of farming, more labor is necessary, and less land. Consequently the farmer who can afford to pay the transportation to market of wheat or flour, is ready and very willing to purchase slaves to produce the crop—the farm being confined to a few acres comparatively speaking.

"In those districts near the James River, a family can live in great abundance, and increase their wealth upon an hundred acres of ground from the sale of flour, but in the grass region, such a family could not by every industry, do very little more than subsist comfortably; wherefore, they are compelled to sell their farm to the next grass farmer and move to the great west—his little farm when annexed to the great territory of his neighbor, is lost to the country, and cattle thenceforth take the place of people.

"It is quite common in that district to hear the owners of such farms remark, that 'they wish to sell, because they cannot by hard labor make any thing but a subsistence, since they cannot sell any wheat or grain, and their land is not sufficient to fatten stock for market—that land in the west is cheap and the soil very rich, and if he has to work to subsist his family, it would be a gain to labor where his land would double his crop from its superior richness of soil.'

"You ask me also, in relation to the honesty of slaves—all I know of them is, as I find them in the west. The people as I have shown you in that part of the state, have but very few, not that they have prejudices against them, but because they have no employment for them—if roads, or rail-roads were constructed so as to allow the transportation of flour at a profit, I doubt not there would soon be many there. Such as have slaves, find no difficulty with them, they soon acquire the habits of the laborers of the country, and do not often feel in any other station than that of the laborer on the farm, with all the comforts which fall to the lot of the poor, and which he is capable of enjoying, with as much time at his disposal as any industrious white man who has to perform the same work.

"Brought up in this way, they learn to think and take an interest in what is going on, and will always give a good reason for every operation on the farm—he is generally honest, strictly so in every thing of importance—a thief or pilferer, in a neighborhood, is soon as well known to the white people as to the slaves, and is as much contemned by the latter as the former. I have rarely ever known or heard of negroes stealing any thing but poultry, or some little finery appertaining to dress, of which they are as fond as a buck in Broadway. Money the slave seldom touches, as there is something precious about that in their eyes—and he who would steal a dozen chickens from his master and sell them for a dollar at the next village, would often bring a dollar to his master if he were to find it where it had been lost.

"I recollect not one instance, nor have I ever heard of a slave's committing murder for money—murders they have sometimes perpetrated it is very true, but I think generally in the heat of passion, or acting under a sense of deep injury or an accumulated load of personal wrongs. If the slave think his master a just and good man, *satisfied* with what is considered a day's work, he is always ready to pay the forfeit for any violation of orders; this discipline is hardly ever necessary. I have known men fifty years old, who never received a blow in their lives, and through the whole of that time was their masters good friend. In speaking of their murders, I must not forget to say, that when Mr. Lewis of Prince George county was murdered by his slaves, it was thought by many, that the deed was committed for his money, (many without doubt still think so,) the money was taken from his desk before the house was set on fire—Yet, there was in my mind something which compelled me to think the horrid act was committed, that, by the aid of money they might be able to find their way to the north, for it was about that time these incendiary publications were industriously circulated amongst us.

"I have written you a long letter, which you will easily perceive has been hastily sketched, though I feel assured, based upon facts and observations which will stand the test of scrutiny, and cannot by any effort be found deficient, or defective."

This was the first time I had seen a
man of my own race. I was very
nervous and did not know what to say.
He was very kind and friendly and
told me that he was a student at
the college. He was very interested
in my work and asked me many
questions. He was very intelligent
and had a very good command of
the English language. He was very
friendly and I enjoyed talking to him.
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told me that he was a student at
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2

THE

MARYLAND SCHEME

OF

EXPATRIATION

EXAMINED.

BY A FRIEND OF LIBERTY.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY GARRISON & KNAPP.

1834.

THE FRIEND OF LIBERTY

THE FRIEND OF LIBERTY

THE FRIEND OF LIBERTY

THE FRIEND OF LIBERTY

THE FRIEND OF LIBERTY
PUBLISHED BY CARLSON & WRIGHT
1851

THE MARYLAND SCHEME EXAMINED.

And he said unto his people, Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we. Come on, let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that, when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and so get them up out of the land. Therefore they did set over them taskmasters, to afflict them with their burdens. But the more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and grew. And they were grieved because of the children of Israel. And Pharaoh charged all his people, saying, Every son that is born, ye shall cast into the river, and every daughter ye shall save alive.—EXODUS 1: 9, 10, 11, 12, 22.

THE subject of American Slavery is one of paramount interest and importance to every American citizen. Its bearing on the character and future destiny of the nation—on the purity and permanency of our free institutions—is such as makes it a matter of common concernment; and attention to it, and its proper remedy, a matter of common obligation and duty. We boast that this is the 'land of the free'—we tell of our 'twelve millions of intelligent freemen,' as if we stood pre-eminent over all the nations for our freedom, when, in point of fact, there is not another civilized nation on the globe, in which there are so many slaves, or one, which tolerates so cruel and debasing a system of slavery. Free America stands as pre-eminent among the nations for the oppression endured by one class of her population, as for the freedom enjoyed by the other. Free America is the only civilized land, in which there are two millions of slaves. It is in free America only, that two millions of human beings, made in the image of God, are robbed of their inalienable and sacred rights *by law*, and thus subjected to the iron yoke of a *legalized oppression*.* The government of free America is the only government in the civilized world that shuts out two millions of its subjects from the protection of its laws. Boast therefore of our freedom as we may, and yet every sixth man, and every sixth woman, and every sixth child is a slave, and such a slave as is no where else to be found. A nation of slaves

is in our midst, not one of whom has any legal protection for his property, or his person, or his character, or his purity, or his social rights, or his life, or the instruction and cultivation of his mind; and none either for the property, or person, or character, or purity, or rights, or life, or mental cultivation of his wife and children, but all—father, mother, husband, wife, son, daughter, brother, sister—all are shut out from the protection of law, and *by law*, 'turned loose' on the community, a prey to the avarice, lust and cruelty of caprice and arbitrary, irresponsible power. Two millions of human beings are thus, at the discretion of their oppressors, daily plundered of the products of their industry; husbands of their wives; wives of their husbands; parents of their children; children of their parents; and all of them, of numberless blessings, that would accrue to them from the possession of their rights and the protection of law. Nor is it here that the wrong and the outrage cease. Physical sufferings are the least of the matter. The iron enters the soul. The legalized oppression of free America is crushing the soul of two millions. In the language of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, such is now 'their moral and religious condition,' '*that they may justly be considered the Heathen of this Christian country, and will bear comparison with Heathen in ANY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD.*'* Not content with a single victim, therefore, free America is stained with the guilt of the crime against the life of the soul of two millions.

It were idle to suppose that this state of things can long continue. The eye of the world is on our guilt, and with an unwonted scrutiny, is searching out and exposing the shame of our nakedness in this matter; and it will not be long, unless we bestir ourselves, before the public sentiment of the world, in the form of a holy indignation at our wickedness, or a burning contempt at our hypocrisy, will come down upon us. American slavery cannot stand the gaze of the world. And aside from this, the movement already begun in the public mind at home is so deep and wide-spread, that change, speedy, entire, radical, is inevitable. The public mind has started, as by magic,

* We unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed; to turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the *right* from the poor of my people. Is. 10: 1, 2. Shall the throne (government) of iniquity have fellowship with thee, which *frameth mischief by a law*? Ps. 9: 20.

* Charleston Observer, March 22, 1834.

from its sleep of years. It has roused itself to the subject in question in such a manner, and to such an extent, that the puny infant might as soon think to breast the mountain wave of ocean, as slavery to stand before that tide of sentiment that is now gathering and breaking over the length and breadth of the land. Sympathy, conscience, feeling, humanity, religion are every where rousing themselves, and with the self-consecration and the determination of the patriots of our revolution, are hasting to the deliverance of the captive. Nor will they rest until the work be done, and jubilee be heard throughout the land.

But, how? This is the question. And the community are divided upon it. One man answers, by means of 'African Colonization,' and another, by the scheme of 'Immediate Emancipation.' Both have repeatedly been the subject of discussion and examination, and it might seem therefore unnecessary to renew the discussion at the present time. There are, however, several reasons which seem to demand it. In the first place, the attention of the community has already been called to it anew in the manner already stated. In the next place, colonization is wondrously 'given to change;' sometimes urging itself on us in one form and with one set of reasons, and then again in a new form and with newer and better reasons; and, as we are given to understand, such is the fact in the present instance, the Maryland scheme being an improved form of colonization, and therefore having new and peculiar claims to the confidence and co-operation of the public. Of course, it ought to be subjected to a careful examination. The public, if they embrace it and second its designs by their influence and charities, should know distinctly and definitely what it is they thus embrace and second, and why they do it. Or if they stand aloof from it, they should know what they stand aloof from, and why they do so. If it be a benevolent scheme, and withal the wisest and most effectual for the removal of slavery; or if, on the other hand, it be only a piece of splendid deception—oppression in disguise, every member of the community should know it, and act accordingly, otherwise he will be in danger on the one hand of neglecting his duty to his country and to God, and on the other, of aiding and abetting oppression. It is on these grounds that the writer of these pages invites the attention of the citizens of Boston, at this time, to the following examination of the Maryland Scheme, and of its claims to the patronage of the humane and christian public.

I. *By whom and in what character is the scheme presented to the public confidence and co-operation?*

Answer 1. At the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society, January 20, 1833, the following resolution was offered by Mr. Chambers of Maryland, and adopted by the Society:—

Resolved, That the Society view, *with the highest gratification*, the continued efforts of the State of Maryland to accomplish her *patriotic and benevolent* system in regard to her colored population, and that the last appropriation by that State of two hundred thousand dollars, in aid of African colonization, is hailed by the friends of the system, as *a bright example* to other States.

In support of this resolution, after stating that in making the said appropriation, 'Maryland, in her character as a state, had expressed, so emphatically, her just regard for the objects of this (the American) Society, as to have elicited from the Board of Managers an expression of high obligation, for her magnanimous proceedings in support of them,' Mr. Chambers added, 'it is indispensable, however, that the object of this Society should continue to be what it has been professed to be, *the colonization of the free people of color ONLY.*' So that the Maryland scheme was originally endorsed and recommended by the American Society as a '*patriotic and benevolent* system,' and her appropriation, as '*a bright example to other states.*' Let this be remembered and proposed to OTHER STATES.

Answer 2. The select meeting of Monday evening, was called by the following note, sent to particular individuals:—

Sir, We particularly request your attendance at a meeting to be held this evening, the 28th inst. in the Old South Chapel, in Spring Lane, at 8 o'clock, P. M. for the object of hearing a developement of what is now doing by the Maryland State Colonization Society, to deliver that State from the evils of slavery; in aid of which benevolent purpose, the State has appropriated the sum of \$20,000 annually for ten years.

These statements will be made by the Rev. Messrs. J. and R. Breckinridge, from Philadelphia and Baltimore, and the Rev. Mr. McKenney, agent of the Society. We believe they will be found peculiarly important in the present crisis of this interesting subject, and will afford prospect of relief from the difficulties which it now presents.

We give this invitation at the request of the gentlemen above named. The meeting will be select, and as we cordially approve of the object, we are very desirous of having it fully attended.

Boston, July 28, 1834.

G. W. BLAGDEN,
HUBBARD WINSLOW, F
N. ADAMS.

It will be seen from the above, first, that the scheme is presented to the public by three respectable clergymen from abroad ; second, that it is endorsed and recommended by three of our most devoted and respectable clergymen in the city, as a scheme, 'to deliver that state from the evils of slavery,' and one of 'benevolent purpose ;' that the statements to be made 'will be found peculiarly important in the present crisis of this interesting subject, and will afford a favorable prospect of relief,' &c. ; and that they 'CORDIALLY APPROVE OF THE OBJECT,' and 'ARE VERY DESIROUS OF HAVING IT, (the meeting) FULLY ATTENDED.' The scheme comes well recommended, therefore, and, if for no other reason, deserves a careful and thorough examination.

II. What then is the scheme ?

Answer. A scheme of most atrocious oppression, as the following facts and documents conclusively prove.

Sometime in March, 1831, Mr. Brawner submitted the following Resolutions to the legislature of Maryland, which were severally read and adopted.

Resolved, That the increased proportion of the free people of color in this state, to the white population ; *the evils growing out of their connection and unrestrained association with the slaves, their habits and manner of obtaining a subsistence, and their withdrawing a LARGE PORTION of employment from the laboring class of the white population*, are subjects of momentous and grave consideration to the good people of this state.

Resolved, That as philanthropists and lovers of freedom, we deplore the existence of slavery amongst us, and would use our utmost exertions to ameliorate its condition ; *yet we consider the unrestricted power of manumission as fraught with ultimate evils of a more dangerous tendency than the circumstance of slavery alone*, and that any act, having for its object the mitigation of these joint evils, not inconsistent with other paramount considerations, would be worthy the attention and deliberation of the representatives of a free, liberal-minded and enlightened people.

Resolved, That we consider the colonization of free people of color in Africa as the commencement of a system, by which, if judicious encouragement be afforded, *these evils may be measurably diminished*, so that in process of time, the relative proportion of the black to the white population will hardly be matter for serious or unpleasant consideration.

Ordered, therefore, That a committee of five members be appointed by the Chair, with instructions to report a bill, based as nearly

as may be, upon the principles contained in the foregoing resolutions, and report the same to the consideration of this house.

In pursuance whereof, the speaker appointed Messrs. Brawner, Hawkins, Merrick, Bell and M' Mahon, the Committee.

This was the commencement of the Maryland scheme. Let us examine it. What causes originated it, and what was it designed to accomplish ? Let the resolutions answer. 'The *increased proportion* of the free people of color to the white population ; *the evils growing out of their connection and unrestrained association with the slaves ; their habits and manner of obtaining a subsistence ; their withdrawing a large portion of employment from the laboring class of the white population, and the unrestricted power of manumission, fraught as it was with ultimate evils of a more dangerous tendency than the circumstance of slavery alone*'—these were the 'subjects of momentous and grave consideration'—these the causes that should excite to the adoption of some measures by which 'these evils might be measurably diminished.' And so, to keep down the increase of the free ; to prevent the evils (a significant word,) of their intercourse with the slaves ; to keep them from withdrawing a large portion of employment from the whites ; to limit the power of manumission, and thus prevent those evils of more dangerous tendency than slavery alone, were objects 'worthy the attention and deliberation of the representatives of a free, liberal-minded, and enlightened people'!

At the next session of the legislature, Mr. Brawner presented the '*Report of the Committee on GRIEVANCES and Courts of Justice, of the House of Delegates, relative to the Colored population of Maryland.*' The following are extracts.

The committee to whom were referred the several memorials from numerous citizens of this state, upon the subject of the colored population, Report,—

That the views presented by the memorialists are various, and the recommendations contained in some of the memorials are entirely repugnant to those contained in others. The subjects, however, upon which legislative action is required, may be embraced under a few general heads :

First, That a law be passed prohibiting the future emancipation of the slaves, unless provision be made for their removal from the state.

Secondly, That a sum of money adequate for the attainment of the object, be raised and appropriated for the removal of those already free.

Thirdly, That a system of police be established, regulating the future conduct and morals of this class of our population,

And, Fourthly, There are several memorials from different parts of our state signed by a numerous and highly respectable portion of our citizens, recommending the entire abolition of slavery in the state.

This shows that there is abolition feeling abroad in Maryland, and that if that feeling were not drained off in the direction of Africa, it would soon seek another vent, viz. emancipation on the soil, and then Maryland would find her colored population, who withdraw a large portion of employment from the white laborers, no longer a 'grievance,' but a blessing—an industrious and quiet and valuable part of the community—far more so than the white population that would take their place; and she, as a state, would stand forth, a 'bright example to other states' of the glory and safety of a righteous emancipation.

The Committee proceed: 'It is not now (if indeed it ever was) a question, whether the colored population of this state is injurious to her prosperity.' The question therefore is, 'Is there a remedy for this admitted and awful evil? a remedy within the power of the state to apply, and consistent with its honor and a due regard to the welfare of that unfortunate class of our population, upon which it is to act?'—The committee think there is, and then go on to show that it is that of removal to 'the land of their fathers.'

'The colored population of Maryland amounts to 155,932, of whom 52,938 are free. The removal of *all* these, or at least, so many as to leave only an *inconsiderable and decreasing population of them* within our limits, is the object to be accomplished. This separation is essential.'

In regard to the free, the committee state that their increase between 1820 and 1830 was annually, thirteen hundred and forty. Supposing one half of this to have been by emancipation, and the other half to have been the natural increase, and supposing 'no future addition to be made to their number by emancipation, IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE MEASURES NOW TO BE ADOPTED, TO PREVENT THEIR REMAINING IN THE STATE AFTER EMANCIPATION, and the annual increase to be removed would be 670.' These could be removed at an expense of \$20,000. Thus, 'the *whole* of this population would be removed in the course of one generation alone.'

But 'whilst this operation is going on in reference to the free, can nothing be done towards the gradual reduction of the slaves?' An estimate is accordingly made in respect to their removal, but then 'they are property and must be so regarded, and without their owners' consent, none of them can be touched.' They do not, however, propose to buy

them of their masters, or to take any legislation on the subject. 'They would rather leave it to their fellow-citizens to make their free sacrifices to the public good, and the cause of humanity and justice, than compel them by legal enactments, or the offers of reward.'

And as to abolition,—'Believing that the legislature may securely rely on the patriotism and good sense and feeling of the people, they see no cause, for the present, to recommend any scheme for the *future*, or *progressive* abolition of slavery; deeming it *all-sufficient* to provide means for the removal of those now free, and such as, with consent of their owners, shall hereafter become so, and leave it to future events to determine whether any and what legislative enactments may be found necessary to eradicate from our state this stain upon her otherwise bright escutcheon.'

These extracts show a settled determination and design, first, and foremost, to get rid of the free people of color, and that in order to effect this, measures were to be adopted to carry off those now free, with their own consent, and at the same time to prevent any addition to their number by emancipation. This last was to be secured by restricting the power of manumission, so that every slave should be reduced to the alternative of perpetual bondage, or emancipation on condition of removal. How well this general design was executed—what measures have been, and are to be adopted to prevent the increase of the free colored population, to remedy the evils arising from their intercourse with the slaves, to secure their consent to emigrate, and then to carry them off, will be seen by the two following acts, passed at the same session of the legislature. The one will show how they prevent increase and obtain consent, and the other, by what means and in what way they are to effect removal.

I. *How to check increase and obtain consent.*

AN ACT RELATING TO FREE NEGROES AND SLAVES.

Section I. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland, That after the passage of this act, *no free negro or mulatto shall emigrate to, or settle in this State; and no free negro or mulatto belonging to any other State, district or territory, shall come into this State, and therein remain for the space of ten successive days, whether such free negro or mulatto intends settling in this State or not, under the penalty of fifty dollars for each and every week such persons coming into, shall thereafter remain in this State; the one half to the informer and the other half to the sheriff for the use of the county, * **

and any free negro or mulatto refusing or neglecting to pay said fine or fines, shall be committed to the jail of the county: and shall be sold by the sheriff at public sale, for such time as may be necessary to cover the aforesaid penalty, first giving ten days previous notice of such sale: and the said sheriff, after deducting prison charges and a commission of ten per centum, shall pay over one half of the nett proceeds to the informer, and the balance he shall pay over to the Levy Court or Commissioners as the case may be, for the use of the county. (a)

(a) So the matter is absolutely settled that there shall be no future increase of free blacks by *immigration*. No free negro is to emigrate to or settle in the State on any terms. What the penalty is, in case any colored person should attempt it, does not clearly appear, unless it be to pay fifty dollars for every week he stays over the prescribed ten days, and in failure thereof, to be 'sold for such time as may be necessary to cover said penalty'; and then, when his time is out, if he shall persist in remaining another week, to have the same process repeated; and so indefinitely, until at last he may chance to fall into the hands of some unprincipled wretch, who, having bought him for a limited time, shall take care, as is often done, to sell him before the time expires, to the southern market as a slave for life. It is more probable, however, that section 12 of this act is designed to meet this case, and that an attempt to emigrate and settle in the State, especially if persisted in, would come under the head of 'any crime committed after the passage of this act,' not punishable, under the laws of the State, by hanging, but by banishment from the State, or transportation to a foreign country, 'at the discretion of the court.'

Now what can be more oppressive and unjust than this! And yet this is the least part of the injustice and oppression of this single section. A thousand cases may occur, against which no provision is made, and in which the operation of this section would be still more cruel. Indeed the section is express, that the colored freeman out of the State, shall not even enter it on business, or on a visit to his friends, and remain over ten days, under the aforesaid pains and penalties! Be his business what it may, be the circumstances of his friends what they may, and, 'sickness or other casualty' on his part excepted, if he stay a single week over the appointed time, he pays his fifty dollars, or is seized by the sheriff as a felon, and locked up in 'the jail of the county,' there to remain, until the sheriff shall have given ten days notice of his sale, (and the sheriff if he pleases may be three or six months or more in giving the notice, no provision being made by which it becomes his duty to do it forthwith,) and then the poor man is to be sold at public auction for a time sufficient to cover the said penalty, and if no one is found who will pay said fifty dollars for a less time than one, or two, or three, or even more years of service, still off he goes to the highest bidder as a

Sec. 2. And be it enacted, That no person in this State, shall hereafter *hire, employ, or harbor* any free negro or mulatto who shall emigrate or settle in this State, after the first day of June next, or any free negro or mulatto who shall come into this State, from any other State, district or territory, and continue in this State for the space of ten successive days as above, under the *penalty of twenty dollars* for every day after the expiration of four days, any such free negro or mulatto * * * shall be so employed, hired or harbored, (b) and all fines accruing under this act, * * one half thereof to be applied to the informer, and the other half to the use of the county; and if any negro or mulatto shall

slave, to be held and treated as a slave, and during all the period of his servitude to remain separate from his family, if he have one, whatever their circumstances and wants, even though naked and starving for want of the clothing and the means of sustenance, for the supply of which they are dependent on the daily labor of the husband and the father, and tormented at the same time, with the apprehension, lest perchance by some evasion of the law, that husband or father should be sold, before his term of service expires, to the southern market, and thus be separated from them forever.

So also the colored man, of one town in the State, cannot marry a wife, even from the next town, should it happen to be over the line, and bring her into the State, but the fifty dollars must be forthcoming, or the wife be sold as before, and he be liable, by Section 2, to a fine of twenty dollars for every day he 'harbors' her over four. Or should he chance to have an aged father, or a feeble brother, or sister dependent on him for support, but residing only in the next town, so it be out of the State, they cannot come to reside in his family under the aforesaid pains and penalties, nor can he 'hire, employ or harbor' them under 'the penalty of twenty dollars for every day' he does it over four.

And so of a multitude of cases that might be supposed, and for which no provision is made. And does any man need argument to show that such enactments are oppression in its most glaring form? Why, they would disgrace the autocrat of Russia.

(b) 'Under penalty of twenty dollars'! No matter what the circumstances of the case, or however much the white man may be disposed to 'hire, employ, or harbor' the colored man, he does it under penalty of twenty dollars, for every day's offence over four! And so the door to immigration is not only shut, but bolted, and barred on both sides. The hands of white and colored are alike fettered in regard to the matter. The sufferings of the one cannot be relieved, or his wants supplied, by the employment which the compassion and kindness of the other might be disposed to furnish him; but, so far as relief in this way is concerned, that compassion and kindness are compelled, *by law*, to pass by the poor and the needy.

remove from this State and remain without the limits thereof for a *space longer than thirty consecutive days, unless before leaving the State he deposits with the clerk of the county in which he resides, a WRITTEN STATEMENT of his object in so doing, and his intention of returning again, or unless he shall have been detained by sickness or coercion, of WHICH HE SHALL BRING A CERTIFICATE*, he shall be regarded as a resident of another State, and be subject, if he return, to the penalties imposed by the foregoing provisions upon free negroes and mulattoes of another State, migrating to this State: Provided that nothing contained in this act shall prevent any free negro or mulatto from visiting *Liberia, and returning to the State whenever he may choose to do so.* (c)

Sec. 3, Provides that nothing in the preceding sections shall apply to free negroes engaged in navigation, 'under a white com-

(c) What a provision this! Christian, think of it. Put yourself in the poor colored man's place, and pray over it. If he leaves the State 'for a space longer than thirty consecutive days'—what? Why, this, HE BECOMES AN EXILE FROM IT, and is to be regarded and treated as a resident of another State, liable to all the foregoing fines, imprisonments, &c., UNLESS, on leaving, he deposits, &c. Unless! What a mockery is this! Why, suppose the poor colored man cannot write, where shall he get his 'written statement'? Shall he go to the clerk or some justice, and pay him a fee to write it for him? Or, suppose he writes it himself, shall he be compelled, in this public way, to advertise the public where he is going, and what he is going for? Or, suppose he lives at the extreme part of the county, some ten, twenty, or more miles from the clerk, must he be at the expense of such a journey, together with the loss of one or two days of time, just to lodge said statement with the clerk? And, then suppose, in leaving the State, his object is to go to some place, say the first town over the line, in the hope of finding better employment and thus securing a better livelihood; and therefore cannot tell until he has tried it, whether he shall wish to return or not; is it right, is it kind, or is it high-handed wickedness to compel the poor man to make that experiment at the hazard of becoming an everlasting exile from his native State? And if he meets with disappointment and failure to leave him this, as his only consolation, 'I am now an exile from my former home, and as to my dear wife and little ones, I have no alternative but to be separated from them and leave them where they are, with none to provide for them or bring them where I am, to become exiles with me from their native State and their former friends, and eat with me the bitter fruits of disappointment and want?' Or, suppose he leaves with the avowed intention of returning, but has been detained by 'coercion,' (and it would seem that this is not impossible or improbable, else it had not been provided for in the act,) where and from whom shall he obtain the requisite certificate? Will those who have coerced

mander?—(d) or to any wagoner or hired servant travelling with his master, or to such as come into the State lawfully, and are detained by sickness or other casualty.

Sec. 4. And be it enacted, That it shall not be lawful from and after the first of June next, to import or bring into this state by land or water, any negro, mulatto or other slave for sale, or to reside within this state: * * * and any person or persons so offending, shall forfeit for every such offence, any negro, mulatto or other slave brought into this state contrary to this act, and such negro, mulatto or other slave, shall be entitled to freedom upon condition that he consent to be sent to *Liberia, or to leave the State forthwith, otherwise such negro or mulatto or other slave, shall be seized and taken and confined in jail by the sheriff of the county where the offence is committed*, which sheriff shall receive ten dollars for every negro, mulatto or other slave so brought into this State and forfeited as aforesaid, and seized and taken by him. * * * Moreover, said sheriff shall receive five dollars for such negro, mulatto or other slave actually confined by him in jail, and the usual prison fee as now allowed by law; and any person or persons so offending under this act, shall be punished by indictment in the county court of the county where the offence shall be committed, and upon conviction thereof, the said court shall, by its order, direct said sheriff to sell any negro, mulatto, or other slaves so seized and taken by him under this act, to the *Colonization Society for said five dollars, and the prison fees* * * * to be taken to Liberia: and if said Colonization Society shall not receive such negroes, mulattoes or other slaves for said five dollars each, and the prison fees of each, upon refusing, said sheriff shall after three weeks' public notice given by public advertisements sell any such negro, mulatto or other slave to some person

him give it? Will other white men do it, when perhaps to do it, is to impeach character, and by consequence, subject themselves to the taunts, and reproaches, and persecution of the individuals concerned? And besides, who cares enough for the 'niggers' to trouble himself about the matter?

(d) 'Under a white commander!' How kind! How magnanimous to make such a provision for the protection of the poor colored man! But alas! what if the commander should chance to be colored? That indeed would alter the case, and commander and all, would be alike obnoxious to the penalties of the law. Nay more, by Section 9, their colored faces would be prima facie evidence that they were thieves—perhaps pirates—and no man could trade with them until by a written certificate they had proved themselves honest men. Verily, the tender mercies of such legislation are cruelty extreme.

or persons, with a condition that any such negro, mulatto or other slave shall be removed and taken forthwith beyond the limits of this state to settle and reside, and said sheriff shall report any sale or sales made by him to the county court of the county in which he resides, and after deducting five dollars, and prison fees for each and every negro, mulatto or other slave sold as aforesaid, *

* said sheriff shall pay over the balance of said sales to the treasurer of the shore where he may reside. (e)

Sec. 5, Points out the duty of justices of the peace, touching the matter.

Sect. 6. And be it enacted, That no free negro or mulatto shall be suffered to keep or carry a firelock of any kind, any military weapon, or any powder or lead, *without first obtaining a license* from the court of the

(e) This is to prevent the increase of slaves. The state is anxious to get rid of slavery. Let us see how she would do it. If the master breaks the law, by bringing the slave into the state, he forfeits him. So far very well. So far the master suffers for his own sin, but farther than this his sin is all visited on the head of the poor slave. For, though forfeited, he is still a slave to the state, and is free *only* on condition, he 'consent to be sent to Liberia, or to leave the State forthwith.' Otherwise he is seized, as if he were the criminal, and shut up in prison, there to remain until, at some future time, (there is no provision to say when) the sheriff shall sell him to the Colonization Society for five dollars and the prison fees, to be taken to Liberia then, with or without his consent; and if that Society will not buy him, then, after another imprisonment of at least three weeks, (and for any provision to the contrary, it may be as much longer as the sheriff chooses,) during which, notice of his sale is to be given by public advertisement, he is to be sold to any person who will buy him, on condition of taking him forthwith beyond the limits of the state—that is, in plain terms, he is to be sold as a slave for life to any planter, negro-trader, or Woolfolk, who will buy him on the specified condition. These are the tender mercies of Maryland Colonization-legislation—it goes for the total abolition of slavery!

But why all this? What has the poor slave done that he should suffer thus? Why is it, that he is compelled to take his freedom at the expense of exile from his country and separation from his family, should he chance to have one? Or, if he refuse this alternative, why is he seized, and imprisoned, and sold without his consent, either to expatriation, or to hopeless bondage? For no crime, no imprudence, no misconduct of his, but solely for the fault of the master in bringing him, perhaps against his will, into that state from another. Is this right? Is it kind? Is this the legislation of benevolence?—this a part of the 'patriotic and benevolent' scheme of Maryland? these the laws of equity and humanity? Or is this the benevolence of Nicholas—tyranny in disguise; and these the laws of a Draco—written in blood? I speak as to wise men—judge ye.

county or corporation in which he resides; which license shall be annually renewed, and be at any time withdrawn by an order of said court, or any judge thereof; and any free negro or mulatto who shall disregard this provision, shall on conviction thereof before a justice of the peace, for the first offence pay the cost of prosecution, and forfeit all such arms to the use of the informer and for the second or any subsequent offence shall, *in addition to such costs and forfeiture, be punished with stripes, at the discretion of the justice, not exceeding thirty-nine, or be subject to the penalties of felony.* (f)

Sec. 7. And be it enacted, That it shall not be lawful for any free negro or negroes, slave or slaves, *to assemble or attend any meetings for religious purposes, unless conducted by a white licensed or ordained preacher, or some respectable white person or persons of the neighborhood, as may be duly authorised by such licensed or ordained preacher, during the continuance of such meeting; and if any such meeting shall be held without being conducted as aforesaid, they shall be considered as unlawful and tumultuous meetings,* and it shall be the duty of the nearest constable, or any other civil officer knowing of such meetings, either from his own knowledge or the information of others, to repair to such meeting and disperse the said negroes or slaves; and if any such constable shall fail to comply with the provisions of this act, he shall be subject to a fine of not less than five nor more than twenty dollars, at the discretion of a justice of the peace of the county in which he resides, whose duty it shall be to impose the fine, on information being given for such neglect; and return the proceed-

(f) And yet, on Wednesday evening, July 30, the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge of Baltimore, assured the citizens of Boston, that the free people of color in Maryland were treated with great kindness, as their rapid increase proved; that they were as really and fully protected in their right of property and locomotion in the state, as himself or any other citizen. Their property protected! Let the laws decide. And besides, compare with this, the testimony of this same Mr. B. in his speech at the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society at Washington, the last winter:—'I agree, said he, with the slaveholder, that the free people of color must go away or perish. And if any one doubts the truth of this, let him come to Baltimore, and I will show it to him. There he will find that our lawyers will not admit a colored man to the bar, nor our druggists to their profession. Our hack stands show few men of color. Even our dray-men are nearly all white. *We exclude the colored men from every employment in which men can rise. And they are there perishing for want of daily food.*' What protection!

ings and judgment on the same to the clerk of the county, who shall enter it upon the proper docket to be collected and applied as other fines and forfeitures now are: Provided, that this act shall not interfere with any right of any owner or employer of any slave or slaves, to allow his own servants or those employed by him or her, to have prayers or other religious service upon his own land; and provided also, that nothing contained in this act shall be construed to prevent the assemblage within the limits of Baltimore city and Annapolis city, of such slaves, or free negroes and mulattoes for the purpose of religious worship, if said meetings are held in compliance with the *written permission of a white licensed ordained preacher, and dismissed before 10 o'clock at night.* (g)

Sec. 8. And be it enacted, That all free negroes or mulattoes who shall be found associating, or in any company with slaves, at any unlawful or tumultuous meeting, either by day or by night, or who shall in connection with any slave or slaves, as principal or accessory, be guilty of, and convicted of, any offence for which slaves are now punishable, before a justice of the peace, such free negro or mulatto shall be subject to the same punishment, and be liable in every respect to the same treatment and penalty as slaves thus offending.

Sec. 9. And be it enacted, That it shall not be lawful for any person to purchase of any free negro or mulatto, or from any slave or slaves, any bacon, pork, beef, mutton, corn, wheat, tobacco, rye, or oats, unless such free negro or mulatto shall at the time of such sale, produce a certificate *from a justice of the peace, or three respectable persons* residing in the neighborhood of said negro, of the county in which such negro resides, that he or they have reason to believe and do believe, that such free negro or mulatto came honestly and bona fide into possession of any such articles so offered for sale, or unless such slave shall produce a written authority from his or her owner, employer or overseer, to sell any such article; and any person thus offending against the provisions of this act shall be subject to a penalty of five dollars for every such offence, or a penalty equal in amount to the value of the article purchased, should the value thereof exceed the sum of five dollars, *
* * * one half to the use of the informer, and the balance to be paid to the levy court, or commissioners, as the case may be, for the use of the county. (h) * * *

(g) This is a specimen of their right of locomotion.

(h) Another specimen of protection and of the mildness of the laws in that state, in which, as Mr. B. assures us, the laws are milder than in any other

Sec. 10. And be it enacted, That it shall not be lawful for any retailer, ordinary keeper, or other person, to sell any ardent spirits, gunpowder, shot, or lead, to any free negro, mulatto, or slave, without, in the case of a free negro, such free negro shall produce a certificate in the nature of a *license or permit from a justice of the peace in the county in which such free negroes may reside, directed to the person so selling the same*; or in case of a slave, unless such slave shall produce a written authority from his owner, employer or overseer, and any person so offending shall be subject to the like penalty, to be recovered and applied in every respect as is provided in the foregoing section of this bill.

Sec. 11. Relates to the power of certain courts in the matter of licenses.

Sec. 12. And be it enacted, That if any free negro or mulatto shall be convicted of ANY crime committed after the passage of this act, which may not, under the laws of this State, be punished by hanging by the neck, such free negro or mulatto may, *in the discretion of the court*, be sentenced to the penalties and punishments now provided by law, *or be banished from this State, or be transported into some foreign country.* (i)

Such is the act which was passed by the same legislature that made an appropriation of \$200,000 for the removal of free persons of color; and no man, I am persuaded, can read it without feeling that, whatever its design, its necessary tendency is to make their situation here so uncomfortable, as virtually to coerce them into a consent to re-

slave state—Kentucky excepted. The laws are so mild, that they make a colored skin *prima facie* evidence that the man is a thief, and throw upon him the burthen of proof that he is an honest man. This is mildness with a vengeance.

(i) This is the climax. Here are mildness and protection without a parallel. 'For any crime committed after the passage of this act'—such, for example, as emigrating into the State, or staying there over ten days, (sec. 1.) or hiring, or employing or harboring any one from another state more than four days; or returning after an absence of thirty days, (sec. 2.); or carrying a firelock or any kind of military weapon without a license from the county court, 'annually renewed,' (sec. 6.); or holding a religious meeting without a white man to conduct it, (sec. 7); or selling any thing without a written certificate that it was not stolen, (sec. 9)—in a word, for 'ANY crime,' those specified in the act or any others, 'committed after the passage of this act,' and not punishable by hanging, free negroes are so well protected, that at '*the discretion of the court*,' and with no right of appeal to another court, they may be subjected to the 'penalties and punishments now provided,' or 'be banished from the state, or be transported to a foreign country.' All this, probably '*with their own consent.*'

move from the State. But perhaps this is not so. Suppose, therefore, we suspend judgment until we have examined the other act, passed by the same legislature, making the aforesaid appropriation.

II. How they get rid of them.

'A LAW OF THE STATE OF MARYLAND.'

'An Act Relating to the People of Color of this State.'

Sect. 1, Provides for the appointment of a 'Board of Managers, consisting of three persons,' to superintend the whole business of the removal of 'the people of color now free, and such as shall hereafter become so.'

Sec. 2, Makes it the duty of the Treasurer of the Western Shore to pay to the Board of Managers such sums as they shall from time to time require, not exceeding in all, \$20,000 for that present year, to be applied by them, at discretion, in the work of removal, and in taking measures 'to obtain and place before the people of color of the state, full and correct information of the condition and circumstances of the colony of Liberia, or such other place or places to which they may recommend their removal'!

Sec. 3. And be it enacted, That it shall hereafter be the duty of every clerk of a county in this State, whenever a deed of manumission shall be left in his office for record, and of every Register of Wills, in every county of this State, whenever a will, manumitting a slave or slaves, shall be admitted to probate, to send within five days thereafter, (under a *penalty of ten dollars* for each and every omission so to do, to be recovered before any justice of the peace, one half whereof shall go to the informer and the other half to the State;) an extract from such deed or will, stating the names, number and ages of the slave or slaves so manumitted, (a list whereof, in the case of a will so proved, shall be filed therewith, by the executor or administrator) to the board of managers for Maryland, for removing the people of color of said State; and it shall be the duty of the said board on receiving the same to notify the American Colonization Society, or the Maryland State Colonization Society thereof, and to propose to such society that they shall engage, at the expense of such society, to remove the said slave or slaves so manumitted to Liberia; and if the said society shall so engage, then it shall be the duty of the said board of managers to have said slave or slaves delivered to the agent of such society, at such place as the said society shall appoint, for receiving such slave or slaves, for the purpose of such removal, at such time as the said society shall appoint; and in case the said society

shall refuse so to receive and remove the person or persons so manumitted and offered, or in case the said person or persons shall refuse so to be removed, then it shall be the duty of the said board of managers to remove the said person or persons to such other place or places beyond the limits of this state, as the said board shall approve of, and the said person or persons shall be willing to go to, and to provide for their reception and support at such place or places as the said board may think necessary, until they shall be able to provide for themselves, *out of any money that may be earned by their hire*, or may be otherwise provided for that purpose; and in case the said person or persons shall refuse to be removed to *any* place beyond the limits of this state, and shall persist in remaining therein, then it shall be the duty of said board to inform the sheriff of the county wherein such person or persons may be, of such refusal, and it shall *thereupon be the duty of the said sheriff* FORTHWITH TO ARREST, or cause to be arrested, the said person or persons so refusing to emigrate from this State, and TRANSPORT THE SAID PERSON OR PERSONS BEYOND THE LIMITS OF THIS STATE; and all slaves shall be capable of receiving manumission, for the purpose of removal as aforesaid, with their consent, of whatever age, any law to the contrary notwithstanding. (a)

Sec. 4. And be it enacted, That in case any slave or slaves so manumitted, *cannot be removed without separating families*, and the said slave or slaves, unwilling on that ac-

(a) Now what is this but force? I appeal to every honest mind, whether the plain, unvarnished, unambiguous language of this act is not simply this,— 'If you will go to Liberia, or any other place out of the State, very well; but if you will not, you shall be made to go. No matter if an eternal separation, (see sec. 4.) from your wife and children be the consequence, still, you shall go, or else renounce your freedom in open court, and *continue a slave*. The sheriff, with the strong arm of law, shall forthwith arrest you, and transport you, willing or not willing, beyond the limits of the State, and there leave you, unprovided and uncared for, to your fate?' And what is this but coercion? And yet, Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, at the meeting in the Masonic Temple, July 30, said, 'we have never passed a law by which to force them away, as we be slanderously reported.' Let the act speak for itself. The truth is, gloss it over as you will, every slave that is manumitted and sent to Liberia or elsewhere, under the operation of this law, to use the language of Mr. B. in reference to the emigrants from Virginia, is 'coerced away as truly as if it had been done with a CARTWHIP.' 'They were not driven by force. But after the Southampton affair, the legislature enacted *severe laws*, which required the free negroes to go through certain operations and forms of law in order to remain'—the very coercion of Maryland.

count to be removed, shall desire to renounce the freedom so intended by the said deed or will to be given, then it shall and may be competent to such slave or slaves so to renounce in open court the benefit of said deed or will, and TO CONTINUE A SLAVE. (b)

Sec. 5. And be it enacted, That it shall and may be competent for the Orphan's Court of this State, and for the Baltimore City Court, to grant annually, a permit to any slave or slaves so manumitted as aforesaid, to remain as free in the said county, in cases where the said courts may be satisfied by respectable testimony that such slave or slaves so manumitted deserve such permission on account of their extraordinary good conduct and character; Provided, such permit shall not exempt any manumittor or his representatives, or his estate, from any liability to maintain any hereafter emancipated slave, who, at the time his or her right to freedom accrues, may be unable to gain a livelihood, or be over forty-five years of age at said time, and afterwards become unable to maintain himself or herself. (c)

Sec. 6. And be it enacted, That the said

(b) What a privilege! How kind!

(c) A most singular provision this. The slave may remain if his character and conduct are 'extraordinary good,' and if he can get 'respectable testimony' to the fact, and if the Orphan's or Baltimore City Court 'shall be satisfied,' &c., and if, being satisfied, they shall be willing to give the required permit, and if they shall renew it 'annually'—such permit not releasing the master or his representatives from liability to support said slave in case of inability to support himself. Now with all these ifs in the way, to what does this provision amount? Really it would seem as if it were made in mockery of the slave's wo. For who must the 'respectable testimony' in question be, save the very master or his representatives, who, in case of the slave's manumission and residence in the State, are liable, as above, for his support? And what master, &c. in such a case, would be likely to testify to 'extraordinary good character and conduct'? And besides, if, as Mr. Breckinridge asserted at the meeting in the Temple, the two questions are settled, first, that the colored race shall never be admitted to equal civil and religious privileges, and thus suffered to remain among them as equals, and second, that they shall not remain as slaves—in other words, if a war of extermination is thus declared against the blacks, where is the proof that the courts in question will ever be so well 'satisfied' with the 'respectable testimony' as to give the aforesaid annual permit? Or if they do, and the manumitted slaves of 'extraordinary good character and conduct' should remain, where will Mr. B. and his coadjutors obtain their emigrants of such good character and so strictly temperate? Not from 'these free vagabonds.' For [Mr. B's speech at Washington] 'they have grown wise by experience, and do not intend to send out your ship-

Board of Managers shall in ALL cases where the removal of a slave or slaves manumitted as aforesaid, shall devolve upon them, have full power and authority, whenever the same shall be necessary and can be done with advantage, to hire out such slave or slaves so manumitted and so to be removed, until their wages shall produce a sufficient sum to defray all expenses attending their removal, and necessary support at the place or places of such removal. (d)

Sec. 7. Authorizes the Treasurer to borrow the requisite funds, never exceeding \$200,000 in all. Section 8th, authorizes the levying of a tax to raise the said specified funds. The 9th directs the sheriffs of the several counties to cause the number of the free people of color, their names, sex and age, to be carefully taken, noted, and sent to the said board of managers. The 10th fixes the compensation of the sheriffs; the 11th defines the duties of the managers, when informed by the sheriffs of persons wishing to remove; and the 12th provides that the act have no ex post facto operation.

'By the House of Delegates, March 14, 1832.—This engrossed bill, the original of which passed this House, the 9th day of March, 1832, was this day read and assented to.

By order.

GEO. B. BREWER, Clerk.

By the Senate, March 14, 1832.—This engrossed bill, the original of which passed the Senate the 12th day of March, 1832, was this day read and assented to.

By order.

JOS. H. NICHOLSON, Clerk.

GEO. HOWARD.'

Such are the Acts, as finally passed by the Legislature of 1832. The bills as originally reported contained some things that were still more exceptionable. At the same session also, the following bill, to limit the power of manumission in the state, and thus prevent those evils of a worse ultimate tendency than 'slavery alone,' was reported by a committee. Whether it passed into a specific law, I am unable to say. Be that as it may, the substance of it is virtually embodied in the foregoing acts, and it may therefore be quoted in form, as an illustration of the spirit and manner in which Maryland Colonization goes for the total abolition of slavery in that state.

loads of free vagabonds to christianize Africa. If they cannot have men of good character, they want none.' Where then will they find the emigrants?

(d) The slave then may not only be coerced out of the State, but where it can be done to advantage, he may be hired out and compelled to work out the expense of his own removal, &c.

A bill, entitled, An act relating to the Manumission of Slaves in Maryland.

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland, that from and after the passage of this act, it shall not be lawful for any person owning or holding any slave or slaves in this State to liberate, manumit, or set free such slave or slaves by deed of manumission, will, or otherwise, unless such slave or slaves be sent by the owner or holder of his or their representative, beyond the limits of this state.

Sec. 2. And be it enacted, That if any negro or mulatto slave or slaves shall become entitled to his, her or their freedom at any future day after the passage of this act, according to the present existing laws of this State, such negro or mulatto slave or slaves shall forfeit all right, title and claim to her, his, and their freedom, unless within ——— days after becoming so entitled, he, she, or they quit and finally leave this state.

Sec. 3. And be it enacted, That it shall not be lawful for any person or persons to give, sell or transfer, or convey, any slave or slaves to any free negro or mulatto of this State.

It will be seen at once that section first limits emancipation in all cases, to the condition of removal, thus leaving the poor slave no alternative but bondage or exile; and that section second, is *ex post facto* in its operation, so that if the slave, under laws previously in force, had been made free at the age of twenty-one, but should not become twenty-one until the day after this act came in force, then, instead of being free with liberty to remain in the state, according to the laws under which he was manumitted, he now forfeits his freedom and continues a slave, unless he quits the state within the specified time, be the separation from his family or other inconveniences what they may.

These are the more important documents, in illustration of the real spirit and character of the Maryland scheme. To my mind they indicate little else than a spirit of settled hate to the blacks, rather than to slavery, and a determination to get rid of them at all events. The whole matter seems to be one of a cold, calculating, selfish, bloody state policy, rather than one of sincere repentance for the sin of slavery. Indeed slavery as a sin, and therefore a thing to be repented of, does not once come to view. The idea of righting the wrongs of 100,000 human beings held in bondage, does not seem to have been a matter of thought or consideration. The grand question was, How shall we get rid of the blacks—especially the free? And the cold-hearted answer was, by making the condition of the free so uncomfortable, that they will be glad to escape, and by rivetting the

chain on the slave forever, except he consent, when emancipated, to be exiled.

True, the scheme professes to go for the abolition of slavery, but it is only on condition of the extermination of the obnoxious blacks. It is, therefore, rather a scheme for the abolition of the whole colored population, and that, *per fas et nefas*. The whole movement is characterized by the cold-hearted and bloody design of extermination.

But perhaps, I misjudge; suppose then we listen to the testimony of more unprejudiced witnesses, and see what construction they put upon these measures. The Journal of Commerce for 1832, a colonization print, has the following:—

‘What will be the effect of the proceedings of Virginia and Maryland, concerning free negroes, upon the city of New-York? It is true, those states do not propose to resort, in the *first instance*, to compulsory measures; but *does any one doubt that they will resort to such measures*, if the number of volunteer emigrants should not be sufficient to exhaust the appropriations made for their removal?’

But hear a witness on the ground. The Baltimore Chronicle, at the time these acts were passed, remarked as follows:—

‘The *intention* of those laws was, and *their effect must be*, to *EXPEL* the free people of color from this state. They will find themselves so hemmed in by restrictions, that their situation cannot be otherwise than uncomfortable should they elect to remain in Maryland. These laws will no doubt be met by prohibitory laws in other states, which will greatly increase the embarrassments of the people of color, and leave them *no other alternative than to emigrate or remain in a very unenviable condition.*’

Another evidence still more decisive is this: A correspondent of the Baltimore Patriot, in giving an account of the proceedings of the House of Delegates of that state, this present year, says:—

‘An order was submitted by Mr. Mann, of Washington county, instructing the Committee on the colored population, to inquire into the expediency of abolishing Slavery, after a certain period.—*It excited a warm debate and some unpleasant feeling.*—He withdrew his order. *It has been expunged from the Journal*, and consequently no trace of it will be found there.—*It was no doubt offered without reflection.*’

A motion to instruct a committee simply to inquire into the expediency of abolishing slavery,—not immediately, but *after some fixed time*—‘*excited a warm debate, and so much unpleasant feeling,*’ that a vote was passed to *expunge it from the Journal of the House!* This is decisive of the spirit and intention of the colonization legislation of

that colonization state. It demonstrates, either that the powers that be have no intention of ever abolishing slavery, but rather of perpetuating it forever by removing the disturbing force of the free, or that they go for abolition only on condition of the extirpation of the whole colored population.

Indeed, this last is virtually avowed in a communication, of the Board of Managers of the Maryland Colonization Society, to the public, in Nov. 1833, and signed by 'George Hoffman, Pres't.' 'The avowed object,' of establishing a colony under the exclusive control of the Society was, 'not merely to remove thither, with their own consent, the free people of color, but also effectually, though gradually, and consistently with the rights of all, extirpating slavery in the state, and restoring to the land of their fathers, *the whole of its colored population.*' Slavery is to be abolished, but only by an extirpation of the blacks!

The same thing was also expressly asserted, by R. J. Breckinridge, at the meeting before referred to, and abundantly confirmed by the whole tenor of his and his brother's remarks.

And besides, if the object be, not the extirpation of the colored people, but really and in good faith, of slavery; and if, as the Messrs. Breckinridge and others are constantly assuring us, a feeling hostile to slavery is pervading society throughout that State, so that there are hundreds of slaves, whose masters are ready and waiting to emancipate them, so soon as a door is opened, by which they can do it, with safety to themselves and advantage to the slaves,—if all this be true, why all this ado about the free? Why this anxiety to induce *them* to emigrate, especially when they, in the main, are nothing but 'free vagabonds,' and the great desire and solemn pledge is to send out none but temperate emigrants and those of good moral character in other respects? Why too those 'severe laws' whose 'intention' was, and whose 'effect must be to expel the free people of color from the state,' by leaving them 'no other alternative than to emigrate, or remain in a very unenviable condition'? And above all, in the selection of emigrants, if the object be to put an end to slavery, or there be one spark of pity for the poor slaves, why are not those hundreds of slaves selected *first*, and thus saved from the liability, to which they are constantly exposed, of being sold into hopeless bondage, at the caprice of the master, or in payment of his debts? And why too, no provision, by which a moiety at least, of the \$200,000, may be appropriated to purchase the slaves of those persons, who are very anxious to emancipate them, but from one cause or another, are unable to bear the loss? And worse than all, why no provision to meet the

case of the poor man, who, in accepting his freedom on condition of removal, must be separated from his family, except the cold-hearted one of permitting him to remain in bondage? One would have thought that the high-souled benevolence that appropriated \$200,000 to the removal of the free, might have appropriated a few dollars at least to the purchase and liberation of that poor man's wife and children, instead of compelling him to abandon them, or commit suicide on his own liberty, and by his own act rivet the chain upon himself forever!

The truth is, there is something wrong in this whole matter. Its pervading spirit is the spirit of negro hatred, and not that of repentance for wrongs inflicted on the innocent. Its object plainly is the extirpation of the negro race from the state. It thus adds insult to injury, and outrage to oppression. The legislation and the measures for effecting the object (unwittingly and unintentionally, if you please, on the part of some who are engaged in the enterprise) are, in spirit and in principle, the legislation and measures of a Nicholas, intent on the extirpation of the Poles, as the only means of the safety, security, and prosperity of his empire.

But this scheme professes to have some other peculiar claims on the confidence and patronage of the community, beside the one now examined, that it goes avowedly for the total abolition of slavery. Suppose we briefly examine them.*

1. It claims to occupy middle ground, and thus affords a resting place for the mind between Colonization, as it has been urged, and the mad scheme of Immediate Abolition. This point was pressed with special earnestness. Multitudes, it was supposed, had become abolitionists, and many others were in the way of becoming so, not because they were prepared or disposed to venture on the mad scheme of instant abolition, but mainly because they had supposed there was no middle ground on the subject. This scheme, however, presented middle ground, and could it be fairly spread before the public, and its principles be understood, it would furnish a resting place for the public mind, and thus check the progress of those fanatical doctrines and wild schemes which were abroad, and were fraught with such mischief to the nation.

Such was in substance the argument. But so far from being an argument in favor, it is an unanswerable objection to the scheme. It is the very reason of all others, why it should meet with the rejection of the whole community. It is middle ground—a resting place! What is this but saying it is effect-

* These points were brought out by the Messrs. Breckenridge at the meeting, at the Temple, on the evening of July 30.

ual to check the progress of public sentiment, and thus stand between it and the abolition of slavery? What is it but saying, here is a shield to protect slavery from the blows of an abolition public sentiment? What is it, but admitting that if this scheme and every other scheme of Colonization were out of the way, the public mind would at once be made up to abolition, and the sentiment of the nation be thus concentrated against the system of slavery for its overthrow?

Such at least were the admission and assertion of the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, at the last annual meeting of the Colonization Society in Washington. Said he—

‘Let the slaveholder beware how he drives us away. We stand in *the breach for him* to keep off the abolitionists. We are his friends, but only to *give him time*. If we are driven away, where can he find an ally? Where in the literature of the whole world, in the public opinion of the whole world, in the religion of the whole world, will he find an advocate? The abolitionist is upon him. And if he attempts to maintain slavery as perpetual, every one of us will be upon him too. You, Mr. President, and I, and all of us will join the abolitionists in such a cause, against perpetuating slavery. Rather than slavery, with its horrors, shall exist forever in this country, let us meet the evils incidental to its *instant* abolition. If abolition must be immediate or not at all, let it be immediate, come what will. We are the **ONLY FRIENDS** of the slaveholder, for we give him time, and that is all that he can ask—**TIME** to act and abolish slavery.’

This is all true: the Colonizationist, and especially the Maryland Colonizationist, does ‘stand in the breach, to keep off the abolitionists,’ and if he would only give up his colonizing schemes and get out of the way, the question of abolition or non-abolition would be brought to issue at once, and *then* the slaveholder would not find an advocate in the literature, or the public opinion, or religion of the whole world; and if he did not go for abolition, the abolitionist would be upon him.—Mr. B. would be upon him.—The mass of Colonizationists—the wealth, the influence, the moral power of New-England, and all the free states would be upon him. The public sentiment of the land and of the world would be upon him, and slavery, with its horrors, come to a perpetual end. The scheme in question, therefore, by occupying middle ground, and furnishing a resting place for the mind, goes to keep off the abolitionists, and prop up the system of slavery, and should therefore meet only with reprobation and rejection.

But 2. This scheme is an efficient one. That of the American Society, though excellent in many respects, was of necessity

inefficient. The states, however, having the right to legislate on the subject, can act efficiently. They can call the law to their aid.

True. They can avail themselves of the strong arm of the law, and by the passage of severe laws, ‘coerce’ the colored people away, as truly as if it were ‘done with a cart whip.’ And Maryland has made a good beginning in this work of compulsion, as the preceding acts abundantly show. And when Maryland has effected her object, and thus set the example of ‘successful colonization by state action,’ Virginia may follow it—and if her legislators will all of them be as frank and honest as Mr. Broadnax, carry her points, by resorting to actual physical force.(a) And

(a) **IT IS IDLE TO TALK ABOUT NOT RESORTING TO FORCE.** *Every body must look to the introduction of force of some kind or other. . .* If the free negroes are willing to go, they will go—if not willing, **THEY MUST BE COMPELLED TO GO.** Some gentlemen think it politic now to insert this feature in the bill, though they proclaim their readiness to resort to it when it becomes necessary; they think that for a year or two a sufficient number will consent to go, and **THEN THE REST CAN BE COMPELLED.** For my part, I deem it better to approach the question and settle it at once, and *avow it openly.* The intelligent portion of the free negroes know very well what is going on.—Will they not see your debates? Will they not see that coercion is ultimately to be resorted to? They will perceive that the edict has gone forth, and that it **MUST FALL**, if not now, in a short time upon them.

‘I have already expressed it as my opinion, that few, very few will *voluntarily* consent to emigrate, if no **COMPULSORY MEASURE** be adopted.—With many, in anticipation of its sure and certain arrival, will, in the mean time, go away—they will be sensible that the time would come when they would be forced to leave the State. Without it—you will still, no doubt, have applicants for removal equal to your means. Yes, Sir, people who will not only consent, but beg you to deport them. But what sort of *consent*—a consent extorted by a species of oppression calculated to render their situation among us insupportable! Many of those who have already been sent off, went with their *avowed consent*, but under the influence of a more decided compulsion than any which this bill holds out. I will not express, in its fullest extent, the idea I entertain of *what has been done, or what enormities will be perpetrated to induce this class of persons to leave the State.* . . . No matter how you change this bill—sooner or later the free negroes will be forced to leave the State. Indeed Sir, **ALL OF US LOOK TO FORCE** of some kind or other, direct or indirect, moral or physical, legal or illegal. Many who are opposed, they say, to any compulsory feature in the bill, desire to introduce such severe regulations into our police laws—such restrictions of their existing privileges—such inability to hold property—obtain employment—rent residences, &c., as to make it impossible for them to remain amongst us. *Is not this force?*’

Mr. Fisher said :

‘If we wait until the free negroes consent to leave the State, we shall wait until ‘time is no more.’ **THEY NEVER WILL GIVE THEIR CONSENT.** He believed if the compulsory principle were stricken out, this class **WOULD BE FORCED TO LEAVE BY THE HARSH TREATMENT**

so the work may go on from state to state, the kind and degree of compulsion varying according to the circumstances of the case, until the work of extirpation is complete, and the whole colored race have been thus kindly and benevolently restored to the land of their fathers, 'every emigrant' being 'a missionary, carrying with him credentials [which he cannot read] in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions.' (b) The scheme efficient!—the very reason for its unqualified rejection. It has the elements of unlimited oppression in it.

But the colony at Cape Palmas—there are a great many very excellent things about that. In the first place, *the climate at the Cape is very healthy.*

But who does not know that the same thing has been asserted and re-asserted respecting Liberia; and that, in face of the most conclusive evidence to the contrary—evidence now admitted on all hands to be valid? So late even as Jan. 6, 1831, the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge himself, in an address at Frankfort, Ky. said,

'The colony established at Liberia, occupies a fertile, and to the black constitution, a *salubrious region.*' * * 'It was farther objected, that the unhealthiness of the climate was an insurmountable obstacle in the way of colonizing any part of Africa. The facts stated in a former part of this address, the accounts of all travellers who have visited that continent, and the *uniform experience of the American Colony*, leave no room to doubt that the region of country owned by it, is pleasant, and to the black constitution, *EXTREMELY SALUBRIOUS.*'

Where now is our security that the healthiness of Cape Palmas will not turn out to be like that of Liberia—a non-entity?—especially when that of Liberia was demonstrated by the 'uniform experience' of the colony from the time of its foundation up to 1831?

But Cape Palmas is healthy, and the proof is as follows. For the sake of convenience, I place it by the side of similar proof respecting Cape Montserado.

<p>CAPE PALMAS. 'The appearance of the country, the bay and river, is exceedingly fine, and no place could be more desirable for a settlement.'</p>	<p>CAPE MONTSERADO. The territory purchased in Africa appears to have been judiciously selected, and it is believed, combines a greater number of advantages for a colonial establishment than any other situation on the coast. Elevated, and open to the sea, * * fertile and well watered, &c.'</p>
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Dr. Hall, Agent of the Maryland Col. Society.

'The situation of the Cape makes it one of the most desirable spots on

the Western Coast of Africa. It is *high, and receives the sea breeze.* * * * The place appears to be healthy, and the natives report it so. They tell me that several Englishmen have remained there from three to twelve months, and never complained of sickness. One of our passengers from Baltimore took the fever at Monrovia, and was laid up with it three days, before we arrived at Cape Palmas; and four days after our arrival he appeared to be quite well and over his sickness. [This looks well] The country around is not infested with swamps and mangroves as it is elsewhere'—[as if these were the cause of the unhealthiness elsewhere.]

Rev. G. R. McGill, a respectable colored man.

Address of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, in 1823.

'Every day I bless a new that favoring Providence which eventually led your agents to establish the settlement on Cape Montserado. *Not an hour have I spent here without feeling the refreshing and salutary influence of a fresh breeze from the ocean. The settlement can never be without it.* * *

I will only say of the healthiness of Montserado that no situation in Western Africa can be more salubrious. The sea air does all that can be done for it in this climate. One peculiarity is, that the night air is nearly as pure as any other. * * * * On Montserado the cause of sickness is not marsh miasma, nor exhalations from the earth, * * * but an atmosphere loaded with oceans of vapor, from the rains.'

J. Ashmun's Letter, Sept. 1822.

Thus far the testimony of mere opinion and conjecture in the two cases. What now is that of actual experience? To say nothing of Montserado, the testimony concerning Cape Palmas, in the very next communication from the same G. R. McGill is as follows:

'There had been no deaths (at the Cape) though some of the emigrants had a slight touch of the fever, though none serious. * * * * Dr. Hall suffers much from his state of debility; he can scarcely get about; he frets himself much on account of not being able to attend to business,' &c.

This was dated April 9, 1834.

Fourteen days only, after this, the Rev. John Hersey, assistant agent for the Society, having returned to Monrovia, writes a letter for publication in the Liberia Herald, in which he says,

'Nearly all the emigrants who came with us from the United States had been attacked with the fever, but they were all [at the time he left] recovering, and some of them were entirely restored to health.' 'I regret to say, that we lost a valuable individual (Dinah Newby) formerly a resident of this place. Her sufferings, * * * * were excruciating.'

Thus much for the healthiness of Cape Palmas. Scarce two months are passed after the commencement of the settlement, before all the emigrants are 'attacked with the fever,' one individual who had outlived the unhealthiness of Monrovia is dead, and the co-

OF THE WHITES. The people in those parts of the State where they most abound were DETERMINED,—as far as they could learn through the newspapers and other sources,—TO GET RID OF THE BLACKS.'

(b) Henry Clay, 10th An. Rep. of the A. C. So.

lonial agent is 'not able to attend to business,' and can 'scarcely get about' for very weakness!

But *this is to be a strictly temperate colony.* The site for it was bought without rum, and every emigrant who goes to the colony is to be a temperance emigrant.

This looks well on paper, but to the law and the testimony—let us have the documents and the facts.

Dr. Hall, in giving an account of the purchase of the land, says, 'So much had been said to the head men * * * on the subject of ardent spirit, that they barely made the demand; and upon a full and fair declaration, that my master sent me to buy land without rum, they gave it up in a manner that would have honored a more christian assembly. I must say, however, that this was *principally effected by the lobby members, before the house was opened*!'

Mr. Hersey, in his letter of April 23d, tells us *how* the lobby members effected this. 'After a few moments' deliberation, they willingly consented to receive fifty dollars in specie as *an equivalent* for the article.' And Mr. Brown, in his examination at New-York, said he was informed by a gentleman, who *was present at the sale*, that the land was bought without rum, but 'that the fifty dollars given to them instead of it, *was used by the natives in the purchase of rum.*'

To be sure, Mr. Hersey adds that a few days afterwards, a British ship came in the harbor, and they were informed that the kings had sent their specie on board and exchanged it for rum; and that, on inquiry if it were true, one of the kings promptly replied, 'No: We no buy rum—Rum make bad palaver.' Just as if he would confess it, if it were true! Such testimony, in such a case, from natives characterized by duplicity in other cases, amounts to nothing. Mr. Hersey is very careful not to endorse the king's disclaimer. The truth is, it is perfectly idle to pretend that the money was used for any other purpose; and the other articles, given in exchange for the land, prove it. These were, some of them, 4 cases of muskets, 20 kegs of powder, 2 kegs of flints, 100 cutlasses, 3 pair of brass barrelled pistols, 100 trade knives, 3 hhds. of tobacco, 50 tumblers, 50 mugs, 50 bowls, 50 pitchers, 24 stone jugs, 10 demijohns, 24 decanters, 50 wine glasses. What is all this but the apparatus complete, for drinking and fighting? And now, with the money in their hands, given them expressly as an equivalent for the rum, is it to be supposed, that they did not use it to provide themselves with something to put into this horrid array of mugs, and pitchers, and jugs, and demijohns, and decanters, and wine glasses? Plainly not.

But the emigrants—they are all to be temperance men. 'The constitution, which

every *Maryland emigrant* has now signed, unites them all in a Temperance association; and the ordinance for their government contains all the enactments that could be devised, to prevent the introduction or use of ardent spirit hereafter.*

But there were some, beside the 'Maryland emigrants,' who went to Cape Palmas. A number of 'volunteers' went from Monrovia: did they sign the temperance pledge, and will the ordinance for government prevent the introduction or use of spirit by them? And besides, it being the express and avowed object of the Maryland Society to remove from the state, not only the free, but 'the whole of its colored population,' how is the society going to make them all sign the temperance pledge? Suppose some of them should refuse, what is to be done? Would 'coercion' be used?

But the natives in the vicinity of the colony are very friendly, and are anxious to receive instruction—so much so, that the kings have sent two of their sons 'to the U. States, to be educated by the State Colonization Society,' and have stipulated for 'the establishment of a free school, by the society, in each of their chief towns, within a year from the date of the treaty.†' Such a colony, it is supposed therefore, will do much for Africa, in the way of introducing the light of civilization and religion into that benighted land. It will be a great help to the missionary cause.

This certainly deserves consideration. What then are the facts? Are the natives thus friendly? Sending their sons to be educated, &c. certainly looks like it, but is it so? They may desire education for themselves and children, not because they are, at heart, friendly to, or have confidence in the colonists, but merely that they may be able to cope with them in trade. Be this as it may, their friendship is such that 'a fort will be built'‡ by the colonists to protect themselves. Mr. McGill also informs us, in his letter of April 9th, that 'there is a number of them [colonists at Monrovia] intend going to Cape Palmas, as soon as they hear all is settled!' And Mr. Hersey, fourteen days after, says, 'It has been reported here, [Monrovia] that the natives are hostile, and the colony is in danger of being cut off. I think there is no ground for such a report. *There have been* [in the short space of two months] *several collisions and difficulties between individuals,* but in every instance, the natives discovered a friendly, peaceable disposition * * * Should the parties, however, become involved in war, *I believe it will be owing to the imprudence of the colonists.*'

* Address of Board of Managers, April 26, 1834.

† Address of Board of Managers.

‡ Wilson and Winkoop's Report.

It would seem, therefore, though the colonists are in fault, as is generally the fact in such cases, that there is not, after all, a very warm friendship existing between them and the natives.

But admitting that the fact were otherwise, it is still a question, whether the existence of the colony will aid or hinder in the great work of introducing civilization and religion into that benighted land? And all experience, I think, is decisive on the point, that it will but hinder. Dr. Philip found it so in South Africa. Our missionaries find it so in India. British christians found it so, when they undertook to operate on the Society Islands by planting a colony. The same was the result in the case of the Plymouth Colony, and that too, although in the charter, originally given by Charles I. it is expressly said, that the powers of government, therein enumerated, are granted, that the colonists may, by them, 'be so religiously, peaceably and civilly governed, as their good life and orderly conversation may win and incite the natives of that country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind and the christian faith; which, in our royal INTENTION, and the adventurers' FREE PROFESSION, IS THE PRINCIPAL END OF THIS PLANTATION; '* and although this 'free profession' of the adventurers was in some good measure acted on. Similar also has been the result at Monrovia. Notwithstanding the flattering accounts of the friendly feelings of the natives, their desire for instruction, the happy influence of the colony, &c. yet Gov. Pinney assures us, that 'Nothing has been done for the natives, by the colonists, except to educate a few, who were in their families, in the capacity of servants,' and that the 'same distinction' exists there between colonists and natives, 'as exists in America between colors.' Why then should Cape Palmas be an exception? Indeed, facts show that it is not.

It appears that Messrs. Wilson and Wynkoop, missionaries of the A. B. C. F. M. have selected Cape Palmas as the place for the establishment of their mission. In doing so, however, they say,

'We had very serious doubts as to the expediency of taking any measures for the immediate erection of the (mission) house in the neighborhood of the colony; first, from apprehension that the colony might embarrass our future efforts for the improvement of the natives; and in the second place, we had fears, lest, in case of any contest between the colonists and natives, the latter might be tempted to destroy it, ***** we took all the pains we could to impress the mind of the king and his people with the fact, that the mission is to be entirely distinct from the col-

ony, and will be identified with the interest of the natives.'

These facts establish the point that nothing is to be expected from colonies in aid of the missionary work. It is all a dream to expect it.

But what shall be done? We must get rid of the colored people in some way. The two races never have lived together, enjoying equal civil and religious privileges. The question is settled in Maryland, according to Mr. B. that they cannot do so there. There are important physical difficulties in the way of it; and they do not believe that God, in making great physical differences among men, ever intended that they should all mix up together.

In respect to this I will only say, that 'God hath made of one blood all the families of man for to dwell on all the face of the earth'—that 'he that hateth his brother abideth in death'—and then turn the matter over into the hands of an English reviewer, for the double purpose of an answer, and of showing how our silly, wicked prejudice against people of color is regarded abroad, and into what contempt it is bringing our religion and our free institutions, in the eye of the world.

'The Creator of all has "made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth"; and he who practically denies this, "maketh God a liar." How admirably does the proud spirit which leads the white American to revolt at worshipping his Maker in the same church with his sable fellow Christian, harmonize with the apostolic exhortation, "Let the same mind be in you that was in Christ Jesus," who "is not ashamed to call us"—men of every hue, partakers of the same flesh and blood—"his brethren"! Had our Lord himself appeared to the American nation "in the form of a servant," with a skin of darker hue than their own, they would have exclaimed with one voice, "Crucify him."

'No one who is aware of the intense, the almost savage antipathy which inspires an American towards the colored races, will accuse us of exaggeration.

'The very sight of a gentleman of color, whatever his wealth and intelligence, at the same dinner-table, in the same box of a theatre, still more at the same altar, would, even in this country, throw an American into the agitation of suppressed rage. The well authenticated anecdotes we have heard, illustrative of this fact, would be simply amusing, were it not for the serious consequences of this absurd prejudice. When we find such a spirit as this in Christians, we may well cease to wonder at the haughty prejudice of the ancient Jews towards the Gentiles, which led them to resent our Saviour's eating with "publicans and sinners," and to

exclaim respecting the apostle of the Gentiles, "Away with this fellow: he is not fit to live." The conduct of the Brahmins towards the inferior castes, finds its counterpart, in the nineteenth century, among the philosophic republicans of America.'

'Talk of freedom, of toleration, of justice, in a country where a free citizen may be expelled from his native soil, because of his complexion! Why, Russia and its autocrat appear to advantage in comparison with this ruthless, irresponsible despotism. And then, think of the blasphemy of making the Deity an accomplice in this cruelty and injustice, by resolving it into "an ordination of Providence," a "law of the God of nature," which defies the utmost power of Christianity—which religion cannot, that is, shall not subdue!'

'We cannot forbear to address a few words to those Christian ministers in this country, who cherish, as becomes them, a brotherly regard for the transatlantic churches, and are apt to look with a degree of fondness and partiality to the land of religious freedom, where Christianity has seemed to put forth of late so holy an energy. Far be it from us to wish to check those feelings, and to sow discord between the two countries. But this we must say; that it becomes the Christians of England to make their voice heard across the Atlantic on behalf of their colored brethren; and that our ministers are more especially bound to enter a solemn protest against the anti-Christian prejudice which the American pastors seem either timidly to yield to, or criminally to participate. Nor, speaking for ourselves, and willing to bear all the blame attaching to the avowal, shall we be disposed to place much faith in American revivals, or to augur well for the interests of religion in the United States, so long as American Christianity shall be found so partial or so feeble in its operation, as to exert no modifying influence upon this unjust, cruel, and insolent prejudice.*

But the two races never have lived together on terms of equality. There is not an instance of it in all the history of the world. Indeed! The thing never has been, and therefore it never can be. Jews and Samaritans never have done so; therefore, they never can. The Brahmin and the Soondra never have, as a body, broken caste, and therefore they never can. The gospel has not power to break down these middle walls of partition, and made Jew and Gentile, Barbarian, Scythian, bond and free, all one in Christ! I am surprised and pained at the unbelief that thus virtually denies the power of the gospel.

Such, reader, is the Maryland Scheme. I

have endeavored to examine its character and claims faithfully and impartially. I have only to ask, in conclusion,—Is it worthy of your approbation or countenance?

NOTE.

In further elucidation of this important subject, the writer begs leave to make the following statement, of what was done by the Maryland Legislature, touching the negroes, during the session in which the laws I have quoted were passed.

January 28, 1832, the following *resolution* was passed, and afterwards presented by Mr. Jenifer to the House of Representatives of the United States. [See No. 124 of Resolutions.]

'Whereas recent occurrences in this state, as well as in the other states of our Union, have impressed more deeply upon our minds, the necessity of devising some means by which we may facilitate the removal of the *free people of color*, [not a word about slaves,] from our state, and *from the UNITED STATES*; and whereas an appropriation by Congress for the above object would greatly relieve the states from the otherwise heavy burdens of taxation for that purpose—Therefore,

Resolved, by the General Assembly of Maryland, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested to use their exertions to obtain such aid from our national treasury, towards the furtherance of the above object, as may be in accordance with the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved further, That should the aid of the National Government be withheld, under the belief that the power to legislate on the subject is not granted to Congress by the Constitution, that then our Senators and Representatives in Congress, be requested to propose such *amendment to the Constitution!* [alas, for the Union!] of the United States, as will enable Congress to make such appropriation.

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to forward a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolution to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

By order.

JOS. H. NICHOLSON, *Clerk.*

By the House of Delegates.

January 28, 1832.

Read the second time and assented to.

By order.

G. G. BREWER, *Clerk.'*

So that the 'free people of color' must go at any rate, and if Congress will help, very well; if not, we will have the Constitution changed, &c. &c. What if abolitionists attempt, in such serious earnest, 'such

amendment to the Constitution,' that Congress could act for abolition?

The next thing done in relation to the 'free people of color,' was the passage of the law making the \$200,000 appropriation; the provisions of which are, [see Laws, chap. 323] precisely as stated by me. This passed, March 12, 1832. The very day that this was passed, the same 'benevolent,' 'magnanimous,' &c. legislature passed the following:—

'An act to authorize the executors of the last will and testament of William N. Ritchee, deceased, to bring certain slaves,' four in number, from Talahassee, in Florida, into the state, to be held and disposed of, 'under said will, according to its provisions, in the same right and manner, as if said slaves had been born in this state, &c. * * *

Provided, if the said negroes shall refuse to go to Liberia, they shall be sold out of this state AS SLAVES FOR LIFE!

And to crown the whole, only two days after this, viz.: March 14, 1832, this same Legislature passed 'An act relating to free negroes and slaves,' the provisions of which, [see Laws, chap. 323] are precisely as stated by me. This legislation speaks for itself—it needs no comment.

TO THE CITIZENS OF BOSTON.

YOUR attention has been recently called to the subject of African colonization anew, by the agents of the Maryland State Colonization Society. It is believed that the real spirit and character of that enterprise are not understood. To put the public in possession of the more important documents on the subject, and also to examine some of the arguments by which it has recently been urged on your confidence and co-operation, has been the object of this pamphlet. The task is not a pleasant one, to call in question and oppose a measure recommended and urged by men and ministers of the first respectability and standing in the church. Still, if the measure in question be wrong in principle, and pernicious in its tendencies and results, then, the fact that it is sanctioned and urged by such men, is the very reason why it should be exposed.

The men sanctify the measure, and make it thus the more pernicious. The present is believed to be such a case. And therefore, though the writer can have 'patience with the men'—though he can and does respect and esteem them as men and as ministers of Christ, he yet can have no patience 'with the principles,' but feels bound to call them in question.

[From the Liberator.]

THE HUNTERS OF MEN.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Have ye heard of our hunting, o'er mountain and glen,

Through cane-brake and forest,—the hunting of men?
The lords of our land to this hunting have gone,
As the fox-hunter follows the sound of the horn:

Hark!—the cheer and the hallo!—the crack of the whip,

And the yell of the hound as he fastens his grip!
All blithe are our hunters, and noble their match—
Though *hundreds* are caught, there are *millions* to catch:

So speed to their hunting, o'er mountain and glen,
Through cane-brake and forest—the hunting of men!

Gay luck to our hunters!—how nobly they ride
In the glow of their zeal, and the strength of their pride!—

The Priest with his cassock flung back on the wind,
Just screening the politic Statesman behind—

The saint and the sinner, with cursing and prayer—
The drunk and the sober, ride merrily there.

And woman—kind woman—wife, widow, and maid—
For the *good of the hunted*—is lending her aid:

Her foot's in the stirrup—her hand on the rein—
How blithely she rides to the hunting of men!

Oh! goodly and grand is our hunting to see,
In this 'land of the brave and this home of the free.'
Priest, warrior, and statesman, from Georgia to Maine,

All mounting the saddle—all grasping the rein—
Right merrily hunting the black man, whose sin
Is the curl of his hair and the hue of his skin!—

Wo, now to the hunted who turns him at bay!—
Will our hunters be turned from their purpose and prey?—

Will their hearts fail within them?—their nerves
tremble, when

All roughly they ride to the hunting of men?

Ho—ALMS for our hunters!—all weary and faint
Wax the curse of the sinner and prayer of the saint!

The horn is wound faintly—the echoes are still
Over cane-brake and river, and forest and hill.

Haste—alms for our hunters!—the hunted once more
Have turned from their flight with their backs to the shore:

What right have *they* here in the home of the white,
Shadowed o'er by *our* banner of Freedom and Right?

Ho—alms for our hunters!—or never again
Will they ride in their pomp to the hunting of men!

ALMS—ALMS for our hunters!—why *will* ye delay,
When their pride and their glory are melting away?

The parson has turned; for, on charge of his own,
Who goeth a warfare, or hunting, alone?

The politic statesman looks back with a sigh—
There is doubt in his heart—there is fear in his eye.

Oh! haste—lest that doubting and fear shall prevail,
And the head of his steed take the place of his tail.

Oh! haste, ere he leave us!—for who will ride then,
For pleasure or gain, to the hunting of men!

SPEECHES

DELIVERED AT THE

ANTI-COLONIZATION MEETING,

IN

EXETER HALL, LONDON,

JULY 13, 1833,

BY

JAMES CROPPER, ESQ., WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, REV. NATHANIEL PAUL,
DANIEL O'CONNELL, ESQ. M. P., MR. BUCKINGHAM, M. P., MR. HUNT,
REV. MR. ABRAHAMS, GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ. &c. &c.

BOSTON :
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1833.

PREFACE.

The following speeches which were delivered at the great meeting held in Exeter Hall, London, and which have caused so much excitement among the colonization crusaders, and their backers the mobocracy, were all taken down by a skilful and accomplished reporter, expressly for publication in this country. So far from being ashamed of my language on that memorable occasion, I gave *eighty dollars* for a full report of all that was then uttered by myself and others, in order that I might faithfully present it to the public on my return. I wish neither to modify nor retract a single sentence. To that fearless and eloquent champion of liberty,—that first of Irish patriots,—**DANIEL O'CONNELL**, Esq., the colored population of this country and their advocates are under heavy obligations for his masterly vindication of their cause, his terrible castigation of American slavery, and his withering satire upon the colonization 'humbug' at this meeting.

Now let the enemies of freedom foam and rage!—But the secret of their malice lies in the triumphant success of my mission. Had I failed to vanquish the agent of the American Colonization Society, or to open the eyes of British philanthropists to its naked deformity, there would have been no excitement on my return. These sensitive republicans, who are so jealous of the reputation of their country, be it remembered, are the most sturdy upholders of the slave system, and the most ardent sticklers for the banishment of our free colored population to the African coast. They esteem it no disgrace to debase, lacerate, plunder and kidnap two millions of slaves, and tread upon the necks of half a million free colored citizens; but it is foul slander, in their impartial judgment, to declare before a British audience that such conduct is in the highest degree hypocritical and tyrannical. But their iniquity is not done in a corner, nor can it be hid under a bushel. 'Where there is shame, there may in time be virtue.' I have already crimsoned their cheeks with the bitter consciousness of their guilt; and through their shame I will never despair of seeing them brought to repentance. It is idle for them to bluster and threaten—they will find out, by and by, that I am storm-proof.

If I had outraged common sense and common decency, by throwing all the guilt of our oppression upon the British government; if I had dealt in the wretched cant, that slavery was an evil entailed upon us by the mother country; if I had been as dishonest, as hypocritical, and as pusillanimous as the agent of the American Colonization Society; if I had extolled that kind of philanthropy which calls for the banishment of every man, woman and child, whose skin is 'not colored like my own'; if I had asserted that the stealers of human beings in the southern States were kind, liberal and paternal in their treatment of their victims, and anxious to abolish slavery;—in short, if I had sacrificed conscience, honesty and truth upon the altar of falsehood and prejudice; why, then the reputation of the United States would have been pure and spotless in the eyes of the English nation, and I should have received the applause, instead of the malediction of a senseless mob! But I was neither knave nor fool enough to do any such thing. I spoke the truth, in the love of the truth—the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. I freely acknowledged the guilt, the awful guilt of this boasted land of liberty, in holding one sixth part of its immense population in servile chains; and besought the sympathy of the friends of bleeding humanity in England, in behalf of our afflicted slaves. Nor did I fail to tear the mask from the brow of the American Colonization Society, so that it might be feared and loathed as a monster of cruelty, violence and blood. For this cause the wicked have drawn out the sword, and have bent their bow, to cast down the poor and needy, and to slay such as be of upright conversation. Their sword shall enter into their own heart, and their bow shall be broken.'

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

Boston, November, 1833.

MEETING IN EXETER HALL, LONDON.

A public meeting was held at Exeter Hall, Strand, on Saturday, July 13, 1833, for the purpose of exposing the real character and objects of the American Colonization Society. JAMES CROPPER, Esq. in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN commenced the business by remarking:—

The object of the present meeting is to give an exposition of the real character and design of the American Colonization Society. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, the representative of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, will address the meeting, and furnish it with information on the subject. He is a man very highly recommended and esteemed by the respectable part of the community in his own country, and is devoting the whole of his time to the great object of effecting the emancipation of the American slaves.

It is probably well known to the majority of the meeting, that an agent of the American Colonization Society has been collecting money in this country, which money he has obtained by declaring that its great object was THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY—the ultimate extinction of Slavery in the United States, and the civilization of Africa.

Now, notwithstanding these misrepresentations have been exposed, within a very short period, a meeting has been held by this individual, in which he has had the countenance of one of the blood royal; and it therefore becomes necessary to take a more public method of exposing the fallacy of his statements.

The American Colonization Society was avowedly established with the single object of colonizing the free people of color in Africa, or such other place as Congress might direct. It is, therefore, not confined in sending them to Africa, in order that they may civilize those regions, (and with their own consent, as it proposed to do,) but, on the contrary, they are to be sent to such other place as Congress may direct. Nor is its object the abolition of slavery; for Mr. Randolph, in a speech which he delivered at its formation, said—‘So far from being connected with the abolition of slavery, it would prove one of the greatest securities to the master to keep in possession his own property.’

Now, those who are acquainted with the nature of slavery know that it can exist only where men are scarce, and where land is plen-

tiful. As the population of any country multiplies, it will be utterly impossible to continue slavery. It is not necessary for me to state here, that, in this country, even if the law permitted it, slavery could not exist. We know that in many cases, parishes in this country are paying considerable sums, in order to send away the population. Now, if the people are of no saleable value, but, on the contrary, the country will give sums of money to get quit of them, slavery cannot exist. An increase of slave population, or any article of general consumption, will lessen its value; and in the case of slaves, it will depreciate them till they are worth nothing.

It was, therefore, in the contemplation of the arrival of this state of things in America, that the slave-owners there became alarmed. They saw the rapid increase of the American slave population; they saw that in South America, the same circumstance was producing the effect which the beneficent Creator intended it should—namely, that it should bring slavery to its natural death; and they perceived that a similar result would be brought about in North America. But to prevent the beneficent ordination of Heaven from taking effect, (and which some of the speakers connected with the Colonization Society, have called ‘a deplorable catastrophe,’) to prevent the emancipation of the slaves, and their consequent incorporation with the general body of the community, the impious contrivers of the Colonization scheme had brought their plans into operation, and, in the language of one of the Society’s distinguished supporters, they have ‘opened a drain to take off the excess of increase beyond the occasion of profitable employment.’ What can this language mean? To take from a country a hundredth part of its population, because they cannot find them profitable employment, would be perfectly ridiculous. It is quite true, that they cannot find profitable employment for their slaves; but it is equally true, that if they were increased a hundred fold, they would find profitable employment for themselves as free men.

It is known to most persons present, that the enactments against emancipation, and against every sort of instruction and improvement of the slaves, are more severe in the United States than in any other country whatever. And what, I would ask, has the Ameri-

can Colonization Society done to remove these laws? Nothing, *nothing* whatever! To talk about civilizing Africa, *while they do not attempt to improve the condition of the slaves at home*, is a perfect absurdity. If they had ever intended to effect the emancipation of the slaves, they would have led the way by preparing them for the enjoyment of freedom.

In Louisiana, the punishment of death is annexed to the attempt to instruct and improve the slave population. (Hear, hear.) Are these the people, who are looking to emancipation as their ultimate object? Far from it!

Let us see the effect which the Society has produced. In the year 1790, there were 59,000 free blacks in America. Emancipation was then going on with considerable rapidity, and feelings were cherished then, similar to those entertained in South America, and various other places; so that in 1810, the number had augmented to 186,000. Had emancipation got on in the same ratio, the ensuing 20 years, there ought to have been 584,000 free blacks; but when the census of 1830 was made up, we found the number to be only 319,000; and, consequently, owing to some change of feeling in America, there are 265,000 negroes now left in slavery, who would otherwise have been set free. Now it is a singular fact, that during the last 20 years, the American Colonization Society has been in operation.

So far from the Society having endeavored to remove the prejudice which exists against the free people of color, it has done every thing it could to strengthen it; for it has said that nothing could cure it—that even religion itself could not overcome it. We may therefore reasonably say, that instead of its pursuing the objects it is represented to have in view,—instead of its seeking the abolition of slavery,—it has been a very important means of holding 265,000 of our fellow beings in bondage, who might otherwise have been free.

The Chairman concluded by reading the following letter from THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, Esq. to Mr. GARRISON, apologizing for his absence:

54, DEVONSHIRE-STREET, July 12, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—I must trouble you with a line to excuse my non-appearance at the meeting to-morrow. The fact is, critical as has been the state of our great question often before, perhaps never was it so critical as now. My mind is intensely occupied, and every moment of my time so full, that I should be sacrificing my duty to this paramount object if I allowed anything else, however pressing and interesting, to divert me from it at this, the crisis of its fate. But you know my complete unity in the objects of your meeting, to which I most cordially wish all success. My views of the Colonization Society you are aware of. They do not fall far short of those expressed by my friend Mr. Cropper, when he termed its objects *diabolical*. Nor will you doubt my concurrence in the efforts of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, or any *Anti-Slavery* Society in the world.

Wishing you, therefore, all success, and entreating you to tell your countrymen, on your return, that we in England are all for the *Anti-Slavery*, not for the *Colonization* people, I am, my dear sir, with real es-

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. in announcing Mr. GARRISON to the meeting, said—Will you permit me to say that Mr. GARRISON is the accredited Agent of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, an infant association formed for the entire extinction of slavery throughout the United States? He is a delegate from that Society to England, for the purpose of holding communication with the leading abolitionists of our own country. It is hoped that when we have witnessed the extinction of the last sign of slavery in our own Colonies, England will not be reluctant in co-operating with the inhabitants of America in promoting the great cause of universal emancipation.

Mr. GARRISON then stood forward, and was received with loud applause. He spoke as follows:

MR. CHAIRMAN—It is long since I sacrificed all my national, complexional and local prejudices upon the altar of Christian love, and, breaking down the narrow boundaries of a selfish patriotism, inscribed upon my banner this motto:—*My country is the world; my countrymen are all mankind.* (Cheers.) It is true, in a geographical sense, I am now in a foreign territory; but still it is a part of my country. I am in the midst of strangers; but still surrounded by my countrymen. There must be limits to civil governments and national domains. There must be names to distinguish the natural divisions of the earth, and the dwellers thereon. There must be varieties in the form, color, stature, and condition of mankind. All these may exist, not only without injury, but with the highest possible advantage. But whenever they are made the boundaries of human disinterestedness, friendship, sympathy, honor, patriotism and love, they are as execrable and destructive, as, otherwise, they are beautiful and preservative.

Nowhere, I am certain, will a more united response be given to these sentiments, than in this Hall, and by those who are assembled on the present occasion. (Hear.) What exclamation have you put into the mouth of the African captive, kneeling in his chains with his face turned imploringly heavenward? It is this—the most touching, the most irresistible: ‘AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER?’ Yes! though black as murky night—though born on a distant shore—though degraded, miserable and enslaved—though ranked among the beasts of the field—still, ‘A MAN AND A BROTHER!’ (Cheers.) Noblest device of humanity!—Wherever, in all time, a human being pines in personal thralldom, the tones of that talismanic appeal uttered by him shall be swiftly borne by the winds of heaven over the whole earth, and stir up the humane, the brave, the honorable, the good, for his rescue; for the strife of freedom is no longer local, but blows are now struck for the redemption of the world. And glorious is the prospect before us. Wherever we turn our eyes, we see the earth quaking, and hear thun-

ders uttering their voices. The GENIUS OF EMANCIPATION is visible in every clime, and at its trumpet-call the dead slaves of all nations are starting into life, shaking off the dust of the tomb, and presenting an immortal beauty through the power of a mighty resurrection. (Applause.)

Sir, I have crossed the Atlantic on an errand of mercy, to plead for perishing millions, and to discharge, in behalf of the abolitionists of the United States, a high moral obligation which is due to the British public. It would neither be modest nor proper for me, on this occasion, to make a parade of the sacrifices of time, of money, of health, or of labor, I have made—nor of the perils I have risked, or the persecution encountered, or the sufferings endured, since I first stood forth as the advocate of my enslaved countrymen,—not to banish them from their native land, nor to contend for their emancipation by a slow, imperceptible process, ‘half way between *now* and *never*,’—but to demand their instant emancipation, and their recognition as brethren and countrymen. (Cheers.) I shall make no such lachryminal display of my losses and crosses in this holy cause; although, perhaps, I could give as long a list, and summon as many witnesses, and present as strong claims upon your sympathy and regard, as the agent of the American negro shippers in this country; for I know that in all things I come short, and I pour contempt upon all that I have endured for righteousness’ sake. Whatever may have been the trials and dangers experienced by that agent, they are such only as attend a *popular* cause. His friends and supporters in the United States are as numerous as the oppressors and despisers of the colored population—constituting the great, the wealthy, the powerful, as well as the inferior classes. When he shall have stood forth, almost single-handed, for a series of years, against and in the midst of a nation of oppressors, and been branded with every epithet that malice could invent or ingenuity apply, and incarcerated in the cell of a prison, and had large rewards offered for his destruction by private combinations and legislative bodies, for his advocacy of the cause of negro emancipation; he may then, I think you will all agree, with far greater propriety urge his claims upon your sympathy, than while he is receiving the puffs and compliments of a great and popular party in his own country. I cherish not the least personal animosity toward that gentleman. I am sure that I can heartily forgive him as often as he wrongs me.

Sorry am I for his own sake—sorry for the sake of the cause of truth—that the health of Mr. Cresson, according to his own statement, disqualifies him from meeting me in a public discussion of the principles and operations of his darling scheme, although it enables him to hold *ex parte* meetings in favor of that scheme, *ad libitum*; nay, more—he can even take the

lead publicly in the formation of a British Colonization Society, and make a long speech, (although it is declared that it has no connexion with the American Colonization Society,) at the very moment he assigns his utter physical inability as a reason why he cannot hold a discussion with me, or with my gifted and eloquent friend, George Thompson, Esq. (Hear, hear!) He has my best wishes for the complete restoration of his health.

Mr. Cresson says he deprecates an angry discussion. So do I. Whichever of the disputants loses his temper, he will certainly be the sufferer. He has not been called by me to an angry discussion, but to a candid, magnanimous and calm discussion.

Mr. Cresson is constantly descending, in the most lugubrious and pathetic manner, both publicly and privately, respecting the persecution and abuse which he has received in almost every part of England. In one of his speeches at Edinburgh, he declared that ‘when he should be restored to his own country, he should reflect that in Scotland he found kindness, and in Scotland *ONLY*.’ And is this, Mr. Chairman, his return for the kind hospitality and the liberal assistance which have been extended to him by the people of England? Having fed at their tables, secured their confidence, and obtained their money, is the end of his career to be marked by the addition of insult to injury? (Hear!) He has published to the world the invidious charge that ‘in Scotland *ONLY*,’ has he found kindness; but dare he venture again into Scotland? Is he willing to return to Edinburgh, and once more test the kindness of its enlightened inhabitants? I make him an offer—I will go with him to that beautiful city, and, although he has the advantage over me by a pre-occupancy of the ground, if in one week I do not secure ten supporters to his one, I will instantly leave this country. But no—he will not return: his *health*, if no other cause will keep him in exile from his Edinburgh friends!

Sir, who are Elliott Cresson’s persecutors? Against whom has he brought the charge of bearing malice in their hearts toward him? Sure I am that the mention of their names will excite the smiles of this assembly. Excite their *smiles*, did I say? Let me rather say, their strongest indignation! He who has given the noblest proofs of his devotion to the cause of negro emancipation—whose time, and talents, and wealth, are all consecrated to the destruction of slavery—who is conferring upon this meeting the honor of presiding as chairman—JAMES CROPPER is one of Mr. Cresson’s persecutors! (Cheers.) And who does Mr. Cresson next brand with the epithet *persecutor*? That most eminent and most venerable philanthropist, whose merits transcend the language of eulogy—ZACHARY MACAULAY is a persecutor! Whose name comes next on his criminal calendar? A name that cannot die—

name around which cluster the best associations of philanthropy and true greatness—THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON! And Mr. Cresson, on the principles which govern his conduct, may now rank among his persecutors another noble spirit, whose fame is as widely diffused as the air of heaven,—WILLIAM WILBERFORCE; for he regards the doctrines and operations of the American Colonization Society as corrupt, proscriptive and disastrous. (Cheers.) I had a long and delightful interview with him, a few days since, at Bath; and he assured me that, although from the glowing representations which had been made to him respecting the flourishing condition of Liberia, he had been led to express his gratification at its success; yet he repeatedly told Mr. Cresson that he could hold no fellowship with that unchristian principle of the American Colonization Society which seemed to be a fundamental one—namely, that the whites and blacks could never live on terms of amity and equality in the United States.

I hold in my hand a paper, containing some queries which were dictated by Mr. WILBERFORCE, and taken down by his son in my presence, to which he wishes distinct replies. These I will read, by your permission:

‘1. How far has Mr Elliott Cresson made use of Mr Wilberforce’s name? Has he merely stated that Mr Wilberforce approved of the *colony* as calculated to benefit *Africa*; or has he said that Mr Wilberforce approves of the *principle* of the SOCIETY—namely, that the blacks ought to be removed for the *advantage of America, as well as for their own*?’

2. Did Mr Cresson (aware that it must be considered as the fundamental principle of the American Colonization Society, that there is a difficulty, amounting to a moral impossibility, in the blacks and whites living together in prosperity and harmony, as members of the same free community) make it clear to those to whom he professed to state Mr Wilberforce’s sentiments, that the two classes MIGHT AND OUGHT TO LIVE TOGETHER, as one mutually connected and happy society?

3. Has Mr Elliott Cresson made it publicly known in England, that the American Colonization Society has declared that it considers that *colonization* ought to be a *sine qua non of emancipation*?’

Let Mr. Cresson answer these questions. In reply to the two last, I will venture to assert that he has never made it publicly known, either that Mr. WILBERFORCE maintained that the whites and blacks might and ought to live together as one mutually connected and happy society, or that the American Colonization Society has declared that it considers that colonization ought to be a *sine qua non* of emancipation; and, consequently, that he has, in these two instances, if in no others, grossly deceived the British public. In the United States, Mr. WILBERFORCE is constantly quoted as the supporter of the American Colonization Society.

There yet remains another champion of the negro race, who though named the last is not the least, and whom, I have the strongest faith to believe, Mr. Cresson may very shortly rank

among his persecutors—I allude to THOMAS CLARKSON. (Hear, hear.) It is true, this venerable philanthropist has expressed his approbation of the American Colonization Society. Why has he done so? Recollect that he is now totally blind, and hence he is compelled to take many things upon trust. That Mr. Cresson has imposed upon his generous confidence is evident from these two facts:—The American Colonization Society (as I shall show before I close my remarks) has from its organization disclaimed any intention of seeking emancipation, either directly or indirectly—either immediate or gradual. And yet the excellent CLARKSON, in his letter of December 1st, 1831, addressed to Mr. Cresson, makes this declaration:

‘This Society seems to me to have two objects in view—first, TO ASSIST IN THE EMANCIPATION OF ALL THE SLAVES NOW IN THE UNITED STATES; and, secondly, by sending these to Africa, to do away the slave trade, and promote civilization among the natives there.’

But the deception ends not here. The Secretary of the American Colonization Society copied a large portion of Mr. CLARKSON’s letter into its organ, the African Repository; but, instead of giving Mr. CLARKSON’s own words as to his views of the objects of the Society, he makes an entirely new version of Mr. CLARKSON’s language—thus:

‘He [Clarkson] considers the object of the Society twofold; first, TO PROMOTE THE VOLUNTARY EMIGRATION TO AFRICA OF THE COLORED POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES; and second, the suppression of the slave trade, and the civilization of the African tribes.’—African Repository for November, 1832.

Here, then, is palpably a double fraud—first, on the part of Mr. Cresson, and next on the part of the Secretary of the American Colonization Society. The motive for garbling Mr. CLARKSON’s letter in the United States, was unquestionably to prevent an impression in the slaveholding States that the Society was designed to promote the abolition of slavery. I will only add that the detection of this fraud has created the utmost indignation in the United States, and lost the Society many of its supporters.

Mr. Chairman, I will not stop to dwell upon the singular modesty and good sense of an individual who converts the well grounded opposition of great and good men to the principles and operations of the American Colonization Society, into a persecution of his own person. Mr. Cresson is a respectable gentleman, but he vastly overrates his own dignity and importance, in supposing that he is an object of persecution.

Sir, we will lose sight of that gentleman, and come directly to the object of this meeting, viz. a delineation of American slavery and the American Colonization.

I cherish as strong a love for the land of my nativity as any man living. I am proud of her

civil, political and religious institutions—of her high advancement in science, literature and the arts—of her general prosperity and grandeur. But I have some solemn accusations to bring against her.

I accuse her of insulting the majesty of heaven with the grossest mockery that was ever exhibited to man—inasmuch as, professing to be the land of the free and the asylum of the oppressed, she falsifies every profession, and shamelessly plays the tyrant.

I accuse her, before all nations, of giving an open, deliberate and base denial to her boasted Declaration, that 'all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

I accuse her of disfranchising and proscribing nearly half a million free people of color, acknowledging them not as countrymen, and scarcely as rational beings, and seeking to drag them thousands of miles across the ocean on a plea of benevolence, when they ought to enjoy all the rights, privileges and immunities of American citizens.

I accuse her of suffering a large portion of her population to be lacerated, starved and plundered, without law and without justification, at the will of petty tyrants.

I accuse her of trafficking in the bodies and souls of men, in a domestic way, to an extent nearly equal to the foreign slave trade; which traffic is equally atrocious with the foreign, and almost as cruel in its operations.

I accuse her of legalizing, on an enormous scale, licentiousness, fraud, cruelty and murder.

I accuse her of the horrid crime of kidnapping one hundred thousand infants annually, the offspring of slave parents.

I accuse her of stealing the liberties of two millions of the creatures of God, and withholding the just recompense of their labor; of ruthlessly invading the holiest relations of life, and cruelly separating the dearest ties of nature; of denying these miserable victims necessary food and clothing for their perishable bodies, and light and knowledge for their immortal souls; of tearing the husband from his wife, the mother from her babe, and children from their parents, and of perpetrating upon the poor and needy every species of outrage and oppression.

And, finally, I accuse her of being callously indifferent to the accumulated and accumulating wrongs and sufferings of her black population, assiduous in extenuating her oppressive acts, and determined to slumber upon the brink of a volcano which is in full operation, and which threatens to roll its lava tide over the whole land.

These are my allegations. And what is the defence which she puts forth? It is even as one has said, who never speaks upon the subject of liberty but he 'showers words of

weight and fire'—I mean the distinguished and eloquent O'CONNELL. (Cheers.) In one of his speeches, he thus alludes to the miserable defence of the United States for their robberies and crimes:

'I come now to America, the boasted land of freedom, and here I find the slavery which they not only tolerate but extend, justified and defended as a legacy left them by us!—It is too true. But I would say unto them—'You threw off the allegiance you owed us because you thought we were oppressing you with the Stamp Act. You boasted of your deliverance from slavery. On what principle, then, do you continue to hold your fellow men in bondage, and render that bondage even more galling by ringing in the ears of the sufferers from your tyranny, what *you* have done, what *you* have suffered for freedom?' They may reply by referring to the slavery we have established and encouraged. But what would be thought of that man who should attempt to justify the crime of sheep-stealing, by alleging that another stole sheep too? Would such a defence be listened to? O, no! And I will say unto you, freemen of America—and the press will convey it to you almost as swift as the winds—that God understands you; that you are hypocrites, tyrants, and unjust men; that you are degraded and dishonored;—and I say unto you, dare not to stand up boasting of your liberties and your privileges, while you continue to treat men, redeemed by the same blood, as the mere creatures of your will; for while you do so, there is a stain upon your national escutcheon which all the waters of the Atlantic cannot wash out.' * * * 'Of all men living, an American citizen who is the owner of slaves is the most despicable: he is a political hypocrite of the very worst description.' * * * 'The friends of humanity and liberty in Europe should join in one universal cry of *Shame on the American slaveholders!* Base wretches, should we shout in chorus—base wretches, how dare you profane the temple of national freedom, the sacred fane of republican rites, with the presence and the sufferings of human beings in chains and slavery!' (Cheers.)

Sir, never was a more just and fearless rebuke given to a guilty nation. 'Faithful are the wounds of a friend,' and 'open rebuke is better than secret love.' Whatever responsibility may attach to Great Britain for the introduction of slavery into the United States, (and to talk of robbery and kidnapping as things that may be entailed is precious absurdity,) the first moment the people of the United States published their Declaration of Independence to the world, from that moment they became exclusively accountable for the existence and continuance of negro slavery. The capital stock of slaves, at that period, was about 400,000. It has been traded upon until it now numbers about 2,200,000—an increase of more than five fold! And yet America has the brazen assurance to declare that England alone is answerable for the servitude and destruction of this immense multitude. I blush to publish the story.

The American Union originally consisted of thirteen States—it has at the present time twenty-four States, twelve of which are free States, and twelve slaveholding States. Slavery, therefore, is consolidated in the southern portion of the country. The laws which are now in force, for the subjection of the slave

population, are unparalleled for their brutality. Draco's bloody code was as white as snow in comparison. Even the West Indian enactments are less despotic. But, as in the case of the Israelites in Egypt, the more our slaves are afflicted, the more they multiply and grow. Their increase is more rapid than even that of our white population; and in half of the slave States, the soil is so completely exhausted, and the market is so glutted, that slave labor is almost wholly worthless, and the planters are enabled to support themselves only by breeding slaves for sale in the extreme southern markets. Early alarmed at the frightful increase of the slave population, and at their great depreciation in value, the planters adopted the language and policy of Pharaoh:—and they said one unto another, 'Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we. Come on, let us deal wisely with them; lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that, when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us. Therefore they did set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens.' The Egyptian Pharaoh, finding to his astonishment that his excessive cruelty produced an opposite effect from that which was intended, resorted to another expedient. He charged the Hebrew midwives, and all his people, saying, 'Every son that is born of the Hebrew women ye shall cast into the river, and every daughter ye shall save alive.' The American Pharaohs, equally surprised at the prolific result of their cruelty, but more ingenious than their prototype, interrogated each other in the language of Mr. Archer of Virginia, as published in the 15th Annual Report of the American Colonization Society:

'What course or remedy remained? Was open butchery to be resorted to, as among the Spartans with the Helots? Or general emancipation and incorporation, as in South America? Or abandonment of the country by the masters, as must come to be the case in the West Indies? Either of these was a deplorable catastrophe. Could all of them be avoided, and if they could, how? There was but one way, but that might be made effectual, fortunately! It was to provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase beyond the occasions of profitable employment! This might be done effectually by extension of the plan of the Society. The drain was already opened. All that was necessary would be, to provide for the enlargement of the channel, as occasion might demand.'

We now come to the origin of the American Colonization Society. The motives, it seems, for its organization, were:—1st. To prevent a general emancipation and incorporation of the blacks with the whites—2d. To render unnecessary the abandonment of the country by the masters—3d. To render the slave system secure and lucrative—and lastly, To remove from the country 'those mirrors which reflect the light of liberty into the dark bosoms of the slaves'—namely, the free people of color.

Whence did the scheme of the American Colonization Society originate? Brings it

'airs from heaven, or blasts from hell?' Are its intents 'wicked or charitable?' It is a creature that was born in secrecy and in darkness, in the Legislature of Virginia—a State which holds nearly half a million of human beings in slavery—the Jamaica of the United States; and that Legislature, in its *benevolence* toward the free colored and slave population, has ever since been enacting the most atrocious law for the utter expulsion of the one, and the oppression of the other class. *It is the foulest conspiracy in the history of the world.**

Now, Mr. Chairman, having seen that the monster was conceived in sin, and shapen in iniquity, let us briefly enquire where and by whom was the American Colonization Society instituted, and who are its Managers.

It was formed at the close of the year 1816, in Washington city, and is principally managed by the plunderers and oppressors of their fellow men. Not a slave, since its organization, has been emancipated by any of its managers, and sent to Liberia. At the first annual meeting of the Society, General Mercer of Virginia, one of its Vice Presidents, said,—'Many thousand individuals in our native State, you well know, Mr. President, are restrained from manumitting their slaves, *as you and I are*, by the melancholy conviction that they *cannot yield to the suggestions of humanity*, without manifest injury to their country'!! So! the claims of humanity and the true interests of the country are at war, and the latter are to be pursued to the destruction of the former!—Now, mark the conduct of this canting dissembler and hardened oppressor!—More than fifteen years have elapsed since that speech was made, and yet none of Gen. Mercer's slaves have been manumitted, although opportunities have been constantly given to him to send them to Liberia, and have them changed into first rate missionaries in the twinkling of an eye!—And yet Mr. Elliott Cresson has actually had the audacity to trumpet his praise in this country as 'the WILBERFORCE of the American Congress!' (Hear! hear!) Nay, more—this same distinguished oppressor, who is the main pillar of the American Colonization Society, recently declared in Congress that 'the abolition of slavery was no object of desire to him, unless accompanied by colonization. So far was he from desiring it, unaccompanied by this condition, that he would not live in a country where the one took place without the other'!! He can live most happily in a State, nearly one half of whose population are slaves; but if slavery should be abolished, he would abandon his country! And yet, in the estimation of Mr. Elliott Cresson, he is 'the WILBERFORCE of the American Congress'!—Nay, we have not yet come to the climax. During

* NOTE. Mr Garrison was here interrupted by the entrance of DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq. into the Hall, who was greeted by deafening and long continued thunders of applause.

the famous Missouri struggle in 1819, it is said Gen. Mercer was carried into Congress, at his desire, upon a sick bed, in order that he might give his vote for the admission of a new slave State into the American Union! And it was through his influence (in conjunction with Henry Clay, another pillar of the American Colonization Society) that a majority was then obtained in Congress; and thus a new market was opened for the surplus slave population of his native State. The State of Missouri covers a surface of more than 60,000 square miles; and the man who was instrumental in opening this vast territory for the sale and enslavement of his fellow countrymen, without limitation, and thus raising the value of slaves in all the slave States, is styled by Mr. Elliott Cresson 'the WILBERFORCE of the American Congress'!! Was ever a greater aspersion cast upon that venerable name by the enemies of the abolition of the slave trade? (Hear!) The hardihood of the act is equalled only by that of the Managers of the American Colonization Society, who sent over to England by Mr. Cresson, a portrait of its first President, Bushrod Washington, (who was a slave-breeder, and from whose plantations slaves were sold and driven off in chains to the Mississippi,) requesting that it might be hung up at No. 18, Aldermanbury, by the side of the venerable CLARKSON's!—WILBERFORCE compared to an incorrigible slaveholder, who successfully exerted himself to open a new market for slaves! for the prosecution of that infernal traffic which WILBERFORCE had spent the best energies of his useful life in seeking to destroy! And CLARKSON associated with a negro breeder, who speculated in human flesh and sinews!! The insult is not merely a personal insult—it is an insult to the British nation; (cheers)—it is an insult to the virtuous and humane throughout the world! (Great cheering.)

Mr. Chairman, what is the object of the American Colonization Society?—Mr. Cresson says it is '*the final and entire abolition of slavery.*' I think I shall be able to prove, in three minutes, that this assertion is as far from the truth as the east is from the west. Of course, the object of every Society is defined in its Constitution. First of all, then, let us listen to the Constitution of the American Colonization Society. Its 2d Article is as follows:

The object to which its attention is to be *exclusively* directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations upon the subject.

Here, surely, is not the remotest allusion either to colonizing emancipated slaves, or to the abolition of slavery, as an object of the Society. On the contrary, it is confined *exclusively* to the removal of the *free* people of color. But as the Society has been in exis-

tence more than sixteen years, it is possible that it has changed its Constitution. What says the Sixteenth Annual Report of the Society for the year 1833:

Resolved, That the true and single object of the Society is that which is expressed in its original constitution, viz: 'to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their consent, the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient;' and that this object will be hereafter, as it has been heretofore, steadily adhered to.

Is not this evidence sufficient to convict Mr. Cresson of deception?

These and a hundred other similar declarations, Mr. Cresson has seen repeatedly, and yet he publicly declares in this country that one of the objects of the American Colonization Society is *the abolition of slavery in the United States!* Judge ye of his uprightness.

Surely it is not wonderful that a Society originating in a slaveholding State—formed by slaveholders—managed by slaveholders—supported by slaveholders; surely, I say, it is not wonderful that such a Society should pledge itself not to agitate the question of negro slavery, or seek its removal. It would be almost a miracle, were it otherwise.

Nor is it wonderful that the Society should denounce abolitionists as madmen, fanatics and incendiaries;—nor that they should utter atrocious slanders against the free people of color, in order to justify the detention in bondage of two millions of slaves, and to make men-stealers flatter themselves that they are genuine philanthropists in continuing to plunder and oppress the poor and needy;—nor that they should invent and reiterate the stupid fiction that Africa is the *native* country of American born citizens, to make their expulsion a plausible act;—nor that they should applaud those diabolical laws which forbid the instruction of the slaves, which prevent the improvement of the free blacks, which make expulsion the condition of emancipation, and which grind to the dust one-sixth part of the whole American population.

Nor is it wonderful that the Society should compass sea and land to make proselytes, and send over to England Mr. Elliott Cresson to dupe your philanthropy, in order to expel the free people of color, since their expulsion would soothe the fears of the oppressors, increase the value of the slaves, and place unlimited power in the hands of those who are given over to hardness of heart and blindness of mind, and to whom the fearful description of the apostle emphatically applies:—'Being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, spiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, without understanding, covenant breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful: who knowing the judgment of God, that

they which commit such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them.' Here is a development of motives!

'So far from being connected with the abolition of slavery, the measure proposed would prove one of the greatest securities to enable the master to keep in possession his own property.'—[Speech of John Randolph at the first meeting of the Colonization Society.]

'What is the free black to the slave? A standing perpetual incitement to discontent. Though the condition of the slave be a thousand times the best—supplied, protected, instead of destitute and desolate—yet the folly of the condition held to involuntary labor, finds always allurements in the spectacle of exemption from it, without consideration of the adjuncts of destitution and misery. The slave would have then little excitement to discontent, but for the free black.'—[Fifteenth Annual Report, p. 25.]

'By removing these people, we rid ourselves of a large party who will always be ready to assist our slaves in any mischievous design which they may conceive; and who are better able, by their intelligence, and the facilities of their communication, to bring those designs to a successful termination.'—[African Repository, vol. i. p. 176.]

'But is it not certain, that should the people of the southern States refuse to adopt the opinions of the Colonization Society, and continue to consider it both just and politic to leave untouched a system, for the termination of which, we think the whole wisdom and energy of the States should be put in requisition, that they will **CONTRIBUTE MORE EFFECTUALLY TO THE CONTINUANCE AND STRENGTH OF THIS SYSTEM, by removing those now free, than by any or all other methods which can possibly be devised.**' . . . 'In the decision of these individuals, as to the effects of the Colonization Society, *we perceive no error of judgment: OUR OPINION IS THE SAME AS THEIRS. WE CAN UNITE WITH THEM TO EFFECT THEIR OBJECT.*'—[African Repository, vol. i. p. 227.]

'The removal of every single free black in America, would be productive of nothing but safety to the slaveholder.'—[African Repository, vol. iii. p. 202.]

Here, then, it is unblushingly avowed, on the part of the Society, that the best mode to continue and strengthen the bloody slave system is to remove to Africa the free black population, and that it can heartily unite with the slave owners to effect that brutalizing, soul-destroying, heaven-daring object! Justly, Mr. Chairman, have you described it as 'a most *diabolical* scheme'—justly have you declared that 'never did Satan with more success transform himself into an angel of light, than in the gloss which has covered its deformities.' And yet the persecuted Mr. Elliott Cresson insists that the primary object of the Society is, **THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY!** Thus he has acquired a temporary success in this country, which has been trumpeted over the United States by the African Repository, and other periodicals.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, it is not wonderful that such a combination as the American Colonization Society should deify prejudice, proclaim eternal hostility against the free people of color, discourage their improvement, deride the power of the gospel, trample under foot

the precepts of the Saviour, insult the Holy Spirit, and blaspheme the God who made the heavens and the earth, and formed of one blood all nations of men. But it is enough to chill the blood of a christian to read sentiments like these:

'In every part of the United States there is a broad, and impassable line of demarcation between every man who has one drop of African blood in his veins, and every other class in the community. The habits, the feelings, all the prejudices of society—prejudices which neither refinement, nor argument, nor education, nor religion itself, can subdue—mark the people of color, whether bond or free, as the subjects of a degradation inevitable and incurable.'—[African Repository, vol. iv. p. 118.]

'We have endeavored, but endeavored in vain, to restore them either to self-respect or to the respect of others. It is not our fault that we have failed: it is not theirs. It has resulted from a cause over which neither we nor they, can ever have any control. Here, therefore, they must be forever debased; more than this, they must be forever useless; more even than this, they must be forever a nuisance, from which it were a blessing for society to be rid. And yet they, and they only, are qualified for colonizing Africa.'—[African Repository, vol. v. p. 276.]

'Is it not wise, then, for the free people of color and their friends to admit, what cannot reasonably be doubted, that the people of color must, in this country, remain for ages, probably forever, a separate and inferior caste, weighed down by causes, powerful, universal, inevitable; which neither legislation nor christianity can remove?'—[African Repository, vol. vii. p. 196.]

'The Managers consider it clear that causes exist, and are operating, to prevent their improvement and elevation, to any considerable extent as a class, in this country,—which are fixed, not only beyond the control of the friends of humanity, but of any human power. Christianity will not do for them here, what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the colored man, nor of the white man, nor of christianity; but an ordination of Providence, and no more to be changed than the laws of Nature.'—[Fifteenth Annual Report, p. 17.]

Thus do the supporters of the Colonization Society (constituting an overwhelming majority of the nation,) glory in their shame, and resolve that neither God nor man shall ever induce them to treat their colored countrymen otherwise than as the offscouring of the earth, so long as they refuse to be transported to Africa. Thus do they darily palm their sins upon the Infinite Jehovah, whose tender mercies are over all his works, and maintain that a physical distinction makes it morally impossible for them to do justly and love mercy. This is something worse than paganism!

Mr. Chairman, my soul sickens in turning over these masses of moral corruption, and I hasten to a close. I cannot boast, like Mr. Cresson, of defraying my own expenses; for he is opulent, and I am poor. All that I have is dedicated to this cause. But I am proud to say that the funds for my mission to this country were principally made up by the voluntary contributions of my free colored brethren, at a very short notice. (Great cheering.) I stand before you as their mouth-piece, and with their blessings resting upon my head.

Persecuted, derided, yet noble people! never can I repay generosity and love like theirs. Sir, I am sorry to trespass a moment longer upon this meeting, but I beg a brief indulgence that I may discharge an act of justice toward that persecuted class. You have heard them described this day by the American Colonization Society, as the most abandoned wretches on the face of the earth—as constituting all that is vile, loathsome and dangerous—as being more degraded and miserable than the slaves. Sir, it is not possible for the mind to coin, or the tongue to utter, baser libels against an injured people. Their condition is as much superior to that of the slaves, as the light of heaven is more cheering than the darkness of the pit. (Cheers.) Many of their number are in the most affluent circumstances, and distinguished for their refinement, enterprise and talents. They have flourishing churches, supplied by pastors of their own color, in various parts of the land, embracing a large body of the truly excellent of the earth. They have public and private libraries. They have their temperance societies, their debating societies, their moral societies, their literary societies, their benevolent societies, their savings societies, and a multitude of kindred associations. They have their infant schools, their primary and high schools, their Sabbath Schools, and their Bible classes. They contribute to the support of foreign and domestic missions, to bible and tract societies, &c. In the city of Philadelphia alone, they have more than fifty different associations for their moral and intellectual improvement. In fact, they are rising up even with mountains of prejudice piled upon them, with more than Titanic strength, and trampling beneath their feet the slanders of their enemies. A spirit of virtuous emulation is pervading their ranks, from the young child to the gray head. Among them is taken a large number of daily and weekly newspapers, and of literary and scientific periodicals, from the popular monthlies up to the grave and erudite North American and American Quarterly Reviews. I have at this moment to my own paper, 'THE LIBERATOR,' one thousand subscribers among this people; and, from an occupancy of the editorial chair for more than seven years, I can testify that they are more punctual in their payments than any five hundred white subscribers whose names I ever placed indiscriminately in my subscription book. (Immense applause.)

This, Mr. Chairman, is but a rapid glance at a people, whom the American Colonization Society stigmatizes as the most abandoned wretches on the earth. Sir, having seen that that Society libels the gospel of Jesus Christ, and blasphemes the most high God, it cannot surprise us to discover that it bears false witness against the objects of its hatred and persecution.

Sir, one of this calumniated class is now on

this platform. (Cheers.) He has visited this country as the Representative of the Wilberforce Settlement in Upper Canada—that little colony, which, though founded under the most appalling difficulties, is, I am happy to say, in a thriving condition. And I would here observe that it receives the prayers, and applause, and encouragement of all the abolitionists in the United States. It is opening an asylum to which many a bleeding slave has already escaped, and others will follow in their track; and by its proximity to slavery, will add much to hasten the total and speedy destruction of that iniquitous system. It has received already some assistance from the British public, and it richly deserves your sympathies, your aid, and your prayers. He, to whom I allude as its representative, is the Rev. NATHANIEL PAUL, a gentleman with whom the proudest or best man on earth need not blush to associate. (Cheers.) I am proud in pointing to him as a specimen of that much injured class, out of which the American Colonization Society declares, 'no individual can be elevated, and below which none can be depressed.' I appeal to him for the truth of my statements to you this day; and I trust you will have the pleasure of hearing his testimony at the close of my remarks.

It is worthy of our inquiry to know in what light the American Colonization Society is held by the objects of its pseudo benevolence, the free people of color. Never was a scheme more heartily execrated and actively opposed: they hate it with a perfect hatred. I select a few expressions of their sentiments, as given in a multitude of public meetings all over the free States. A still later edition of their sentiments has been published, expressly in regard to my mission to England.

[Here Mr. Garrison read a large number of resolutions which had been passed by them at various periods. He then resumed:]

What, but the most dreadful persecution, can induce people, cherishing these sentiments from the first moment of the formation of the Colonization Society in 1816, down to the present time, to leave the land of their birth for a foreign one—to leave a land of civilization and christianity, for a land of barbarism, darkness and wo? Judge ye!

One word as to the practical effects of the Colonization Society. Since its organization, it has removed less than 1000 slaves, and about 2000 free persons of color. The increase of the slave population in the United States is 200 souls, daily. At least 600,000 new victims have been born and kidnapped, and nearly half a million have died in bondage, since the Colonization Society has been employed in shipping off to their African Botany Bay less than 1000!—I have brought some documents with me to this meeting, relative to the rise and progress of Liberia, which abundantly prove that there is as much truth in many of

Mr. Cresson's statements respecting that colony, as there is in the tales of Munchausen, or in the story which Mahomet tells of his visit to the third heavens—and very little more; but it is impossible for me at this time to go into particulars. The British public, however, shall have the whole truth of the matter, through some medium or other. I believe that world will be a curse, an awful curse to Africa, especially if the American Colonization Society succeed in its direful purpose of crowding her shores with a vicious and ignorant population.

The practical effects of the Colonization Society in the United States are too numerous to mention. Let this suffice—it has inflamed and sanctioned the most unholy and malignant prejudices—spoken peace to the slaveholder—seared the consciences of the people as with a hot iron—in many cases directly prevented the instruction of the free blacks—and induced the enactment of laws in nearly all the slave States, preventing emancipation without the expulsion of the emancipated, and also vexing the free blacks in the most cruel manner. Its tendency is, moreover, as we have shown, by its own confession, to make the slave system secure and lucrative.

But there is an unerring test of its real influence. 'Figures cannot lie,' says the time-honored adage. Nearly all the slave States, as well as the free States, highly applaud the Colonization Society. If, then, it be a benevolent institution, and its supporters be the determined enemies of slavery and the best friends of the free blacks, there must, of course, have been a most benevolent change effected in 17 years of powerful and unremitted exertions, in the legislation of the slave States, favorable to emancipation. This point is very instructive, because it admits of no mistake. The question then is,—Has the number of emancipations in the slave States diminished or increased since the Colonization Society was organized, as compared with preceding years? The first Census of the Population of the United States was taken in 1790, and has been taken every 10 years subsequently. To the Census, then, we make our appeal:

'In 1790, the free colored people were 20,415 in all the States south of the Potomac and the Ohio.

In 1800, they had increased to 32,604, or at the rate of 60 per cent.

In 1810, they were 58,046, an increase of 78 per cent.

In 1820, they amounted to 77,040; which is an enlargement of only 32 per cent.

In 1830, the free colored people had increased to 112,708, which is an increase of 45 per cent.

So that by comparing the 26 years before the Colonization Society was instituted, with the 14 years subsequent to its establishment, it appears that there was an average disproportion in the emancipation of slaves of 74 per cent. per annum to 32; or in other words, that the number of slaves annually liberated before the Colonization Society was formed, was at the rate of 7 to 3 emancipated since the year 1816.

According to the previous enumerations and the ad-

vances of the free colored people before the Colonization Society was formed, the free colored people in 1820, should have numbered 112,464; and in 1830, they should have increased to 244,000: whereas in 1830, they only amounted to the number which they should in ordinary course have attained in 1820.'

The American Colonization Society may therefore be fairly charged with having been the cause of the present detention in worse than Algerine bondage of hundreds of thousands of our race.

Sure I am that my appeal in behalf of my oppressed countrymen will be felt here, and in every part of this land. It is impossible that the British people, proudly standing, as they now are, upon the neck of colonial slavery—it is impossible for them to consider their work at an end, whilst there remains a human being held as a chattel under the whole heavens. And let me assure them, for their encouragement, that all is not dark or hopeless in the United States. Thousands have caught a portion of their zeal—the abolition spirit is abroad in our land, with great power, and is traversing its length and breadth, conquering and to conquer—abolition societies are formed, and multiplying, in every free section of our territory, on the principle of immediate and unconditional emancipation—four periodicals have been established expressly to maintain the cause of the afflicted and the right of the poor, and a multitude of our political and religious periodicals are now freely discussing the question of negro slavery—strong exertions are making for the repeal of all those laws which now disfranchise our free colored population, and schools are multiplying for their mental cultivation. The American Colonization Society is falling like Lucifer, never to rise again: and ere the termination of this year, I trust your hearts will be cheered with the intelligence that a National Abolition Society has been formed in the United States of America. (Cheers.)

Mr. Chairman, I have distinctly pointed out to this meeting that great BASTILE of OPPRESSION, the American Colonization Society. I have given you a view of its dark front—of its massive walls—of its ponderous gates—and of the immense number of victims who are incarcerated in its loathsome cells, and who are making through their iron grates, signals of distress, and uttering cries for relief!—Let the British nation assail it with the battle-axe of justice; let their artillery of truth, charged to the muzzle, blaze against it; let them dig a mine under its foundation, and prepare a train for its destruction; and soon it shall be blown into countless fragments, and all its captives be set free! (Cheers.)

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. in introducing the Rev. NATHANIEL PAUL to the meeting, said:

The Rev. gentleman is on a mission to this country, to obtain assistance for those free persons of color who have been driven, by the

oppression of the United States, to take refuge under the British sceptre in a portion of Upper Canada. He comes to England under the special recommendation of the Governor General of that portion of His Majesty's dominions, and seeks to obtain contributions to be applied to the education, civilization and advancement of the population in that district.

The Rev. Mr. ABRAHAMS, a gentleman friendly to the Colonization Society, wished to know whether an opportunity would be afforded him of replying to the statements of Mr. GARRISON.

Mr. THOMPSON rose and said—This gentleman pleads the cause of the American Colonization Society; but he is not Mr. Elliott Cresson, who has been again and again invited publicly to answer the charges brought against the Society, of which he is the accredited agent. (Cheers.) We have called you together to-day, in order to expose the principles of that Society, and I am authorized to inform Mr. Abrahams that we shall be happy to hear Mr. Cresson in defence of the Society; but in his absence, we cannot permit the interference of any other gentleman.

The Rev. N. PAUL then came forward and said—

In rising to address an audience of this description, I shall not offer an apology, because I consider it to be unnecessary. Nature has furnished me with an apology in the complexion that I wear, and that shall speak in my behalf. (Cheers.)

Allow me to say that Mr. Garrison has, for many years past, devoted himself exclusively to the interests of the slaves and the free people of color in the United States of America. He requires, however, no commendation from me, or from any other gentleman whatever; 'the tree is known by its fruits,' and 'out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaketh.' But if there be any necessity for calling evidence in favor of that gentleman, there is an abundance, demonstrating that he has acted a most disinterested part on behalf of those whose cause he has espoused. It has been his lot to make large sacrifices, in order that he might be enabled to pursue the object of his heart's desire. He might have swum upon the tide of popular applause, and have had the great and the noble of our country on his side, who would now have been applauding him, instead of persecuting him as the disturber of the peace and tranquility of the nation, if he had not lifted up his voice on behalf of the suffering slaves. (Hear, hear.) To my certain knowledge, when he commenced his career, it was under the most unfavorable circumstances. No one stood forward in his defence, and he was under the necessity of adopting and pursuing a system of the most rigid economy, in order that he might be sustained while he was engaged in the important work he had undertaken.

The CHAIRMAN here rose and said—I see that the gentleman, who wishes to speak in favor of the colonization scheme, is withdrawing; but if he will wait till our regular business is gone through, I shall be happy to sit any length of time to hear an advocate of that Society. (Cheers.) Let us, however, first know that he is authorized to speak on its behalf. If our friend, Dr. Hodgkin, whom I see sitting by his side, will declare him to be the representative of Mr. Cresson, I shall be most happy to have a fair discussion—it is what of all things we wish for. We want the points at issue fairly met. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Mr. ABRAHAMS said, that he had long been a resident in North America, and he wished to vindicate the American Colonization Society against the calumnious aspersions that had been cast upon it. He was as much a friend to the blacks as any one present.

DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq. said—It will be unnecessary to put the gentleman under the necessity of showing that he comes here in a delegated capacity. If he remains here till the business is closed, whoever he represents, it is our business to gather the truth. If he comes forward like myself, as an abolitionist, though he may be mistaken, we will respect his motives. (Cheers.)

The Rev. N. PAUL resumed—But it is not merely the sacrifice that Mr. Garrison has made, or the rigid system of economy that he has adopted, that speaks on his behalf; but the sufferings that he has endured likewise recommend him to the attention of every philanthropist. This gentleman has suffered forty-nine days incarceration in a prison in the city of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, because he had the hardihood to engage in defence of the suffering slaves in that State. The fact of Mr. Garrison's imprisonment has been loudly sounded throughout this country. The agent of the American Colonization Society has seen fit to represent Mr. Garrison as a mere pamphleteer, as the editor of a negro newspaper in the United States, and as a convicted libeller. This is the manner in which this gentleman has been spoken of in this country, by the agent of the American Colonization Society. And does that agent suppose that by such mere slang he can lower Mr. Garrison in the estimation of the British public? The simpleton reminds me of another of whom I have heard, who, for some cause or other, became exceedingly exasperated at the moon, and stood the whole night angrily shaking his fist at it, but could not reach it. (Cheers.)

I make no complaint against the agent of the American Colonization Society for stating the fact that Mr. Garrison was convicted, and thrown into prison in the United States; it is a fact, and he had a right to the advantage of it whenever he saw fit. I only blame him because, in stating it, he did not tell the cause

why—who the persons were at whose instigation it was done—or the character of the court that condemned him. Inasmuch as that gentleman did not perform that part of his duty, if you will allow me I will undertake to discharge it for him.

Perhaps it is not generally known that in the United States of America—that land of freedom and equality—the laws are so exceedingly liberal that they give to man the liberty of purchasing as many negroes as he can find means to pay for, (hear, hear,) and also the liberty to sell them again. In consequence of this, a regular system of merchandize is established in the souls and bodies of our fellow creatures. It so happened that a very large number of mercantile gentlemen resided in the city of Baltimore and its vicinity, who were engaged in this traffic; and Mr. Garrison had the impudence, the unblushing effrontery to state, in a public newspaper, that this traffic was a direct violation of the laws of God, and contrary to the principles of human nature. (Cheers.) This was the crime of which he was convicted. And now I will tell you the character of the judicial tribunal before which the conviction took place. Allow me to say, and let that suffice, that the judges of the court were slaveholders, (hear, hear,) and the jury likewise. Had it been the case that such men as WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, THOMAS CLARKSON, THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, JAMES CROPPER, and in addition to these, the honorable gentleman who sits on my right, (Mr. O'CONNELL,) (cheers,) and had these gentlemen in the place where Mr. Garrison resided pursued the course they have adopted in this country, they would have been indicted, convicted, and thrown into prison. In regard to my friend on my right, (Mr. O'Connell,) I know not what they would have done with him: he could have expected no quarters whatever. (Laughter and cheers.) I believe he has more than once arraigned the American Republic before the British community, before God, and before the world, as the most detestable political hypocrite in the world. And this is not all. I may say, in addition, that that Court and that Jury would have convicted the whole Anti-Slavery Society of this country, and would have transported them all to Liberia as the punishment of their crimes. (Laughter and loud cheers.)

These are the causes and these the reasons why our friend, Mr. Garrison, was imprisoned; and as I said before, tho' I have no complaint to make against the agent of that benevolent institution, as it is called—the American Colonization Society—for stating that Mr. Garrison was cast into prison; yet I submit that, in connexion with it, he ought to have told the reason why it took place. But I shall leave this GARRISON to itself. It possesses, I believe, ammunition enough to defend itself from any attack that may be made upon it,

either by the agent of that Society, or the gentleman who has appeared here to plead on its behalf this morning. (Loud applause.)

I now come directly to express my views in relation to the American Colonization Society.

As a colored man, and as a citizen of the United States, it necessarily follows that I must feel more deeply interested in its operation, than any other individual present. In relation to the Society, I know not which is the most detestable in my view—its CRUELTY, or its HYPOCRISY. Both of these are characteristics of its whole operation.

I brand it as a *cruel* institution, and one of the most cruel that has ever been brought into existence by the ingenuity of man. If I am asked, why it is cruel? I answer, in the first place, because it undertakes to expel from their native country hundreds of thousands of unoffending and inoffensive individuals, who, in time of war, have gone forth into the field of battle, and have contended for the liberties of that country. Why does it seek to expel them? Because the God of heaven has given them a different complexion from themselves. (Cheers.) I say it is a *cruel* institution, because it seeks to rob the colored men in that country of every right, civil, political or religious, to which they are entitled by the American Declaration of Independence. It is through the influence of that Society, to the everlasting disgrace of a land boasting of liberty and equality, that there are laws enacted which absolutely forbid the instruction of the slave, or even the free person of color, in the use of letters. I say it is a *cruel* institution, because in addition to this, it has also been the means of having laws enacted which prevents them from meeting together to pay homage to their Creator, and worship the God who made them. I might go on enumerating instances of cruelty, and show to this meeting that even combinations have been formed in what are called the free States, under the influence of this Society, not to give to the colored man employment, but to rob him of the means of gaining his livelihood, that he may thereby be compelled to leave the land of his nativity, and go to Africa.

In the next place, I condemn the Society on account of its *hypocrisy*; and this, I believe, will be detested wherever it appears, by every honest man. And wherein does that hypocrisy consist or appear? I mean more particularly in regard to the representations which have been made of the Society in this country. It comes to Great Britain, and begins to talk about the evils of slavery, pitying the condition of the unhappy victims of cruelty and oppression in the United States of America; and it tells the British public that its object is to do away with slavery, and to emancipate those who are in bondage. What Briton's heart is there but responds to such a sentiment as this? (Cheers.) Englishmen

are seeking for the liberation of the slaves; and, giving credit to the reports which they have heard respecting the American Colonization Society, without examining its principles, many benevolent individuals in this country have come forward and freely contributed to its funds. But instead of the institution being the enemy of slavery; instead of its being formed for the purpose of annihilating the system; its object is to perpetuate it, and render more secure the property of man in man. I will shew to the meeting, in a few words, that its object cannot be the abolition of slavery, because through a hundred of its organs it has over and over again denounced the proposition of liberating the slaves, except on condition of their being transported to Africa. And now let the audience understand, that, at the present time, there are upwards of 2,000,000 of slaves in the United States, and that their annual increase is more than 60,000. If slavery, therefore, is to be abolished only as those who shall be emancipated are transported from the United States to Africa, we ask, when is slavery to cease in that country? The Colonization Society, with all the efforts that it can bring to bear, cannot transport the annual increase of the slaves, (hear, hear,) and, therefore, if no other means be adopted for the abolition of slavery in America, its extinction will not take place until the last trumpet shall sound. (Immense applause.)

Again I repeat, it is *hypocritical*, because it professes to be the friend of the free people of color, and to pity their present condition; and hence it says, 'It seeks to promote their welfare.' That gentleman (Mr. Abrahams) tells us that he is acquainted with the people of North America, and that this Society is formed, in part, for the benefit of the free people of color. Does that gentleman know that when an effort was made at New-Haven, two or three years since, to establish a College for the instruction of the free people of color,—notwithstanding New-Haven is within the boundaries of that part of the country which is called the 'free States,'—yet the supporters of the Society came forward, held a meeting, and passed the most spirited resolutions against the establishment of that institution in the city? (Hear, hear!) Does that gentleman know that in the same State, a white female, in endeavoring to establish a school for the instruction of colored females, has been most inhumanly assailed by the advocates of the Colonization Society, who, in town meetings, passed resolutions against her benevolent object, as spirited as if the cholera were about to break out in the village, and they by a single effort of this kind could hinder its devastations? They could not have acted with more promptness, and energy, and violence, than they did, in persecuting this excellent lady, because her compassion led her to espouse the cause of the suffering blacks. (Cheers.) They were

ready to expel her from the country. I could relate many facts with regard to that part of the country, for which the Rev. gentleman contends, and show that, instead of the American Colonization Society seeking the welfare of the free people of color, it is their most bitter enemy. Whenever it speaks of this class, both in public and in private, it calumniates and abuses them in the most extravagant manner, as its reports will abundantly show.

Wishing to be brief, and knowing that there are gentlemen present who will address you with more interest than I can, (hear, hear,) I will make but one remark more, and that respects the designs of this Society, with regard to Africa. O, bleeding, suffering Africa! We hear of the sad condition which that country is in; it is enveloped in darkness, infinitely deeper than the sable hue of its degraded sons. The vilest superstition there abounds; and hence this Society represents it as their object to let in the rays of the gospel, and enlighten the people. But, according to their own reports, whom do they select as instruments to spread civilization and christianity? People not fit to live in America—people who are a disgrace to that country. (Hear, hear.) I pity Africa as much as any man; I want her to be enlightened; but let us send men who are enlightened themselves. If we mean to evangelize Africa, let us at least send Christians there to do the work. (Cheers.)

Mr. Garrison has well remarked that the free people of color, in the United States, are opposed to this Society. I will venture to assert that I am as extensively acquainted with them, throughout both the free and slave States, as any man in that country; and I do not know of a solitary colored individual who entertains the least favorable view of the American Colonization Society; but, in every way, they possibly could, they have expressed their disapprobation of it. They have said to the Society, '*Let us alone.*'

The argument which is brought by the friends of the Society in favor of colonization is, that the white population of America can never amalgamate or live on terms of equality with the blacks. Be it so. Let it be admitted that their prejudices are strong. All that I will say is, that if such be the case, they ought not to send an agent to this country to ask assistance to enable them to gratify a prejudice of which they ought to be ashamed. (Cheers.)

J. S. BUCKINGHAM, Esq. M. P. next addressed the assembly. In rising to speak (said the honorable gentleman) to this resolution,* it is

* The speech of DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq. should precede that of Mr. Buckingham; but the manuscript was left in England for his revision, and, to my disappointment, it has not yet been received, although I am expecting it daily. It shall be given to the nation as soon as practicable. The resolution which is referred to by Mr. Buckingham was offered by Mr. O'Connell,

probable that I shall have occasion to make a claim upon your justice and impartiality, with a view of making some statements not at all to invalidate those you have already heard, but to show how far, and to what extent, I accord with the sentiments of the meeting, and where conscientiously I feel it my duty to stop.

In the first place, in order to propitiate your willing ear, I beg to state that while at the present moment the greater proportion happily of the people of England demand not merely emancipation, but the *immediate* emancipation of the slaves in whatsoever quarter of the world they may be found; that more than twenty years ago, I stood almost alone, in the advocacy of the sentiment; and, therefore, if I am a heretic with respect to slavery, my heresy was never rather in advance than in arrear of the general mass of mankind. No one will, after this statement, for a moment suppose that I can think or say any thing as an apology for the existence or the continuance of slavery. But the advertence that has been made to the American Colonization Society induces me to say thus much. It is now some months since I first became acquainted with its object. From the manner in which that object was stated in the paragraphs I read, and from a person with whom I have conversed upon the subject, I saw clearly that the abolition of slavery was *not* its main object, but that the settlement in Africa of persons emancipated, or persons set free, was the chief end to which the Society looked. Feeling that the abolition of slavery was a high and holy design, I made an objection to the advocate of the American Colonization Society, that it was not included in his plan; and thereupon, as it were, we separated, because though I was convinced that the civilization of Africa was a grand object, yet the plan would have recommended itself to me with ten-fold force if it had been associated with the abolition of slavery, instead of the transportation of those previously free. I therefore never have been the advocate (God forbid! that such a thing should be possible) of the American Colonization Society in that respect; (hear, hear;) and on all occasions when an appeal has been made to myself, or I have been requested to appeal to others for funds, I have declined doing both the one and the other, conceiving it to be an American and not a British object, and one in which I could not concur.

seconded by Capt. Charles Stuart, and adopted by the meeting—as follows:

Resolved, That the colonization of the free people of color of the United States in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient, has ever been the fundamental principle of the American Colonization Society; that the abolition of slavery has never been an object of the Society; but that, on the contrary, the security of slave property has always been the governing motive, and that the decrease of manumissions, under the influence of the principles of the Society, proves its efficiency for that purpose.

The conclusions to which I have come is, (after having read the controversy, if I may so say, and the correspondence on both sides—for this question has two sides like every other,) I believe the motives which originated the Society were benevolent. The aim of its first promoters was to meliorate the condition of certain individuals, by removing them, with their own consent, from a land in which prejudices existed against them to a great extent. But the slave-owners, seeing that the scheme might be turned to their own advantage, have availed themselves of its instrumentality; and I grieve to say, they have obtained the mastery, and that the benevolent portion of the subscribers has sunk into a small minority; so that the agency of the Society is employed for the interests of those who regard abolition as altogether contrary to their interests. (1)

To show that I am not singular in believing that there are some persons who contribute to its funds from benevolent motives, who believe that it does not deserve all the odium that has been cast upon it, I may say that no later than yesterday, I read a letter from THOMAS CLARKSON, (2) a gentleman whom no one can refuse to call the great apostle of abolition and the

(1) Mr. Buckingham is a gentleman of whom I entertain a high opinion. He is an uncompromising enemy of slavery, and a strenuous advocate of immediate and total abolition. But this speech, the reader will readily perceive, is full of contradictions. The truth is, Mr. Buckingham was the only *abolitionist* who was entrapped at the meeting held in London for the formation of a British Colonization Society; and in his endeavors to justify himself in the eyes of his abolition brethren, he often speaks quite inconsistently. For instance—at one moment he expresses his utter disapprobation of the American Colonization Society, and his determination to oppose it; and at the next, he aims to show that, after all, it has done much good, and is so benevolent as to secure the approbation of even Clarkson himself!—So much for making one false step. It is evident, moreover, that Mr. Buckingham was not aware of the fact, that of the individuals who assembled to form the Colonization Society, every one who advocated the measure at the meeting was a *SLAVEHOLDER*. Nor does he seem to be aware that a large majority of its managers have, from its commencement, been *SLAVEHOLDERS*. He errs in supposing that southern oppressors had not, until within a few years, 'obtained the mastery' over the Society, for they always held it.

(2) This letter was, in fact, written some time previous to the meeting at Exeter Hall. Since that meeting was held, I have had a long interview with the venerable CLARKSON, the particulars of which cannot be inserted in this pamphlet. Let this suffice: he said to me, with great emphasis,—'Tell the people of the United States, Mr. Garrison, that THOMAS CLARKSON is now resolved not to give any countenance to the American Colonization Society. Tell them that he refused to comply with the solicitation of Mr. Cresson to become an honorary member of it; and also refused to give his sanction to the British Colonization Society. *I occupy neutral ground.* My letter to Mr. Cresson, in favor of the American Colonization Society, was extorted by his statement [what a statement!] that one hundred thousand slaves had been offered to the Society, gratuitously, to be sent to Liberia. This unparalleled liberality seemed to me to be indeed the work of God.'

friend of the negro, in which he declared that after having examined the evidence produced upon both sides, he still believed that the Colonization Society had done good; that it was doing good; and that still more good would result from its efforts. Now, therefore, if, after having taken all the pains that a man could take to arrive at a right conclusion, I should seem to differ from some persons present, I only ask for the exercise of that charity which has been so eloquently pleaded for by my honorable friend, (Mr. O'Connell,) and beg that you will regard those who entertain this opinion as being as conscientious as those who entertain an opposite sentiment.

Having said that *I am no friend to the American Colonization Society*, and that I think the *excess of evil far predominates over the good*, (hear, hear,) I should be the last individual to hold up my hand, or to use my tongue, in supporting it; (hear, hear!) and so I have said upon every occasion.

But another motive that induces me to intrude on the meeting is this; an attempt has been made very recently to form a Colonization Society of English origin and growth, whose object should be to settle on the coast of Africa, such free blacks as might be willing to go, with a view of spreading civilization throughout that country. Now the two objects are distinct: to civilize Africa is one thing—to emancipate the slaves another: (hear, hear!) and if Africa can be civilized without rivetting the chains around the slaves, I think it an object worthy the attention of the British public. To show that these objects can be separated, I may state that at the time when the abolition of the slave-trade took place in England, there were many who rejoiced in the event, but who clung with an almost unintelligible pertinacity to the continuance of slavery.

The advocates of gradual emancipation could not comprehend upon what ground immediate emancipation was better. There are degrees in all these conclusions, some arriving at them later, some sooner, and some hardly ever arriving at a right conclusion at all.

The origin of the American Colonization Society, as I stated at a public meeting some time ago, has, I believe, drawn some imputation upon the motives of those who assisted at that meeting. I was one, and I stated to the individual who made the proposition, that I never would be a party to any thing like assisting the American Colonization Society, but that I would keep myself entirely apart and distinct from it. (Hear, hear.) I felt it the more necessary to say this, inasmuch as, though humble as I am, I hope the occasion will arrive when I shall be able to render a service to the cause of a British Colonization Society; and I would not weaken the object, by appearing to abate in my zeal and energy for the emancipation of slaves throughout the world.

Now a word or two, and I shall conclude. Having been present at the meeting to which I have alluded, and knowing that Elliott Cresson had been challenged to appear before a public meeting and combat the point, *I advised him to do so*. (Hear, hear.) I said, 'if you do not, you will deservedly labor under the disadvantageous conclusion which every individual will draw from your absence; you must weigh all the consequences.'

There are others connected with the Society: there is one gentleman behind, (Mr. Abrahams,) who intended to have given his reasons for not agreeing with the statements made upon the present occasion, but who has been prevented from speaking. Now I think the regulation of the Chairman a good one; I think the resolutions should be gone through, and then those who have an opposition to make should state their reasons for it; but he will forgive me for saying, that that was not the case at the meeting the other day; for there it happened that before the meeting was a quarter concluded, an opposition was raised, and this was persevered in, honestly and fairly, quite throughout the meeting; and, therefore, the parties are not on equal terms. I think, as I just now stated, that the present arrangement is far better than the other; but they have an undoubted advantage, which they do not appear so willing to give to their opponents. (1) I think that the nature of the Society is not such as is likely to make a revulsion, and, therefore, it is better to allow these statements to be made.

The last thing that I shall say is, that such a Society having been formed, it became the duty of the party to announce its principles; and when I mention that the *Duke of Sussex*, the Duke of Bedford, and Lord Bexley, examined this matter for themselves, and admitted not merely of their names to sanction it, but gave their persons to grace the meeting, I think you will agree with me that they would not be parties to support anything likely to continue slavery. (2) The object was to gain

(1) This imputation was very unfair. The meeting at Exeter Hall was not intended for a general discussion of the merits of the American Colonization Society. It was called by me expressly to expose the real principles and tendencies of that Society, without authorizing any of its partizans to come and interrupt its proceedings; although I should have been glad if Elliott Cresson had accepted my invitation to him to be present. The expense of a public meeting at Exeter Hall is usually about \$500: it was very ungenerous, therefore,—after all my efforts to bring Mr Cresson to a fair and full discussion,—for any persons to occupy the time of the meeting who were not specially invited to speak, and whose views were not in accordance with the objects of the meeting.

(2) One thing is certain—they have never been 'parties to support anything likely to abolish slavery.' Not one of these gentlemen has been associated with the abolition cause in England. At the Hanover-square Room meeting, to which Mr Buckingham alludes, the *Duke of Sussex*, (Mr Cresson's 'particular friend,') in the course of some remarks, said—'Let

encouragement from the example of Liberia, and to establish a Colony in its vicinity that should be entirely British, but that should have power to co-operate with any Society that might be formed to civilize Africa.

A question has been raised, with regard to Liberia. Mr. O'CONNELL has said that he has read flattering paragraphs in the newspapers respecting it, and I am bound to assume that they have rather painted the condition of that colony; but there is in this Hall a Lieutenant, who, having been present at the meeting, stated this fact, that he had captured many slave vessels under Cape Mesurado previous to the establishment of the colony at Liberia; that several years intervened before he again visited the spot, and he then found, to his great joy and satisfaction, that the establishment of the colony had drawn the slave trade from the place where it before existed, (1) and that he found the colony in a flourishing condition. I have seen a newspaper which is published there, and which is conducted with a degree of intelligence which would be honorable to the people of England (2); and whatever may have been the motives that induced persons to send the individuals there, I believe they are more happy by their transplantation. (Cries of 'No! no!') If they are not, there is no impediment to their leaving the colony. (3)

those gentlemen *who are favorable to the anti-slavery system*,—and I must confess I DO NOT ADMIRE THE SYSTEM,—but that is matter of opinion [murmurs and a few cries of oh! oh!]—let those gentlemen call a meeting of their own and discuss their objections? (Vide London Morning Chronicle of July 5.) Mr Buckingham is unfortunate in his references.

(1) But has it diminished the slave trade in the aggregate? No. What has Sierra Leone done in almost half a century to abolish that trade? Nothing. On the contrary, it has given it countenance and support. That colony and Liberia are convenient stopping-places at which slave ships may obtain their supplies of provisions, rum, gun powder, &c.

(2) The Liberia Herald is a little dingy, rudely printed monthly sheet, utterly contemptible in its appearance, and conducted in an ordinary manner. It may be a wonder in Liberia, and emanating from Liberia, but it has no intrinsic merit in itself.

(3) Yes there is—first, the impediment of poverty, for very few of the colonists can procure the means necessary to return; next, the obstructions which are thrown in their way by the government; and, lastly, the unwillingness of captains of vessels visiting Liberia to carry them back. The following extract of a letter which I have just received from a highly esteemed friend in Philadelphia, puts this matter in a still clearer light. He says:

'A colonizationist from Washington assured me, the other day, that none of the emigrants to Liberia would ever be permitted to return and reside in this country. "What!" said he, "do you think we are such d—d fools as to spend our money to get rid of them, and then allow them to come back again? No—never! Once away, they can never come here any more." "But," said I, "I thought it was all a scheme of benevolence; and, if so, surely you would not compel them to remain in exile against their will?" "Benevolence!" said he—"ha! ha! ha! No—it is to get rid of the d—d free niggers."

The very circumstance of their remaining there,—they being free to go; the circumstance of their acquiring property, and enjoying equal rights and privileges, and being on an equal footing, while in America they are subject to numerous disadvantages, is to my mind a proof that all is not correct that has been stated against Liberia, and that a large amount of good has sprung from the colony which those in favor of emancipation have been slow to believe. (Applause.)


Well, then, come we to the conclusion, namely, whether this object, the colonization of Africa by persons taken from our own colonies, is or is not desirable? The emancipation of the slaves is now happily settled by the British nation, though not by Parliament, because whatever the Parliament may do, I am sure the British nation are so unanimous and so strong on this point, that King, Lords and Commons will never be able to prevent emancipation, and in a short time, compared with that which the Bill recognizes. It is believed by some that when emancipation takes place, inconvenience will arise by there being more slaves than can find profitable occupation as free men; though I am aware some think the contrary. But when the question is put, what are you to do with the surplus slaves that will be thrown out of employment? (1) it will be an excellent answer, that a British colony has been founded upon a healthy part of the coast of Africa, where those individuals may find an asylum from persecution, acquire possession of property, and the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, and where the tyrant white shall not be an impediment to the improvement they shall make; but where, passing from the coast to the interior, they will be able to assist in putting down the slave trade, and in spreading information and christianity side by side, precisely in the same manner as England was visited by the Romans; precisely as America, with the exception of the continuance of slavery, became a happy nation.

The last observation I shall make respects the shame, the guilt, the impropriety of the American government permitting the system of slavery to continue. It is seen in every country, that moral guilt does not depend upon latitude or longitude—upon heat or cold; but it is more aggravated in America than elsewhere, (hear, hear!) because the act of independence being filled with declarations of freedom, they yet perpetuate slavery. I think no person should open his mouth on the subject of slavery without associating with his denunciations of this crime his abhorrence of the hypocritical conduct of America, that

(1) Ludicrous enough!—There is, in fact, no prospect of a redundant population in the West India islands for a thousand years to come. This part of Mr Buckingham's speech was answered with great keenness and spirit by George Thompson, Esq.

extends the banner of freedom over the rest of the world, and yet tolerates this system.

I beg to say that so far as the object of this meeting is to prevent assistance being given to the American Colonization Society, and to state that the benevolence exercised on its behalf should be directed to other channels, so far I agree with it; and wherever it may be my lot to be placed, I shall lose no opportunity of stating that impression. But inasmuch as I do believe that a settlement on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of colonization, though unconnected with any participation of the American scheme, would be beneficial; yet if an opportunity occurs, I would correspond with that or any other body to do good, upon the same principle that if an act of charity were to be done, we would not refuse the aid of an individual because his conduct in some other respects was such as we reprobated. My object simply is to promote the abolition of slavery throughout the world,—in the east and in the west,—and at the same time to civilize the barbarous, instruct the ignorant, turn the heathen into a christian, and so fulfil the great purpose of our creation by diffusing the intelligence which God has given us, and for which we can never express our gratitude to Him in a more impressive mode than by making others the participants of the blessings we enjoy. (Cheers.)

[ Since the preceding sheet was printed, I have received from the London reporter a copy of the speech of DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq. which should have preceded that of Mr. BUCKINGHAM, and which is given below. It is proper to state that Mr. O'CONNELL has not revised this copy.]

DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq. on presenting himself to the notice of the meeting, was received with enthusiastic cheers.

It is quite true, said the learned gentleman, that I have risen to propose a resolution relating both to America and to Africa; but at the present awful and portentous crisis of the great cause in which we are engaged, I cannot allow my mind to be called across the Western waves, without directing your attention, for a moment, to the situation in which that cause now stands in this country. It is in a state deserving our deepest consideration. I know not which to begin with, congratulation or condolence; I know not which to speak, the language of joy or of sorrow; but I fear that the latter ought to predominate, and that the sentiments to be uttered respecting the cause of negro emancipation in this country, should somewhat resemble my national music—the melodies of a conquered people, filled with octave tones of melancholy, and from which there only burst out occasionally the exhilarating melodies of the Irish character. (Cheers.) I think it should be a mixture of that kind; for although I hail negro emancipation as one of the greatest benefits that can

be conferred by one man upon another, yet I never will consent to buy it with £20,000,000 of the public money. (Loud applause.) The people of England have enough thrown upon them already. What is it that presses so heavily upon the poorer classes? What is it that weighs down the operative? What is it that diminishes the wages for labor, and makes industry in our nation almost useless? Why, the burden of taxation, to be sure. And are any men to come and say they will add £20,000,000 more to a debt already most enormous? I would be ready, and so would the British nation, to make any sacrifice in the cause of humanity, provided it was for the good of our fellow men. But the *principle* here is a bad one. SLAVERY IS A CRIME, AND THEREFORE IT IS NOT AN ARTICLE TO BE SOLD; and we will never recognize the sentiment that it deserves a price. (Cheers.) Or if money is to be given, give it to the wretched slaves; but do not give it to the men who hold the lash over the backs of their fellow creatures, and refuse to lay it down even though a female form be fainting before them! I protest against remuneration to the planters in *principle*—I protest against it in *practice*; and I could not address a public meeting on this subject, without calling upon every one present to disclaim the bargain of blood and the traffic of oppression. (Loud cheers.)

But, again, the principle is bad—the practice is bad—but the *application* is still worse. What! are we to pay our £20,000,000, and get nothing in return? It is true, the negro is not to be a *slave*, but he is to be, forsooth, an *apprentice*! (A laugh.) What signifies it to him how you change his name? Will his condition be the better, because you tell him that he is no longer a slave, but his name is 'an apprentice?' True, under the Government plan, the negro driver is no longer to flog him; but we are to send men from England, at a salary of £500 or £600 per annum, to sanction corporeal punishment. (Hear, hear.) It is a great matter to be an apprentice, and to be flogged according to law. (Laughter and cheers.) But the most melancholy thing is, that this plan involves the honor of England. It is a plundering of Englishmen; it is an injustice to the negro; and it will not issue, I fear, in procuring negro emancipation in that peace, quietude, christian feeling and charity, which we wish it to do. Oh, those silly and foolish men (for I must call them so) who have planned this scheme, and insist upon it! They will produce emancipation, but it will be in the blood of the Colonies. It is a duty I feel to man, and before God, to avail myself of every opportunity of protesting against that scheme. (Cheers.)

I have, however, moments of exquisite delight. I remember that 1,500,000 of the people of this country have joined in petitioning the Legislature, for the total and immediate

abolition of slavery. (Cheers.) Oh, blessings upon them! Every age, every station, nay every sex, has united in those petitions. The women of England have led the way; and under the banners of the maids and matrons of England, proud must that individual be who shall have an opportunity of telling them, 'At your command we have done our duty, and slavery is at an end.' (Cheers.) I blame those who were in authority for not adopting proper measures when a case of arrant barbarity and ruffianism was proved against a scoundrel, belonging to one of the Legislative assemblies in the West Indies. I call things by their proper names. (Cheers.) He ordered a female Negro to be flogged for no reason, or simply because he pleased; and when he went into the gaol where he had confined her, and she complained that she did not deserve the treatment she had experienced, he ordered her another flogging. (Hear, hear!)

One thing I should say, that has filled my mind with horror, is, the insolence of the slave owners in their public addresses in this country, and the audacity of their speeches in the American Congress. A ruffian in this country taunted the females who signed the petitions, by calling them the Dorothys, and Tabithas, and Priscillas. I stigmatized him as a ruffian, in my place in Parliament; and I stigmatize him as such here. (Loud cheers.) It is pleasant to see this unanimity—to see every religious persuasion joining to insist that this black stain shall be taken out of the banner of England, that it shall no longer be tarnished with blood, and that liberty shall be indigenous to our soil. (Cheers.) This absurd scheme of emancipation which Ministers have formed, is something like the fairy tale of Aladdin's lamp; or, rather, the latter dwindles into insignificance when compared with the former. This day it is to be a *loan* of £15,000,000; but receiving another rub of the lamp, it comes out to-morrow a gift of £20,000,000. (A laugh.) It is one of your statesmen, who has the merit of coining words into ducats—and I would give him credit for it; but when a man seeks to coin men and women into money, I can only hold him in contempt.

The principle of negro emancipation is decided in this country; and all that is required is, that the people, here and every where else, before Parliament can deliberate upon the plan openly, should prepare themselves for it. I have other duties to perform; I am not at home, though I contrive to find myself at home; (a laugh)—but prepare yourselves for it, and let the voice of the English people condemn the *plan*, (1) while they insist upon the *principle*. (Cheers.)

I ought to apologize to the meeting for having commenced on this subject; but my heart is full, and when I see that the cup of liberty is held in one hand, how can I see poisonous ingredients thrown into it with the other, without exclaiming against the hand which is mixing the poison, and calling for the cup of liberty, pure and uncontaminated? (Loud cheers.)

I will now go to America. I have often longed to go there, in reality; but so long as it is tarnished by slavery, I will never pollute my foot by treading on its shores. (Cheers.) In the course of my Parliamentary duty, a few days ago, I had to arraign the conduct of the despot of the North, for his cruelty to the men, women and children of Poland; and I spoke of him with the execration he merits. But, I confess, that although I hate him with as much hatred as one christian man can hate another human being, viz. I detest his actions with abhorrence, unutterable and indescribable; yet there is a climax in my hatred. I would adopt the language of the poet, but reverse the imagery, and say,

'In the deepest hell, there is a depth still more profound,'

and that is to be found in the conduct of the American slave-owners. (Cheers.) They are the basest of the base—the most execrable of the execrable. I thank God that upon the wings of the press, the voice of so humble an individual as myself will pass against the western breeze—that it will reach the rivers, the lakes, the mountains, and the glens of America—and that the friends of liberty there will sympathize with me, and rejoice that I here tear down the image of liberty from the recreant hand of America, and condemn her as the vilest of hypocrites—the greatest of liars. (Long continued cheers.)

Why do I say so? An American gentleman waited upon me this morning; and I asked him, with some anxiety, 'What part of America do you come from?'—'I came from Boston.' Do me the honor to shake hands; you come from a State that has never been tarnished with slavery (I)—a State to which our ancestors fled from the tyranny of England—and the worst of all tyrannies, *the odious attempt to interfere between a man and his God*—a tyranny that I have in principle helped to put down in this country, and wish to put down in every country upon the face of the globe. (Cheers.) It is odious and insolent to inter-

(1) This is strictly true respecting the *State of Massachusetts*; for as soon as our present Constitution was adopted, in which it is declared that all men are born free and equal, &c. it was decided on trial before the Supreme Court that no person could be lawfully held in bondage within the limits of the State. Massachusetts, however, as a province, became implicated in the crime of slavery as early as the year 1629; and until the year 1807 she was a prosecutor of the foreign slave trade. She therefore does not deserve so much credit as Mr. O'Connell has awarded to her.

(1) The Emancipation Bill which was passed at the last session of Parliament, binds the slaves as *apprentices* to their masters for seven years, and gives to those tyrants a compensation of £20,000,000!—It is viewed with universal indignation in England.

fare between a man and his God; to fetter with law the choice which the conscience makes of its mode of adoring the eternal and adorable God. I cannot talk of toleration, because it supposes that a boon has been given to a human being, in allowing him to have his conscience free. (Cheers.) It was in that struggle, I said, that your fathers left England; and I rejoice to see an American from Boston; but I should be sorry to be contaminated by the touch of a man from those States where slavery is continued. (Cheers.) 'Oh,' said he, 'you are alluding to slavery: though I am no advocate for it, yet, if you will allow me, I will discuss that question with you.' I replied, that if a man should propose to me a discussion on the propriety of picking pockets, I would turn him out of my study, for fear he should carry his theory into practice. (Laughter and cheers.) 'And meaning you no sort of offence,' I added, 'which I cannot mean to a gentleman who does me the honor of paying me a civil visit, I would as soon discuss the one question with you as the other.' The one is a paltry theft:

'He that steals my purse, steals trash; 'tis something, nothing;

'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands'—but he who thinks he can vindicate the possession of one human being by another—the sale of soul and body—the separation of father and mother—the taking of the mother from the infant at her breast—and selling the one to one master, and the other to another, is a man whom I will not answer with words—nor with blows, for the time for the latter has not yet come. (Cheers.)

But there is a lie stamped on the Constitution of the United States: for when this country most unjustly and tyrannically oppressed its Colonies, and insisted that a Parliament of borough-mongers in Westminster should have the power of putting their long fingers across the Atlantic into the pockets of the Americans, taking out as much as they pleased, and, if they found anything, leaving what *residuum* they chose—America turned round, and appealed to JUSTICE—and she was right; appealed to HUMANITY—and she was right; appealed to her own brave swords—and she was right, and I glory in it. At that awful period when America was exciting all the nations of the world; when she was declaring her independence, and her inhabitants pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, and invoked the God of charity (whom they foolishly called the God of battle, which he is not, any more than he is the God of murder)—at this awful period when they laid the foundation of their liberty, they began with these words:—'*We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; and that amongst these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness.*'

Thus the American has acknowledged what he cannot deny, viz. that God the Creator has endowed men with those things as inalienable rights. But it is not the white man, it is not the copper colored man, nor is it the black man alone, who is thus endowed; but it is *all* men who are possessed of these inalienable rights. The man, however, who cannot vote in any State assembly without admitting this as the foundation of his liberty, has the atrocious injustice, the murderous injustice, to trample upon these inalienable rights; as it were, to attempt to rob the Creator of his gifts, and to appropriate to himself his brother man, as if he could be his slave. (Cheers.) Shame be upon America! eternal shame be upon her escutcheon! (Loud cheers.)

Shortly there will not be a slave in the British Colonies. Five lines in an Act of Parliament, the other night, liberated nearly 500,000 slaves in the East Indies, at a single blow. The West Indians will be obliged to grant emancipation, in spite of the paltry attempts to prevent it; and then we will turn to America, and to every part of Europe, and require emancipation. (Cheers.) When an American comes into society, he will then be asked, 'Are you one of the thieves, or are you an honest man?' (Cheers.) If you be an honest man, then you have given liberty to your slaves; if you are among the thieves, the sooner you take the outside of the house, the better.' (Laughter.) No! they must not think that they can boast of their republican institutions—that they can talk of their strength and their glory. Unless they abolish slavery, they must write themselves down *liars*, or call a general Convention of the States, and blot out the first sentence of their Declaration of Independence, and write in its place, '*Liberty in America means the power to flog slaves, and to work them for nothing.*' (Loud applause.)

In the late contest between South Carolina and the General Government, I felt a natural inclination to join the oppressed State. I perceived that the tariff, for the protection of manufactures, was in principle a trap of the General Government to lay on taxation for the benefit of the free States (1)—that it was a solécism in politics; and though I could not agree with the nullification principle, so long as the Constitution left unried resources—such as calling a general Convention—yet, feeling the injustice of the tariff to the southern States, I felt an anxiety to be able to embody my opinions with theirs; especially as I was in-

(1) It is evident, from this avowal, that Mr. O'Connell does not accurately comprehend the legitimate powers of Congress, and that he is ignorant of the practical operations of the tariff in relation to the free and slave States. Nullification is not the fruit of governmental but of southern despotism. It is to be regretted that the Irish patriot has been led to the conclusion, even for a moment, that the charge of usurpation was justly applicable to Congress, and not to the despotic and seditious nullifiers themselves.

formed that my humble name would have some influence with the natives of Ireland, who swarm through the American States, and who were inclined to support the General Government. I was, therefore, tempted to go as far as I could, in preventing them from sustaining injustice. But when I came to reflect that Carolina and Georgia were slave-owning States; that they had forbidden the blacks from approaching schools, or any persons from giving them literary instruction; nay, when I read laws prohibiting, upon the severest penalty, the teaching of the free people of color to read or write—when I saw those States shutting the door that stood between the light of science and the human mind, cutting off all opportunities of obtaining education, and especially by the best modes—by moral and religious instruction—I thought that, humble and insignificant as I was, my name was too good to be tarnished by lending it to States that were erecting a perpetual barrier against the diffusion of information. (Cheers.)

See what the nature of slavery is!—The negro is to be a slave; he is to live the whole of his life without hope; and then to die, also, without it, because he must die without a knowledge of the Redeemer. He is to work without recompense, and all his feelings, as well as his person, may be lacerated as his owner pleases. But that is not enough; for fear they should lose this horrible *property*, as they dare to call it, they interpose between a man and a knowledge of his Creator. (Hear, hear!) It is, therefore, in vain for the American to plead anything in excuse. (Applause.)

But then, when reflecting on this subject, I formerly had some consolation. I thought there were humane men in America, employed in mitigating these evils, and establishing the principles of universal emancipation. I heard of the Colony at Liberia; I read puffs of it in the newspapers; I saw, day after day, declarations of its importance towards liberating the slave. (Hear, hear.) I was waited upon by grave personages, who appeared to detest slavery as much as I did. They told me of the principles of the American Colonization Society—that it aimed at the destruction of slavery—and I took them at their words, and was glad to have another corps in the cause of humanity. I had not then read the real history, nor the real character of the Society; but you, Mr. Chairman, have enlightened me, and I thank you for it. I find one passage that answers my purpose, and I will refer you to the work from which I make the quotation. It will be found in the 3rd volume of the African Repository, page 107, and is in these words: '*It is no Abolition Society; it addresses, as yet, arguments to no master.*' What harm would it be to argue with the master? (Cheers.) What an admirable Society is this, that will not, for fear of offending the gentility of the master, tell him that he

ought not to have a slave! It is too polite for that. (A laugh.) And this is the Society that has the insolence to come before the British public, and represent itself as an instrument of humanity! (Hear, hear.) Words, it is said, break no bones; and what mischief could they do to these fellows by arguing with them? They might, to be sure, by showing them that they were neither honest men nor christians, make them sleep the worse until their consciences became case hardened. (Cheers.) '*And disavows with horror the idea of offering temptations to any slave*'—temptations to be free! to have a right to go with his wife and family where he pleases! to have a right to remain together, and to work for themselves, and not for any body else! (Cheers.) O! the poor Negro, who toils from rising sun to sun-down; who labors in the cultivation of a crop, the profit of which he shall never reap; who comes home weary, and faint, and distressed, and heart sick, to find in his little hut creatures that are to run in the same career as himself—will they not tell him of the arrival of a period when his toil shall be at an end? will they not tell him of the love of Him who sustained creation's curse, that he might soften their pillow on the journey to the skies? O! no, not a word! (Cheers.) '*Offering temptations to any slave*'! They will have temptations enough! The voice of Europe will proclaim the slave's deliverance, and will say to him, '*SHED NO BLOOD, BUT TAKE CARE THAT YOUR BLOOD BE NOT SHED.*' '*Offering temptations to any slave*'! Why, I tell the American slave owner that he shall not have silence; for, humble as I am, and feeble as my voice may be, yet deafening the sound of the Westery wave, and riding against the blast as thunder goes, it shall reach America, and tell the black man that the time of his emancipation is come, and the oppressor that the period of his injustice is terminated! (Cheers.) '*It denies the design of attempting emancipation, either partial or general.*' This is the Society we are called upon to support! We are told that men who can endure slavery, cannot endure freedom. The West Indians tell us that the moment the negroes get their freedom, that moment they will rebel. They do not rebel while they are tortured by the whip, but the instant you attempt to mitigate their sufferings, they will evince a disposition to rebellion. (Hear, hear.) The West Indians say, they will not have sudden emancipation; but this Society is worse—for, '*It denies the design of attempting emancipation, either partial or general.*'

Now, am I right in asking you to disclaim the agent of the American Colonization Society? In this country, the aristocracy and the oligarchy have got up an admirable scheme for transporting the peasants of England. They do not like to have them standing between 'the wind and their nobility'—(a laugh)

—and accordingly, you have the emigration scheme. The press has been teeming, for the last eight or ten years, with publications containing the most beautiful descriptions of Canada—just as if no man can enjoy health who is not six months out of the twelve in the snow, and as if going into the woods and wilds of a desert is better than inhabiting the great towns of England! (Laughter and cheers.) You read of parishes every day, transporting Englishmen for the crime of being poor; and the American Colonization Society is taking up the same principle. 'We have done injustice,' it says, 'to the black man—we are doing injustice to him—shall we now do him justice? O, no; we will transport him to Africa!' That is just the scheme they have got up. (Cheers.)

The American Colonization Society has been branded with many names already. There is, however, one which it has not yet received, but which it richly deserves. I knew a gentleman, of an imaginative mind, who went out to Sierra Leone; and on his return, he told a friend of mine that a cargo of bars of iron, which had been sent to that Colony, was found, after it had lain in a store two months, to be completely *worm eaten*. (Laughter.) 'Why,' said my friend, 'what kind of worms eat iron?' 'Oh,' said he, 'they were as like bugs as any worms you can see.' My friend, who had a little Irish drollery about him, remarked, 'We have bugs of that kind in Ireland, but we call them *hum-bugs*.' (Loud cheers.) Now, the American Colonization Society is a bug of that description—it is a *HUMBUG*. (Renewed and long continued cheers.) It will eat iron like anything; it will digest it like an ostrich; there is nothing too hard for the stomach of the American Colonization Society. (Cheers.) *It is the most ludicrous Society that ever yet was dreamed of.* Am I to be told that my talented and reverend friend, (the Rev. Mr. PAUL,) who stood where I stand, and became the advocate of the rights of his own race—the man who would draw the veil of humanity over the crimes of others—is to be persecuted on account of his sable hue? It reminds me of an anecdote respecting the celebrated Burckhardt, who, in the course of his travels, penetrated into the depths of Abyssinia. In the heart of that country he went to market, where he met a young woman—of course perfectly black—who had a basket of eggs for sale. The moment she saw the white man, she exclaimed, 'How ugly! The devil! the devil!' (A laugh.) She dropped her basket, broke her eggs, and ran away at the sight of a white man. There is no reason for removing the negro from America but his color; and I wish the Colonization Society may meet with a few black girls, (1) who will exclaim regarding it (and which they may do with more propriety)

as the black girl did with respect to Burckhardt—'The devil! the devil!' (Cheers.)

I told you that there was, in my native music, a mixture of melancholy and of joy—that when sorrow saddens our minds, there is a revulsion in favor of nobler sentiments—and I trust that revulsion is seldom or never mixed with any other feelings than those which soothe that sorrow, and advance that principle, which would extinguish it for ever. (Cheers.)

By my humble advocacy here, I come before the British public to tell them of a wretched delusion—of a scheme, which, instead of emancipating the slave, would transport him from that which has become his native clime to a distant colony, without the party having been guilty of any crime. I come to proclaim the absurdity of giving credit to men who are not for emancipation, either partial or general. I come to stop the ever open hand of charity, which, when appealed to in this country, pours out the horn of plenty in aid of the wretched and distressed, no matter what their clime may be. I wish not to have it deluded or mistaken; I wish to have it directed to a proper object—the object of obtaining liberty for every one of the human race. As we have now arrived at a period when the Genthoo in India is about to have a Government that shall cease to be terrific; as we have arrived at a period when the first effort in civilization is making for hundreds of millions of the inhabitants of that country who are entrusted to our care; I trust our exertions, on behalf of the black man in the East Indies, will be like the stream that flows from one of my own native mountains, which, though insignificant and trivial at the commencement, as it descends the mountain unites with other springs, until in the valley it spreads itself abroad, diffusing beauty and fertility to every approaching object. (Cheers.) The words I throw out here may be instrumental in forming a Society in this country, which shall see that the East, as well as the West Indies have justice done them; and as future ages will trumpet forth the glory of the Anti-Slavery Society in this country, so another Anti-Slavery Society, springing up as another mighty oak of the same stock, may shed its branches over the American Indians, and work for the black man there, as we have worked for him in the West Indies. As we, by an act of justice, are striking off the fetters from 800,000 of our fellow creatures; so, in the name of justice, I stand before you, as arraigning America for her crime in perpetuating slavery, and as arraigning, above all, the American Colonization Society, as ludicrous and absurd, and as diverting from their legitimate course those streams of benevolence which flow around us in such munificent splendor. The voice of humanity will laud your exertions, and I fervently hope that the God of justice will smile upon your efforts. (Long continued cheers.)

(1) The Colonization Society has already met with thousands of such girls.

The learned gentleman concluded by moving the following resolution :

Resolved, That the colonization of the free people of color of the United States in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient, has ever been the fundamental principle of the American Colonization Society; that the abolition of slavery has never been an object of the Society; but that, on the contrary, the security of slave property has always been the governing motive, and that the decrease of manumissions, under the influence of the principles of the Society, proves its efficiency for that purpose.

Capt. CHARLES STUART in rising said—I second the resolution which has been proposed for your adoption with my whole soul: it commends itself to your understandings and your hearts. I will merely add one word to what has been already advanced. I call upon you to denounce both slavery and prejudice,—that prejudice which separates men of any class or color from brotherly love. Slavery and prejudice are crimes in the nature of things, and therefore we must not parley with them. (Cheers.)

Mr. H. HUNT (1) rose and said—As one of the public who have been called together by a public advertisement, I trust I shall not be considered as intruding, if I occupy a short time in delivering a few remarks.

I listened with great delight to what fell from the honorable member from Dublin, (Mr. O'CONNELL,) and in the greater proportion of what he so eloquently and successfully enforced, I concur with him; but I am also one of those who agree in opinion with the last gentleman, that it is a little too much to call upon the British public, in an assembly so intelligent as this, to denounce at once the American Colonization Society, without your having permitted the person who appears here as an advocate of that Society to urge his reasons why you should not pass the resolution. Gratiated as I am, and delighted as every one must be, to see such a numerous assemblage of the friends of humanity, particularly of the Society called Quakers, present on this occasion; yet I was astonished to see an individual, who professes to come to explain to the meeting, if he can, why you should not pass such a denunciation against the Colonization Society, resisted as he was. I, for one, am always proud to meet the British public, and I hope I shall not be guilty of any ingratitude for the favor I now receive; but, I ask, what will be the sensation that will go forth, if you come here to pass certain resolutions, declaring that a Society is not established for the purpose it avows; and will not permit an individual to be heard, who comes and demands an opportunity of addressing the meeting, with the view of shewing why they should not agree to the resolution?

You were perfectly right, Mr. Chairman—I am well enough acquainted with public meetings to say, that you were justified in not al-

lowing the gentleman to address the meeting at the period when he offered himself. It was out of order; but after the resolution had been moved and seconded, before it was submitted to the sanction of the meeting, I appeal to you and to the meeting, whether you will have it go forth to the world that thousands of intelligent individuals prohibited gentleman from standing up in a cause, in which he may think he is justified, and put him down altogether? (Applause.) I am one—

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. rose to order. Mr. HUNT's observations, he said, would have been spared, had he waited to see whether the gentleman was rejected or not. It was arranged, before Mr. HUNT favored us with his address, that the meeting, and the meeting alone, should decide whether the gentleman should be heard or not. He (Mr. HUNT) is fond enough of the public voice to be decided by it.

Mr. HUNT—I think it would be totally unbecoming to put such a question to the meeting: it was totally unusual. (General cries of 'order!' and hisses.)

The CHAIRMAN—I have no objection to hear him: we have been desirous to hear both sides. I only mentioned what I conceive to be the arrangement of the meeting.

Mr. O'CONNELL.—Mr. HUNT will not pay so bad a compliment to the meeting as to suppose that they will decide against fair play, and refuse to hear both sides.

Mr. HUNT.—I understood it was decided that the gentleman should not address the meeting, till after the resolutions were passed.

Mr. J. G. EVANS said—The Chairman rose, and was on the point of putting the resolution, when it was stated that Mr. ABRAHAMS would not have the privilege of speaking till the resolutions were disposed of. I beg to say that we have had five speakers, who have occupied three hours and a half on the same side. Although I am favorable to the object of the meeting, and a gentleman has done me the honor to put a resolution into my hand, on which I shall feel happy to say a few words; yet I never can, in my conscience, stand up in any meeting to advocate the cause of any Society, where on one side we have speakers for three hours and a half, and when a man rises to speak on the contrary side, the Chairman stands up and will not allow him to address the assembly.

The CHAIRMAN.—The question I was going to put to the meeting was, whether they would hear the gentleman. I have no objection to hear him.

The Rev. Mr. ABRAHAMS (1) then proceed-

(1) A converted Jew, who was at the Theological Seminary at Andover a few years since, and with whom many are doubtless acquainted in this region. He is apparently a very good, well-meaning person, but weak and eccentric.

(1) The notorious radical.

ed to address the audience. I came here, said he, because at the end of the last meeting, (1) the gentleman who has got up so frequently, (Mr. THOMPSON,) in very taunting language asked me and Mr. Cresson to meet him at a public meeting. I had no card sent to me, though he knew my direction; and now I have come, this is the treatment I have met with. When a meeting was held, on the contrary side, gentlemen were permitted to speak on every single motion; and now you have had five successive speakers in the same interest.

There is another difficulty that I would wish to remove, before I enter on the subject under consideration. A gentleman introduced me as a friend of slavery—[We did not hear this remark—*Reporter*.] I abhor it with my inmost soul. I am a descendant of a nation once in bondage, but God would not suffer us to remain in that condition. A wrong mode of expression has been adopted, in speaking of America: you must remember that you are not condemning a few solitary individuals. You stand here as the representative of the British nation; (2) and let me tell you that if you pass the resolution that has been proposed for your acceptance, you say before the world that the major part of America is guilty of the most atrocious crimes, and you impute motives to the Ecclesiastical bodies that would disgrace the worst of heathens.

I am acquainted individually with the ministers of a variety of denominations, and I can state that in the Northern States they do altogether abhor slavery. I have myself used language fully as strong as that which the honorable member from Dublin, (Mr. O'CONNELL,) has employed on the present occasion. So strong is the feeling in favor of emancipation entertained in the Northern States, that if you could go there and pronounce the blacks free, they would add a hearty amen. (3) I believe it is not right for us to do evil that good may come; and as a Christian, if I had a slave, I should feel that I could not die safely if I continued him in bondage. But yet I cannot impugn the motives of hundreds of thousands of Christians, when I have strong evidence of their being Christian men. Before you should be hasty in forming an opinion, you must remember that there are seventeen State Societies supporting the American Colonization Society—that the principal Ecclesiastical body—for instance, the Presbyterian,—has in a General Assembly passed a vote in favor of

it; and so have the Episcopalian and Methodist bodies; and they have done it in public, and not through the efforts of influential individuals. (1) Do you believe, then, as Christians that these men deliberately wish to keep their fellow-creatures in slavery? You are the first abolitionists in the world; but remember it, all you that are the advocates of the cause of the black, that if you pass this vote, you may have the same charge brought home to your door. In Massachusetts and the different free States, they have liberated their slaves, and passed acts by which all who are born after a certain day shall be free; and if their motives may be impugned, your motives, Mr. THOMPSON, may be of the worst description, instead of the best. I believe your motives are good, and I cannot charge my fellow-subjects in America with entertaining motives that are bad. If there be any opportunity of seeing an individual in his real character, it occurs when you see him in private; and I can say, from an eight years' study of the character of my brethren in America, that they do in their souls abhor slavery—

Mr. GARRISON—In the abstract. (A laugh.)

Mr. ABRAHAMS.—In the abstract—but they go farther. I affirm that it has been granted throughout America, that Mr. S. J. MILLS was the originator of this institution, (2) and I am bold to aver that he died in the cause of doing good to Africa while on his return from a part of the African coast. I know his father, and have been in company with him; and I ask, is the motive of a Christian man, a man born on the hills of Massachusetts, who breathes the air of liberty, and a descendant of those who shed their blood on Bunker Hill, to be impugned? I am bound to say that the missionaries and ministers educated at the Seminary at Andover abhor slavery. If you inquire into the history of that part, you will find that missionaries have gone to every quarter of the world from Andover; and you will find that it is only individuals born there, who have gone for missionaries.

Now, allow me to make another remark, before I prove that the American Colonization Society will tend to put down slavery in every part of the world. It has been stated that the great friends of the slave in this country

(1) All this is true. 'It is undeniable that the popularity of the Society is immense: but if it be a benevolent institution, and exercise a wide and powerful moral influence, and is thus popular, how does it happen that no change, but for the worse, has taken place in the legal condition of the people of color, or in public sentiment?' How is it, too, that only one thousand slaves have been emancipated by it in sixteen years, while more than six hundred thousand have been added to the slave population during the same period?

(2) News!—The colonization bantling is a child of at least 'thirty-six fathers.' At Mr. Cresson's meeting, this same Mr. Abrahams stoutly contended that the Colonization Society originated at Andover, in the Theological Institution!!

(1) Referring to Mr. Cresson's meeting at the Hanover-square Room.

(2) Where, then, was Mr. Elliott Cresson, that he did not come to the meeting (as he was bound to do) and vindicate the Society of which he was the representative? He was false to his trust.

(3) Just the reverse—they are not so rash and fanatical as to desire immediate emancipation!

abhor the plan of the Colonization Society. A letter has been quoted, a copy of which I have had from Mr. BUCKINGHAM, showing that Mr. CLARKSON is a friend to the institution. I have also a statement in its favor, drawn up by a lady who has travelled much on behalf of the slaves. Mr. WILBERFORCE, till lately, spoke highly of Mr. Elliott Cresson, and said that he was engaged in a truly disinterested labor of love. (1)

Mr. GARRISON enquired what were the dates of the two letters which Mr. Abrahams held in his hand.

Mr. ABRAHAMS said that one (from Thomas Clarkson) was dated the 9th August, 1831; the other (from the anonymous lady) July 7th, 1833. [Several persons wished the name of the lady to be given, but Mr. Abrahams objected, assuring the Chairman that she was a lady well known to him.]

If you ask me, continued the Rev. gentleman, to state on what grounds I am favorable to the American Colonization Society, I will so; but I must first state one fact, in reference to the charge that the friends of the institution have acted in such a manner that they can no longer do good in America. When I arrived at Boston, ten years ago, there was hardly an African School in that city; but before I left, public opinion had so much weight that schools were formed, the expenses of which were to be paid by the public, the same as in the case of schools for the white children. (2) When I arrived at Hartford, there was no school; but through the friends of this Society, schools were opened. When I was at New York, I was employed by a lady, a friend of the Society, to get up the first negro school in the world. (3) One of the most powerful writers in America (4) has employed his pen to remove the prejudices which exist against the people of color. Thus, it is not true that the friends of the American Colonization Society are the enemies of the blacks. I was originally the child of prejudice; I therefore know what it is, and I can enter into the feelings of the poor black when he says that the whites are his enemies. I know that a length of time must elapse; that a great variety of actions, and those of the most humane description, must pass under your observation, before you can believe that an enemy has become your friend. From my experience, however, I do believe that the friends of the Colonization Society are the

real friends of the free people of color in America; and whatever other men may say, I can clearly point out how this Society will be the means of putting an end to slavery all over the world.

You may arrange all the slaves in the world under the following classes—those in the English possession, which, I hope, in a few days we shall no longer speak of as slaves; those in America; those in Spain and Portugal; and a few in the possession of France and Denmark. The effect of our measure of emancipation is such, that I think I can nearly see its results in France, where I hope slavery will soon be put down by the voice of public opinion. But in America, there is a very different state of things; there are men who feel that slavery is wickedness, and they wish the evil to be removed; there are others who also hate it, but at the same time they have got, as they call it, the law in their own hands, and the only way to deal with such men is to make it their interest to let the slaves go. (1) I do not ask you, whether the slaves should be sent to Africa; but I say, give them a colony—let them cultivate it, and they will be able to sell things cheaper than the slaveholder—the consequence of which will be the destruction of slavery. In Virginia, there is no other production than tobacco; and it cannot contend with the free States, in the cultivation of grain. We must also remember that Virginia and Maryland are nearly worn out, so that there is an immense quantity of land uncultivated even in the neighborhood of Baltimore. Now, my first object would be, to send men who are willing to go—not force them, no real friend of liberty would wish that—I have never met with a North American who would advocate such a sentiment (2)—but I say, send men to Africa, where we have a fertile land, and we may bring a sufficient quantity of tobacco into the market to make us beat the slaveholder. (A laugh.) Then, the next article is cotton. The best cotton is grown near the sea upon certain sandy grounds. Providence has raised up plenty of such soil in Africa; and if we were to send men to raise cotton, we could soon sell it at a price that would enable us to beat down the market. (3) Having thus taken away the trade in tobacco and cotton, there is nothing remain-

(1) Excellent!—Those who hate slavery have 'got the law in their own hands,' and yet—and yet—the only way to deal with such men is to make it their interest to let the slaves go!!

(2) O no! not for worlds!

(3) Here is the perfection of wisdom!—First, the slaveholders are to assist in sending laborers to Liberia that they may thus exclude themselves from the market by the superior industry of their Liberian rivals; Congress is to grant a free admission of African products into this country to the certain ruin of the planters!—A Daniel, yea, a Daniel come to judgment!

(1) Give us the proof:—and suppose the assertion true, it only shows that Mr. Cresson was favorably regarded by Mr. Wilberforce until the mask of deception was torn from his brow.

(2) This is another discovery!

(3) This was to be 'the first negro school in the world,' and yet long before schools had been established for colored youth in Boston!!

(4) Who is he?

ing for the slaveholders but sugar, and there is only one little corner in America (Louisiana and a part of Florida) where this article is cultivated. This is the only commodity, against which we shall not have a free production to oppose; but the time, I hope, has arrived when freedom will be conferred on the West Indies, and thus we shall be enabled to drive the American sugar out of the market. You may say this is far fetched, (a laugh)—but we have an example to encourage us in the case of indigo, which, a few years ago, was a staple article in Asia, but is now cultivated to a high degree in Africa, where we have one of the richest soils on the face of the earth.

I see plainly how this scheme would result in the liberation of all the rest of the slaves on the face of the earth, but we have another glorious motive; for it is said, 'Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God;' and as a Christian, I am waiting with great anxiety for that event. Seeing this is the case, I am peculiarly anxious that men who know the gospel, and who love it, should go to Africa, and should not be prevented by a quibble. The Society has selected the best men it could get (1) to form a foundation, upon the same principle that the descendants of the Puritans went to New England, and there formed the foundation of a colony. (Laughter, and ironical cries of 'hear! hear!') They are sending the best men to lay a proper foundation, and afterwards *there will be an opening for men of not such good morals.* After all that has been stated, the laws of America in the Northern States do not so much hinder black men from rising in civilization. It is true, there are prejudices against them, and their education has been neglected. Although I love the black man, I cannot help stating a fact, and that is, that in the prisons there are a large proportion of poor black people, perhaps brought there from the want of a proper cultivation when young. If they had enjoyed the society that we do, perhaps they would have been better; and therefore I say, bring them to a place where they will have equal rights and equal privileges.

Now, if the broad statements made by one of the gentlemen who has addressed you be correct, men forming the Ecclesiastical bodies in America, and the legislatures of seventeen free States, who have voted in favor of this Society, are in favor of bringing down the greatest curse that ever afflicted the human race. Men of such a nation are not worthy to be heard; if Christians could act from such motives, I would shake them off—I would deny that they had the name of Christ; but I know them better—I know that their views are not

opposed to the interests of the negroes in the least degree, though the poor blacks may think they are. The good men in America have been acquainted with all the forms of prejudice that surround the blacks in America; they have been grieved to find that every mode adopted to remove it has proved abortive; (1) and they have taken this step with a view to promote the welfare of the negroes. Now, if you differ from them, are you right, by a public declaration, in pronouncing that the major part of the American nation, as represented in the Legislative assemblies and by the Ecclesiastical bodies, are men unworthy of the Christian name? I say, as Christian people, if you have any kindly feelings of heart towards America, pause before you brand the friends of Christ, as the friends of slavery.

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. rose and said—I humbly contend that the honorable gentleman who has last addressed you, has not overturned one syllable of the reasoning which has been so ably submitted to you. All you have got to decide upon, with reference to this institution, is, that the colonization of the free people of color, either upon the coast of Africa or some other spot which shall be chosen by Congress, is the sole motive which influences the American Colonization Society. It is shown, not by the gentleman near me, (Mr. Garrison,) but by the Society's own documents, which have been read to-day, and which cannot be contended against, unless the gentleman who has been upholding their character intends to knock that character down. By these documents, you have to decide, whether the colonizing of the free people of color be their object: that is the point of the present resolution, and unless gentlemen are going to show that this is not their object, they should reserve themselves for a resolution which will come before the meeting presently, referring to the origin and to the managers of the Society. (Applause.)

Mr. O'CONNELL said—I do not mean to inflict another speech upon you, (A laugh,) but I feel it my duty to say, that the gentleman who came forward with so much pomp has not denied one word in the passage which I quoted. He does not even assert that the Colonization Society is for immediate emancipation. The only point he has overturned, was the story of the bugs—(Cheers)—for he has proved that the Colonization Society is to emancipate all the slaves in America. The old story is, that there is nothing like *leather*, (Laughter,) but his story is, that there is nothing like *cotton*; and he will emancipate all the slaves, as soon as he has cotton plantations enough in Africa! (Laughter and cheers.)

(1) 'An influx of vagrants'—'the lowest and most abandoned of their class'—'by far the greater number women and children, a burden on the agency'—&c. &c. (Vide Gov. Mechlin's Letter, African Repository for Dec. 1832.)

(1) Pray what is the 'mode' that has been adopted by these 'good men' to remove prejudice from the United States? Let New Haven and Canterbury answer!

Mr. HUNT again rose and said—Although I believe that the gentleman who just now sat down, (Mr. ABRAHAMS,) has not convinced one gentleman in the room, yet he has convinced me that we are a very improper assembly to decide upon the question brought before us. He has convinced me that this is a question between two contending parties. If the point at issue were, whether slavery should be put down immediately in America, and all over the world, we could sit in judgment upon it, and doubtless should be unanimous in our decision. But after having an assertion made, that this Society is not intended to emancipate slaves, but has some sinister motive, and then a gentleman gets up and denies that assertion, I think we are not a competent assembly to decide upon it; and, therefore, I will take the liberty of moving a resolution, that I think will have the effect you intended, without committing the meeting by pledging itself as to the character of the institution. In submitting the resolution, I shall offer but a few words; for it is short, and will speak for itself. I regret that the people of England should be discussing, whether a certain Society is intended to emancipate a portion of the blacks or not. I am sorry we should have gone so far from home, and passed by what is occurring at our doors. The meeting has listened with great attention to the gentleman who first addressed it, and also to the gentleman of color who spoke with so much effect, and we have all listened with great delight to what fell from the honorable member for Dublin, as we always must. If I could, for a moment, differ with any portion of that speech, it would not be with its principles; but I think it is not good policy to abuse the whole of the American people for the acts of a few. (Hisses.) That is my opinion. I shall, therefore, now beg to move a resolution, if any gentleman will second it for me. I think we shall retire to our homes with greater satisfaction in having declared our opinion of a principle, rather than condemned a body of men, many of whom, although they may be in the greatest error, may nevertheless be as honest in their intentions as any amongst us. The resolution is this: 'That this meeting is of opinion that the agitation of the West Indian question is likely to entail an additional £20,000,000 of debt, and that the agitation of the American Colonization scheme would, in all probability, risk a war with America.' (Loud laughter, and cries of 'Oh! oh! off! off!') I do not mean that the agitation of this question in so small an assembly as this, will have any such effect; but if the whole country should be disposed to agitate it, I submit whether it would not be likely to cause a war with America. (A laugh.) 'And that the agitation of the Colonization scheme would in all probability risk a war with America; whilst, if humanity is really the object of the meeting, there is at

the present moment a glorious opportunity for its exercise in the case of the poor factory children of this country, without going abroad in search of proper objects.' As for myself, I will not attempt to describe, in contradistinction to what we have heard of the horrors of black slavery, the horrors of white slavery in our factories. I see a gentleman present, who, if he will do me the honor to second the resolution, will be able to speak on that subject more efficiently than I can. (A laugh.) I only regret that mitigating the slavery of factory children should have elicited from this assembly a laugh. (Hisses.)

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. said—I will second the resolution, for the purpose of getting rid of it. I submit, whether a British assembly is so 'one-eyed' that it must take off its eye from the sufferings of the negro, to fix its sympathies upon the tears of the white man? (Cheers.)

A GENTLEMAN rose to support the resolution, but

Mr. O'CONNELL, with considerable warmth, said—The cause of the factory children is one that is dear to every friend of humanity. I pity the man that can make it the subject of mockery or ridicule—that can attempt to bring it in, by way of a side wind. Why does he not call a public meeting on it? (Cheers.) And any where, where I have a voice or vote, it shall be in favor of the abolition of cruelty to the factory children. I will not, therefore, sit here, and have their situation put forward as a kind of overturning of another great principle. We meet here upon the subject of black slavery, and if the humble gentleman will wait till we have passed our resolutions, we will then pass a resolution for him—I think unanimously. My opinion shall be most decidedly with him, or with any gentleman who comes forward to protect these slaves; but that is no reason why we should be diverted from our present purpose. Every body knows that in business, one thing should be done at a time, or you will do nothing. He who loads a blunderbuss with fifty slugs, is sure to fire at nothing, and hit it, as the Connaught man did. (Cheers and laughter.) My voice will never be raised up against our poor factory children under 10 years of age; and I submit that as it is not in the nature of an amendment, he should reserve it till the resolution is put. He (Mr. HUNT) really treats us worse than the Colonization Society treats the masters. I read a passage, in which it was stated that the Society addressed no arguments to the master; and I am sure that gentleman (Mr. ABRAHAMS) is very fit to address no arguments to you; (a laugh)—and I appeal to his (Mr. HUNT's) humanity, whether one great object is to be blotted out and obliterated, by the holding up of a second candle when one is light enough for the present occasion. Let us have our own resolution first, and the new

light of the honorable gentleman afterwards. (Cheers.)

Mr. HUNT rose to explain.—The honorable gentleman, said he, is an old soldier, but I am an old soldier too; and I am not quite to be put down by misrepresentation. I stated that I was as great an enemy to slavery, as any man living; and if the question were the abolition of slavery in America, in the West Indies, and every other place, I should assent to it without difficulty. But this is nothing more than a declaration, calling upon the meeting to declare, whether a Society has the object in view which it professes. Here is a gentleman who will second my resolution.

Mr. THOMPSON—I have seconded it.

Mr. HUNT exclaimed, with great vehemence—He is a sham secondér. (Loud laughter.)

The resolution of Mr. HUNT was then put, and unanimously negatived, and the original resolution carried by acclamation.

The Rev. Mr. ABRAHAMs moved that the word *sole* should be omitted in the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN—You are too late, Sir; the resolution is carried.

Mr. O'CONNELL.—He might as well move to leave out the *body*. (Laughter.)

The resolution proposed by Mr. O'CONNELL was carried unanimously.

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. in rising to move the second resolution said:

Sir, before I address myself immediately to the Resolution which I have the honor to submit to this respectable meeting, I must claim permission to comment, for a moment, upon what I cannot but designate a cruel and heartless attempt to withdraw our minds from the contemplation of a vast amount of misery inflicted upon 2,000,000 of our fellow beings by the wickedness of man, by directing our attention to the existence of partial and home wretchedness which I am sure we all deplore, and are desirous of mitigating. (Hear, hear.) I will again remind the honorable gentleman (Mr. Hunt) who has acted this unworthy part, of what he seems to have forgotten,—although pressed upon his observation year after year,—that the best friends of suffering humanity at home have ever been the warm and sympathetic friends of suffering humanity abroad. (Cheers.) If he will take his walks along the paths where benevolence and mercy love to linger, that they may minister comfort and assistance to the miserable, the destitute, and the bereaved, he will find those ministering spirits to be those who have been the readiest to devote their energies to the glorious work of universal emancipation. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Our honorable opponent has, on other occasions, committed the same offence against honor and good breeding. Instead of calling meetings of his own, to denounce the wrongs and wretchedness of our unfortunate factory children and thus aiming to do the work he pretends to love properly and efficient-

ly, he satisfies himself with attending anti-slavery meetings, and seeking to divert the attention of the British public from the slavery of the West Indies or the United States, by a reference to the oppressed circumstances of a portion of our juvenile population at home. (Hear, hear.) I must confess, I like not the man whose vision is so circumscribed that he cannot see or feel it to be his duty to send his regards beyond the narrow circle of his own neighborhood. Had he chosen the motto of our esteemed friend, Mr. GARRISON, 'My country is the world, my countrymen are all mankind,' he would not have been found to-day among those who would thwart the honest and philanthropic purposes of our heart, nor have himself been doomed to see a resolution of his own unanimously discarded with indignation and disgust. (Loud cheers.) But the gentleman says he is the enemy of black slavery! Believe it—because he says so—but that you may believe it, never glance at his deeds. Believe him for his *honor*; for actions he has none to shew, to prove his hatred of the deed. (Loud cheers.) Was it fair in the gentleman, ignorant as he is of the first principles of the great question upon which our minds are engaged,—ignorant of all the documents upon which we have proceeded,—to attempt to overthrow our proceedings?—(Hear, hear.) Does he know that only a week ago last Wednesday, a public meeting was held for the purpose of forming a British African Colonization Society, for the settlement of free persons of color or their descendants? Does he know, besides, that this meeting is convened for the purpose, amongst other things, of exposing the real object sought in the formation of that Society? I believe, Sir, the gentleman is utterly ignorant of all these matters; and I will therefore venture, with your permission, to inform him and this meeting of the manner in which this bold and impudent trick was played off.

The Society I have referred to proposes to be a BRITISH (mind! *British*) African Colonization Society, to effect the following purposes:—1st. To humanize and civilize the rude inhabitants of Western Africa, and introduce commerce and the arts of polished life. 2nd. To extend the knowledge and influence of the Christian religion; and 3rdly. To effect the abolition of the Slave Trade.

Now, Sir, it is specially worthy of notice, that the persons who, above all others, were most likely to feel a deep and lasting interest in the accomplishment of purposes so high and holy, as those which I have specified—if those purposes were to be achieved by holy and honorable means—were none of them invited to the meeting, otherwise than by an advertisement in the public papers. Nay, more—when a few of them appeared in the room where the meeting was held, though among them was one of the oldest, ablest and

sincerest of the friends of Africa, Mr. MACAULAY, (cheers,) they were regarded as persons likely to frustrate the design of the projectors, and were designated, by the Chairman and others upon the platform, as factious disturbers. *Not one of the leading friends of Africa, or the abolition of slavery, was invited to take a part in the proceedings of that day*; though it was held at a time most favorable to their attendance, viz: when they were in London from all parts of the Kingdom, on purpose to watch the interests of the black man in the British Parliament. Who, then, called the meeting?—An *American*! (Hear, hear.) Who ended that meeting? An *American*! What was the *real object* of that meeting, as disclosed in the last resolution? That England should co-operate with America in transporting her colored population.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM—No, not *transporting*.

Mr. THOMPSON—Sir, I readily grant the word *transportation* was not introduced; but there lies the wilful error—there is the deceitfulness of sin—there is the subtlety of Satan. (Loud cheers.) Now, Sir, when we consider that that meeting was called by an *American*—that from its proceedings were carefully excluded *every known and influential friend to the abolition of slavery and the civilization of Africa*—that when a few of the friends of Africa went to that meeting, they were treated as opponents—that those friends, without an exception, felt themselves constrained to oppose the proceedings of that meeting—and when, lastly, although the Chairman had again and again declared that it had *nothing whatever to do with the American Colonization Society*, the *only thing* absolutely proposed to be done by the Society was to *co-operate with the American Colonization Society*. I am quite sure that the whole affair will appear in the eyes of a candid public as a mean, dishonorable and impudent attempt to decoy the benevolent inhabitants of this country into co-partnership with a Society, whose principles are so unsound that whenever alluded to by myself on the day of the above meeting, I was invariably checked by the Chairman, and reproved for wandering from the object of the meeting.

My friend, the honorable member for Sheffield, (Mr. BUCKINGHAM,) must excuse me if I say, that the ground he assigned for supporting this new Society was nothing like that of the gentleman behind me, (Mr. ABRAHAMS.) The latter gentleman's argument was all *cotton*. (A laugh.) Cotton was the Alpha and Omega of his speech. The planting of cotton trees in Africa is to work the destruction of slavery in the United States. (A laugh.) The argument of my friend, the member for Sheffield, is based upon the possibility of a superabundant free colored population in our own Colonies. Looking through the vista of future ages, he thinks he perceives it *possible* that

there may be an overgrown population of blacks in our dependencies, and deems it exceedingly wise to found a British African Colonization Society in the year 1833, that three or four millions of years subsequently we may be able to send our redundant colored brethren to the land of their ancestors. (Loud laughter.) Now, to shew how very early must be the arrival of that period when it will be necessary to transport—I beg pardon—*induce* to emigrate, our free colored population, I may observe that in the island of Jamaica alone, with a population at present of 400,000 inhabitants, there are millions of acres which the axe has never cleared, which the spade has never delved, and which the industry and ingenuity of man have never made contributory to his wants. (Cheers.) There are, in our Colonies, resources of subsistence and wealth for a population infinitely larger than that which at present exists in them; and who so worthy to avail themselves of those resources as those who have either in their own persons, or the persons of their forefathers, endured the rigor of an unjust bondage for the wealth and aggrandizement of the whites? (Loud cheers.) It is well known that a great many of the horrors of slavery take their rise in the smallness of the slave population, which induces the needy and rapacious planter to overwork his slaves, and apply those coercive measures which have proved so fatal to their happiness, elevation and existence. (Hear, hear.) A West Indian gentleman, now upon this platform, is prepared to show that the more rational plan would be to promote emigration from the United States to our Colonies, and that it is the climax of human absurdity to establish a Society for colonizing Africa, when years, ages, and centuries must elapse, ere we can hope to find colored men to give operation, and effort, and accomplishment to the scheme. (Hear, hear.)

What, then, is it our duty to do on this occasion? Why, to denounce the American Colonization Society as the enemy to the elevation and prosperity of the people of color in the United States—as the friend and supporter of Slavery. It is our duty to regard that Society as the hateful bantling of a fiend-like prejudice, and boldly to tell brother Jonathan that if he thinks, *by means of an agent with a face of brass*, to dupe us out of any more of our money, he is mistaken; that we will speedily send his base metal away, and keep our own precious coin for worthier and nobler purposes. (Laughter and cheers.)

A preceding speaker (Mr. ABRAHAMS) has said that the principle of the Society is 'voluntary emigration.' Is he, then, ignorant that the honorable Mr. Broadnax, of Virginia, rose in the House of Delegates of that State, and contended that force was absolutely necessary to the accomplishment of their object; and to talk of finding emigrants without compul-

sion was a gross absurdity? That this meeting may be in possession of the views entertained by the people of color upon this subject, I will take the liberty of quoting their own words in various public meetings held throughout the United States. In Philadelphia, at a meeting held January, 1817, they thus speak:

'Resolved, That we view with deep abhorrence the unmerited stigma attempted to be cast upon the reputation of the free people of color, by the promoters of this measure, "that they are a dangerous and useless part of community," when in the state of disfranchisement in which they live, in the hour of danger they ceased to remember their wrongs, and rallied around the standard of their country.'

'Resolved, That we never will separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population in this country;' (Cheers)—they are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering, and of wrong; and we feel that there is more virtue in suffering privations with them, than in fancied advantages for a season.' (Cheers.)

The free colored people of New-York thus speak out their sentiments:

'Resolved, That we view the resolution, calling on the worshippers of Christ to assist in the unholy crusade against the colored population of this country, as totally at variance with true christian principles.'

'Resolved, That we claim this country, the place of our birth, and not Africa, as our mother country, and all attempts to send us to Africa we consider gratuitous and uncalled for.' (Cheers.)

Sir, the gentleman who has this day spoken in favor of the Colonization Society, has more than once called himself one of the descendants of Abraham. Now, Sir, we all know that his brethren in this country labor under many and heavy disabilities, and that at this moment strenuous efforts are being made in the House of Commons to effect their civil emancipation; efforts which I hope and trust may be crowned with complete success. But, Sir, what would that descendant of Abraham think of me, if, instead of giving my voice and vote to raise them to their rightful station in this the land of their nativity, I were to address myself to his injured brethren and to him, and say, 'You are a dangerous and useless part of community—this is not your home or country—away to the deserts of Arabia, or the mountains of Palestine—there, in the land of your ancestors, be free and happy—or pine and perish, for you shall not pollute these shores;'—and, then, were to come forward, and claim the regard of my countrymen and mankind for having done an act of enlightened justice and humanity? (Loud cheers.)

What are the sentiments of the colored inhabitants of Boston? Hear them:

'Resolved, That we consider the land in which we were born, and in which we have been bred, our only "true and appropriate home"—and that when we desire to remove, we will apprise the public of the same in due season.' (Cheers.)

I am rejoiced, Sir, to find my countrymen respond so warmly to sentiments like these.

Such language as I have read, is the true and natural language of reason, patriotism and independence; and he who cannot approve such language, is a being who loves liberty only as the instrument of tyranny, and deserves to lose the blessing which his selfishness and hateful despotism will not allow him to share with those around him. (Loud cheers.)

What say the inhabitants of New-Haven?

'Resolved, That we will resist all attempts made for our removal to the torrid shores of Africa, and will sooner suffer every drop of blood to be taken from our veins than submit to such unrighteous treatment.' (Cheers.)

'Resolved, That we know of no other place that we can call our true and appropriate home excepting these United States, into which our fathers were brought, who enriched the country by their toils, and fought, bled and died in its defence, and left us in its possession—and here we will live and die.' (Cheers.)

The removal of these colored persons has, however, been justified this day by our friend, the descendant of Abraham, on the ground that they are sent as missionaries to a land of heathen darkness, that they may spread the light and sanctity of our divine Christianity. But is it the fact that the Colonization Society is in the habit of transporting missionaries by ship loads to Africa? A letter from J. MECHLIN, Esq., Governor of Liberia, to the Rev. R. R. GURLEY, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, will illustrate this part of the subject. I extract it from No. 94 of the African Repository, vol. 8, for Dec. 1832. The letter is dated LIBERIA, Sept. 1832.

'With respect to the character of the people composing this expedition,* I regret to be compelled to state, that they are, with the exception of those from Washington, the family of Pages and a few others, *the lowest and most abandoned of their class*. From such materials it is vain to expect that an industrious, intelligent and enterprising community can possibly be formed; the thing is utterly impossible, and they cannot but retard instead of advancing the prosperity of the colony. I have noticed this subject in one of my former communications, and nothing but a thorough conviction that such an influx of vagrants cannot fail of blasting the hopes which our friends have so long and so ardently cherished, could have induced me again to advert to it.

I am induced to be thus unreserved in my remarks, as it is from the sufferings of people of this stamp, occasioned by their own indolence and stupidity, that the slanderous reports published in the Liberator have originated; they have never, when in the United States, voluntarily labored for their own support, and now, when the stimulus of the overseer's lash is removed, cannot be induced to exert themselves sufficiently to procure even a scanty subsistence. Indeed, so far from there being any real grounds for the assertions of our enemies, I am at this moment issuing rations to at least one hundred persons, whose six months have expired. Some of these have been prevented by sickness from attending to their farms; the crops of others are not sufficiently advanced to afford them a subsistence; but by far the greater number are women and children, who have been sent out without any male person to provide for them; and, being un-

* Viz: 128 emigrants in the brig America, 15th of September, 1832.

able to gain a livelihood by tilling the soil or any other occupation, have become a burden to the Agency. Many in the present expedition are similarly circumstanced, and what to do with them I know not. Our respectable colonists themselves are becoming alarmed at the great number of ignorant and abandoned characters that have arrived within the last twelve months; and almost daily representations are made by those who have applied themselves to the cultivation of the soil, of the DEPREDACTIONS committed on their crops by the above described class of people, who cannot be induced to labor for their own support.

Now, Sir, much has been said, both here and elsewhere, of the vast number of intelligent, enterprising and religious persons of color willing to go to Liberia; and it has, with equal confidence, been asserted that funds only were wanting to enable the managers of the American Colonization Society to make a selection of persons fully qualified to enter, with every prospect of success, upon the great work of civilizing and evangelizing Africa. It appears that during the years 1831 and 1832, efforts were made to ship off a more than ordinary number of emigrants, and that the object was accomplished. But, Sir, were the persons so sent, such as have been all along described as willing to go? Do they answer the description this day given of those missionary colonists, who are to prove such a blessing to Africa? No. The Governor describes them as *'the lowest and most abandoned of their class'*—an *'influx of vagrants'*—*'indolent and stupid'*—*'the greater number women and children, without any male person to provide for them.'* He declares that *'the colonists are alarmed at the great number of ignorant and abandoned characters that have arrived within the last twelve months'*—and speaks of *'daily depredations'* committed by such persons upon the crops of the industrious. Now, Sir, what is the plain inference from these authoritative statements? It is one of the following—either that there is no large portion of intelligent and religious persons of color to go, and that therefore the representations given upon that subject are false—or that the managers and auxiliaries of this Society cannot discriminate between the good and the bad; between those who are likely to *'retard the interests of the Colony,'* and those who are qualified to *'advance them'*—or, that they have wickedly and wilfully poured upon the infant colony a flood of moral corruption, threatening its very existence, as an industrious and well conducted settlement. I leave the defenders of the Colonization scheme to choose between these natural and necessary conclusions from the accounts of their Governor, and their own authorized statements. (Loud cheers.) Again, Sir; the Editor of the African Repository, in introducing Governor Mechlin's letter, observes respecting the expedition by the American:—*'We regret to learn that, in the opinion of the colonial agent, they are little qualified to add to the strength and character of the Colony;'* *'but,'* he adds,

'those who are now to embark are among the best of our colored population.' Now, Sir, admitting that the next ship-load be of this description, I contend that both in principle and policy, such a line of conduct is bad. If they really be among *'the best of the colored population,'* why are they by oppression and unjust treatment made willing to go? Why are they not encouraged and made happy on their native soil? As a course of policy, such a proceeding is monstrous. Why send the salt away? Is it because they desire to keep an unmixed mass of putridity at home? Cannot these *'best'* portions of their colored population be beneficially employed at home? Ought they not to be employed? But the language of their actions is this—*'We seek not the elevation of the blacks at home. We care not a rush for the improvement of our two millions of slaves amongst us—we rather wish that they should remain wretched and debased, that we may the more securely rivet upon them the chain of a soul-degrading, man dishonoring, God defying despotism. Shew us an illuminated negro, and away he goes to Liberia!—Shew us the sublime and noble sight of a black man struggling into political existence, and away he goes to bless Liberia. Shew us the spectacle of one who look around upon his colored brethren in bonds, with a burning desire to be their liberator, and away with him to the regions of Liberia! This is not the land for illuminated minds, unless they tenant white bodies. This is not the land for struggles in the cause of liberty, unless it be liberty for the whites. This is not the land for burning desires, and pantings after deeds of deathless fame, unless felt and performed by white skinned men. Away with all such colored men to Africa! There let them burn, and shine, and struggle, and contend; for here they shall have no abiding city. We will cast into their cup the bitterness of scorn and persecution, and calumny and reproach, until nature recoils at the gally draught, and they cry in the anguish of their spirits—'**'We are willing to go to Liberia!'*"

The Colonization Society of America has been described, by its Agent in this country, as an abolition Society, and the people of America have been described as generally friendly to the extinction of slavery. Let us see how far they prove the Agent's assertions. Do their documents confirm such a statement? No! They utterly deny its truth, and declare that slave property is held by a Colonizationist to be as sacred as any other description of property. Do they show their hatred of slavery by countenancing the New-England Anti-Slavery Society? Do they encourage and speak well of its managers and agents? No! They are striving, by every possible engine which malice can devise, to crush that Society, because it proceeds upon the christian principle, that we should do unto others

Again: the Colonizationists wish to exempt *themselves* from the charge of having an unchristian prejudice against color, whilst they justify their proceedings, by asserting the existence of such a prejudice to a very wide extent. Let us see how far they are consistent. For ask them, if this same prejudice cannot be conquered, and they tell you, 'No—it possesses nineteen-twentieths of the inhabitants.' You ask them, who are the friends of the Colonization Society? and they tell you, 'Nineteen-twentieths of the inhabitants.' (Cheers.) I leave their friend here to extricate them from the charge of being themselves the fosterers of that diabolical prejudice in which has originated, and by which is perpetuated, the degradation of the colored population. (Loud cheers.)

Permit me, Sir, briefly to refer to a portion of a very eloquent speech delivered by the Rev. Mr. HAMMET, at the American Colonization Society's 16th annual meeting; a quotation which I think will throw considerable light upon the views of the principal supporters of that Society. Mark what he says of the prejudice which exists, and of the consequent condition of the people of color!

'The evil which this Society proposes to remedy has already spread to a fearful extent, and is becoming more and more alarming every day. That class of the community to whom it affords succor, though nominally free, can in fact never be so in this country. A gloom hangs over them through which they can never hope to penetrate, and they *groan* under a weight of prejudice, from which they can never expect to rise.'

Indeed, Mr. Hammet! We thank you for your honest truth. 'Nominally free.'—Must not '*expect*' or '*hope* to rise.' Base, hypocritical, republican America, to trample on your boasted Declaration of Independence, and wrap in impenetrable gloom the spirit of the man you have declared to be equally entitled with yourself to liberty and the pursuit of happiness! Speaking of the patronage the Society enjoys, he says:

'In almost every State of this Union, the great body of the people are awakening to a sense of the vast importance of this undertaking,' &c. &c.—'and, Sir, the whole religious community of this widely extended republic have declared it worthy their confidence, and have resolved, in their solemn assemblies, to give it their support.'

Had I been present, I would have asked this Rev. Colonizationist, whether the whole religious community might not be better employed in praying to be divested of their prejudice, and in seeking to uproot it from American society? I would have asked him, if he had not himself proved that the '*gloom*,' and '*weight*,' and '*prejudice*,' and '*nominal freedom*,' under all of which the people of color groan and despair, were attributable to the whole religious community, thus found patronizing the Colonization Society? He further says:—'*No individual effort*, no system of legislation, can in this country redeem them from

this condition, nor raise them to the level of the white man. It is utterly vain to expect it,' &c.

Again—'AT HOME AMONGST US, scarcely to be controlled by law, or elevated by religion.' (!!!!) Monstrous assertion! and impudent as monstrous! and impious as it is impudent! How could the speaker utter a sentiment so disgraceful to his country, and so libellous upon his faith, without a burning cheek and a faltering tongue? 'At home amongst us.'—Do not those words brand, as hypocritical and base, all the professions of piety and philanthropy made by the persecuting members of the Colonization Society? Not only do they confess their own determination to cherish this hellish feeling—not only do they deny the power of legislation to help these people, but actually deny the power of religion to fit them for the privileges of freemen. (Hear, hear.)

MR. ABRAHAM. —I deny that it is beyond the power of religion to do it.

MR. THOMPSON. —Sir, you do well to acquit yourself of any participation in this blasphemous calumny; but remember that Mr. Hammet said so in defence of the Colonization Society; therefore strike him off the list of your friends. (Cheers.) And know, also, that the sentiment was uttered with applause in a very large and crowded meeting of the friends of the Society; therefore strike them off your list of friends. (Cheers.) And know, still further, that 20,000 copies of this speech have been circulated by that Society, and still remains uncontradicted by any friend of the Society but yourself; therefore free yourself at once from the unholy confederacy, and enrol your name amongst the friends of universal liberty. (Loud cheers.) But although Mr. Hammet denies that they can rise in their native country, he maintains that it is only necessary that they should be sent to Africa, to become every thing that is noble and useful. Aladdin's lamp has been spoken of to-day; but, in my opinion, the change effected upon the characters of these colored people, by a voyage to Africa, is even more wonderful than the exploits of this Hero of Arabian romance. Nothing is necessary but that these '*pests of society*,' these '*nuisances*,' should be placed on board a Colonization packet, and, '*presto!*' they become artisans, statesmen, philosophers and christians. (Loud applause.)

'Transported to Africa,' says the Rev. Mr. Hammet, 'we there behold a class of beings who, at home amongst us, could scarcely be controlled by law or elevated by religion, suddenly springing into honorable notice; cultivating among themselves all the arts of civilized life, and securing to their families all the blessings of well ordered society. Every day's intelligence only reiterates what we have heard from the beginning—that peace, harmony and contentment are abounding.'

Then all the elements of civilization, all the elements of harmony, all the elements of con-

ment, every thing that lifts man from a state of degradation, must be shipped off from America; for there these elements are at war with peace and contentment, and produce wretchedness; and the native intellectual greatness which raises the man in Liberia, sinks him to the condition of a brute in the first republic of the world. (Loud applause.)

'Schools are established,' continues the Rev. Gentleman, (but are there none in America?) 'churches are erected, the mechanic arts are cultivated, agriculture is promoted, and commerce even with foreign nations has already been embarked in; and by whom, Sir? By a class of beings who, while here, hung as a dead weight upon the skirts of the country. Sir, with the sublimity and grandeur of the spectacle and prospect before us, calculation itself can hardly keep pace.' (Laughter and cheers)

If ever there was a piece of self contradiction, it is this extract;—if ever there was a man who belied religion, who belied human nature, who made transcendent capabilities a reason for banishing men from their native land, Mr. Hammet has been guilty of it in the passage I have read. (Cheers.) But can these free people of color be elevated by religion? At Liberia, the Rev. gentleman adds, the Christian, too, has much to animate his hopes and stimulate his zeal.' In America, they contend that religion has not this elevating power; but here in Liberia, 'the Christian has much to animate his hopes and stimulate his zeal.' An immense field, 'already white to the harvest,' opens before him. 'The missionary of the cross shall enter there, bearing to tens of thousands the 'Bread of Life.' O, what cant and hypocrisy is this! What an insult to the religion that he was lauding! He was obliged to contend, at one moment, that it could not help the black man among his white, christianized, high professing brethren of America; but in the wilds of Africa, amidst beasts and savages, it could make him a man, a philosopher, and a Christian. (Loud cheers.)

'Africa will receive him; churches will be reared; presses will be established; the scriptures shall be circulated; and the darkness of ages, retiring like the shades of night at the approach of the morning sun, shall be finally scattered by the effulgent blaze of divine truth. Yes, Sir,' (thus ends his speech,) 'superstition shall be broken down, false philosophy shall be confounded, heathen oracles shall be struck dumb. "The altar and the god shall sink together to the dust"—and Africa shall come forth, "redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled."'

Yes, and when Africa shall thus arise in might and majesty; when Christianity shall have made her all that is noble; even then she shall say, 'The prejudice that sent forth the missionaries to our country was cruel, anti-christian, inhuman and diabolical.' (Loud cheers.)

What are you called for together to-day? To countenance WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, the dauntless, the talented, the uncompromising, the pledged, the devoted friend of the

free persons of color and of slaves in the United States. Let others, with their narrow views, frown in the cruelty of their scorn upon a meeting like this; but be it yours to welcome, from the regions of America, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, who is fighting the same battle as yourselves. Be it yours to cheer his heart; be it yours to countenance his efforts; be it yours to send him back fortified with your blessings and your prayers; be it yours to hold up his hand amidst these convicted flesh-mongers and kidnappers of their species. (Cheers.)

Mr. GARRISON has happily succeeded in establishing, with no small pains, with no small sacrifice, an Anti-Slavery Society in the city of Boston. What are the motives of the Society he has established? My resolution comes to these, and therefore I shall take the liberty of troubling you with them. The whole affair is almost new to a British audience, and therefore I will just lay before you, in two or three sentences, the motives of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, as avowed in their First Annual Report.

Their motives 'are not motives of hostility to the interests or persons of slave-owners.' Then they go on to say that their desire is to do good to the slave-owner as well as the black; whilst they expose the injustice of one man holding property in another. Their motives, in the second place, are not those of a party character: they are associated together 'to maintain, not to destroy the Union, by endeavoring to remove the cause of division.' Their motive, in the third place, is 'to tolerate no compromise of principle.' There is no trucking to a narrow-sighted expediency; no attempt to empty the ocean, by putting into it the buckets of Colonization philanthropy. Their 'demands upon the holders of slaves are as imperative as those of the book of inspiration: to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free.' (Cheers.) 'The purposes of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, as declared in the second article of its Constitution, are to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery, to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.'

Then, Sir, in another part of this document, (the First Annual Report of the Society,) they go on to say what they mean by immediate abolition. 'It means, in the first place, that all title of property in the slaves shall instantly cease, because their Creator has never relinquished his claim of ownership, and because none have a right to sell their own bodies or buy those of their own species as cattle.

'It means, secondly, that every husband shall have his own wife, and every wife her

own husband, both being united in wedlock according to its proper forms, and placed under the protection of law.

'It means, thirdly, that parents shall have the control and government of their own children, and that the children shall belong to their parents.

'It means, fourthly, that all trade in human beings shall be regarded as felony, and entitled to the highest punishment.

'It means, fifthly, that the tremendous power which is now vested in every slaveholder to punish his slaves without trial, and to a savage extent, shall be at once taken away.

'It means, sixthly, that all those laws which now prohibit the instruction of the slaves, shall instantly be repealed, and others enacted, providing schools and instruction for their intellectual illumination.

'It means, seventhly, that the planters shall employ their slaves as free laborers, and pay them just wages.

'It means, eighthly, that the slaves, instead of being forced to labor for the exclusive benefit of others by cruel drivers, and the application of the lash upon their bodies, shall be encouraged to toil for the mutual profit of themselves and their employers, by the infusion of new motives into their hearts, growing out of their recognition and reward as men.

'It means, finally, that right shall take the supremacy over wrong, principle over brute force, humanity over cruelty, honesty over theft, purity over lust, honor over baseness, love over hatred, and religion over heathenism.'

Then the benefits are stated, which would result from the adoption of this righteous procedure.

Having thus endeavored to show the wickedness, the absurdity of the Colonization Society; having in the second place endeavored, though feebly, to do justice to the motives and the conduct of Mr. GARRISON; having laid before you the principles of the Society which he has had the honor to found; I have now to move a resolution, which will claim your sympathy on behalf of this gentleman, and which will go to foster and cherish the Society with which he is connected. The resolution is as follows:

'Resolved, That the colored people of the United States, fully aware that the object of the American Colonization Society is not their improvement and happiness, have declared their detestation of it in the most solemn and public manner;—that that oppressed people have our heart-felt sympathy;—and that the principles and efforts of their advocates, the Anti-Slavery Society of New-England, have our cordial approbation.'

I trust that this resolution will pass unanimously. I know that all opposition will be fruitless and contemptible. I know that it will but elicit your disgust—though disgust is sometimes more acceptable to certain persons than no notice at all; but, at all events, I know that I shall have a large majority in

favor of the resolution. If there be any one present who does not approve of it, let him move an amendment. (Long continued cheering.)

J. S. BUCKINGHAM, Esq. said—Before the question is put to the vote, I have permission from the Chairman to offer an explanation. No one is more impressed than I am with the zeal, and sincerity, and valuable labors of Mr. THOMPSON, as it respects the abolition of slavery. We have been co-workers together in that great cause. But adverting to the meeting to form a Colonization Society, the other day, he asserted that the object was to transport the people of color from America; evidently intending by that to remove them against their will. I said, 'No'—upon which he remarked that there was the subtlety—that it was not stated, but intended. I ask you upon what ground he has a right to impute motives to others? He has been too frequently, I grieve to say, the subject of false imputations. We have both suffered by the imputation to us of motives that we never entertained, and persons have been facetious at our expense. But this is too grave, too important, too high an object to be either false or facetious upon. If I believed it was a part of the motives of the British Colonization Society to transport individuals against their will, as I said before, so I say now, I would not be a party to it. Have we not the firm and conscientious belief of Mr. CLARKSON, that the American Colonization Society has done good, is doing good, and will do still more good? It is also conceived that it has never broken its engagements to this day—never having sent a manumitted slave from America to Liberia without his consent. (!) It may be right or it may be wrong; we are all human, and consequently fallible, but I must protest against the imputation of dishonest motives.

Mr. HUNT.—As I was so personally alluded to by the mover of this resolution, I trust I may be allowed to say one word in reply. He attributed motives to me. He called upon the assembly to judge by what I said, but not by my actions. He stated, that although I professed to be the enemy of slavery, yet by my conduct I proved myself its best friend. (Cries of 'No,' and hisses.) It amounted to that, if those were not his words. (Renewed cries of 'No,' and hisses.) I can only say that I have never refused to raise my voice against slavery in every shape, and in every country where it may have prevailed. But I will say one thing to him in reply; I may have been in error, and judged improperly; but in answer to his personal allusion I will say, that I never did come forward in any assembly, and do what he has done—advocate the cause of humanity because I was paid for it.—(Hisses.)

Mr. THOMPSON.—I assure the honorable

member for Sheffield, that I did not attempt to impute the motive to him of being a party to the transportation of persons against their will. But I can show that the American Colonization Society does hold force necessary, and that they will never be able to induce persons to go without force. If they will not go, then they will give them, as the doctors say, *quantum suf.*; and *quantum suf.* will soon make them cry out. (A laugh and cheers.) I scorn to reply to Mr. Hunt, further than by saying, that men have their notions of what is pay, and what is not pay. I shall be paid by the blessings of the negro, and he (Mr. Hunt) may be paid by the applauses of those whom he gets to adopt his sentiments. Let Mr. CROPPER say, whether I have ever taken anything that I did not render back ten fold. (Loud applause.) Ask the Anti-Slavery Society if I have ever stipulated for a farthing. I never did. (Cheers.) Now I call upon the honorable gentleman to take the charge home, that he has brought here, and to learn, in the seclusion of his solitude, that he is paid for every thing he does, in one way or another. If a man lives by his labor, and he labors honorably; if the cause be good, and if he be sincere in it; so far from his being dishonored by engaging in it, he stands high in his integrity—and the cause itself does not call upon the laborer to work without his hire.— (Loud applause.)

WILLIAM HUME, Esq. (of Dublin,) said—At this late hour, I shall best discharge the duty assigned to me, by simply seconding the resolution that has been proposed—more particularly because I am sure, after the able exposure of the Colonization humbug, by my talented countryman, (Mr. O'Connell,) that, in despite of the indirect support of the honorable ex-member for Preston, (a laugh,) it will be *Hunt-ed* in disgrace out of England, and that we shall hear no more of Mr. Cresson *robbing the British public*, by carrying thousands of pounds away to uphold the scheme. (Cheers.)

A GENTLEMAN, whose name we did not learn, rose and said—I beg leave to say that, as a stranger in this great city, I was induced from public placards to attend the meeting, with the view of holding up my hand in support of that liberty which has been so long withheld both from the black man and from the white. Some things which I have heard have exceedingly delighted me, but others, I must say, have induced great pain; and before I leave, I wish to state what the latter are. Perhaps a false impression has been produced on my mind; but, as an ardent friend to the cause, I feel it painful to separate with a feeling that might in any degree lessen it in my esteem. The first gentleman who addressed you was an American; and whatever I might think of the statement made by the honorable member for Dublin, (Mr. O'Connell,)

I hold it to be disgraceful for a man, when he is away from his native country, to abuse the land of his birth; (1) and let me tell you that I take such conduct as no compliment to myself. Whether America has acted right or wrong, I will give no opinion; though, if I were to do so, I should be inclined to say that *she is worthy of every epithet applied to her.*

I rose to second the motion made by the late honorable member for Preston, (Mr. Hunt,) and I did it in the spirit of sincerity; for the subject to which it related is one I have had much at heart, and which for many years I have been advocating, while at the same time you also have had my assistance. It was Mr. HUNT who, in Parliament, seconded the motion which brought the subject under the consideration of that House; and he having been the first to advocate that cause, I conceived that I was laid under an obligation of gratitude to second his motion. I have but one desire on the question of slavery, and that is, that immediate emancipation should take place; but I think no cause can be successfully advocated when personal attacks are permitted to be made.

The CHAIRMAN then put Mr. THOMPSON'S resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Capt. G. PILKINGTON rose to move the next resolution:

Resolved, That the improvement of the condition of the people of color as a body in the United States, whether bond or free, is no part of the object of the American Colonization Society; that it has never used any means for the removal of the infamous laws which exist against this unfortunate class, but, on the contrary, powerfully supports the unchristian prejudice against color, and discourages manumission except on condition of exile.

You will perceive that the removal of the free persons of color really amounts to exile. Every door is barred against their obtaining the rights and privileges, together with the comfort and happiness, to which they are entitled, *except that which leads to Liberia*; and feeling this to be the case, I most cordially move the resolution.

J. C. EVANS, Esq. spoke as follows:

If you will allow me, I will make one remark upon an observation which fell from a very respected member of Parliament, (Mr. BUCKINGHAM,) sitting at my right hand. He stated

(1) To the charge brought against me by this person, I scorned to reply. Nobody at the meeting knew any thing more about him than this—that he came as a tool and backer of the worthless HUNT. By his confession, in reference to my exposure of the atrocities of American slavery, 'let me tell you that I take such conduct as no COMPLIMENT TO MYSELF,' it seems probable that he was the southern man-thief, ('sailing under false colors,' however,) who wrote home to Virginia a passionate and calumnious account of the Exeter Hall meeting, which was widely circulated by the newspapers before my arrival home. Not only was his insignificance his protection on that occasion, but his precious acknowledgement that '*America was worthy of every epithet applied to her*,' rendered it unnecessary for me to say one word in reply.

that the free blacks in the United States of America are not compelled to go to Liberia. I beg to dissent from that sentiment. I think that a man may be compelled to leave his country in two ways: he may be driven by a cart whip, as it has been described by one gentleman, or he may be taken by force, by telling him that in Africa there is a sort of earthly paradise, where he will enjoy comforts which he has not in England or America.

Again, it has been said, that America is not the native country of the man of color, but that Africa is. Why, we have all descended, I suppose, from the ancient Gauls and Saxons; but still I imagine we conceive England is our native country, (cheers)—and I apprehend we have no particular desire to go to France or Germany. The country where a man was born, and where a man has lived all his life, is his native country; and the holding out of delusive expectations, as it regards Liberia, I contend, is compelling a man by force to leave his native country, and go to a foreign shore. The advocate of the American Colonization Society has said, (and I am very glad that the meeting listened to the worthy gentleman, for I think it would have been a disgrace if we had condemned the Society without hearing any one speak in its defence,) that in the city of Boston eleven years ago, there was not one school for the education of blacks, but that now an act of the Legislature (!) has been passed to levy taxes for the support of a school of that description. But the gentleman did not tell us that Boston is one of those cities where there are no slaves (hear, hear!)—it is in a free State—in the very State from which the gentleman came whom Mr. O'CONNELL shook by the hand, as if he considered him the only honest man that could have come from America. Can the worthy gentleman (Mr. ABRAHAM,) tell us that in the slave States—in Georgia, Kentucky, or Maryland, for instance—laws have been passed for the education of slaves, or free men of color? Certainly not; but, on the contrary, we know that they have often passed laws to punish those who have dared to teach the negro.

He has rested his strong argument, in defence of the American Colonization Society, upon the ground that Liberia will be able to produce an immense crop of cotton, which, he says, will drive the American slave-owners out of their own market. Does this advocate of the Society want to ruin the American slave masters? or is it likely that the slave masters themselves would advocate the cause of an institution, which is likely, by the produce which it raises in a foreign country, to drive them from their own?

Another position which the worthy gentleman has taken up is this: he will not believe any thing bad against the parties, because they are all Christians; and yet, in the face of this, he allows that these Christians, these enlight-

ened Christians of the United States, have in their country TWO MILLIONS TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND SLAVES, whom they are depriving of all their natural rights, and keeping in a state of unutterable ignorance and misery! (Cheers.) Yet, he says, they are CHRISTIANS, and he will not impugn their motives!! I will say, in language with which, I doubt not, you are all familiar, '*by their fruits shall ye know them*;' and from the accursed fruits which slavery brings forth, I can have no doubt or hesitation, as to the nature of the tree. It is not for me to trouble myself much about the motives of a man, but I can see clearly what are *their* motives.

I will not detain the meeting long; but I cannot let this opportunity pass, without making a reference to Mr. O'CONNELL. The first time I ever heard there were slaves in the United States was from a speech made by him: that gentleman was one of the first persons in the sister country, who stood up on a public platform, and denounced America as being a base hypocrite. At a public meeting held in Cork, he stood up, and in a speech of unrivalled eloquence, he said that he brandished a star-spangled banner with the mark of infamy. (Cheers.) I cannot but render him my thanks for his exertions on that occasion, in throwing aside the veil that seems to have hidden the moral depravity of America from the civilized world.

He made an apology for her, however, by alluding to our West India slavery. Why, he asked, was it that America had two millions of slaves. Because England, her mother, had eight hundred thousand. The system, he said, never could be destroyed till England had put an end to it in the West Indies. If England should give up her own prey, then believe him that the English lion shall soon start forth, and every tyrant, however much he may wish to claim that prey upon which he has been so long feeding, must drop it growlingly. (Laughter and loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN, in submitting the resolution to the adoption of the meeting, said he could not give a better authority for the statement it contained, than the second article of the Constitution of the American Colonization Society, adopted at its first meeting, and which had been ratified anew at their last meeting—as follows:

Resolved, That the true and single object of the Society is that which is expressed in its original Constitution, viz.—'To promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their consent, the *free* people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient;' and that this object will be hereafter, as it has been heretofore, steadily adhered to.

With these remarks, I think the meeting will be satisfied to pass the resolution; and I therefore put it.

The motion was then put, and carried unanimously.

SPARKS MOLINE (a venerable and highly respectable member of the Society of Friends) moved the fourth resolution, which, he said, he felt in his own breast to be the truth, and the whole truth:

Resolved, That the declaration that the object of the American Colonization Society is the abolition of slavery, is a gross deception; and that the people of England, who, under such a supposition, have contributed to its funds, have done so under mistaken views.

The Rev. Mr. SCOBELL, in seconding the motion, said—It would be remembered that Mr. O'CONNELL called the attention of the meeting to a passage from the 'African Repository.' He (Mr. S.) could also refer to a great number of statements made by that organ. Amongst others, he would take the liberty of reading the following:

'We hold their slaves, as we hold their other property, SACRED.'

'To the slaveholder, who had charged upon them the wicked design of interfering with the rights of property under the specious pretext of removing a vicious and dangerous free population, they address themselves in a tone of conciliation and sympathy. We know your rights, say they, and we respect them.'

'The removal of every single free black in America, would be productive of nothing but safety to the slaveholder.'

'The tendency of the scheme, and one of its objects, is to secure slaveholders, and the whole southern country, against certain evil consequences, growing out of the present threefold mixture of our population.'

'The Colonization Society, as such, have renounced wholly the name and the characteristics of abolitionists. On this point they have been unjustly and injuriously slandered. Into their accounts the subject of emancipation does not enter at all.'

'From its origin, and throughout the whole period of its existence, it has constantly disclaimed all intention whatever of interfering, in the smallest degree, with the rights of property, or the object of emancipation, gradual or immediate.'

'It is not the object of this Society to liberate slaves, or touch the rights of property.'

'The emancipation of slaves or the amelioration of their condition, with the moral, intellectual, and political improvement of people of color within the United States, are subjects foreign to the powers of this Society.'

'Recognising the constitutional and legitimate existence of slavery, it seeks not to interfere, either directly or indirectly, with the rights which it creates.'

'What but sorrow can we feel at the *misguided piety* which has set free so many of them by death-bed devise or sudden conviction of injustice? Better, far better, for us, had they been kept in bondage, where the opportunity, the inducements, the necessity of vice would not have been so great.'

'It is a well-established point, that the public safety forbids either the emancipation or the general instruction of the slaves.'

'The managers could, with no propriety, depart from their original and avowed purpose, and make emancipation their object. And they would further say, that if they were not thus restrained by the terms of their association, they would still consider any attempts to promote the increase of the free colored population by manumission, unnecessary, premature and dangerous.'

Upon such a startling developement of the principles and designs of the Colonization Society, Mr. SCOBELL said it was wholly unnecessary for him to make any comment before a British audience.

The CHAIRMAN rose and said—I think the meeting has now had sufficient evidence of the truth of what is declared in this resolution. The Colonization Society has been guilty of the greatest deception, and the people of England, who have contributed to its funds, have done so under mistaken views.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM then stood forward and said—I beg to add my concurrence in the truth of the resolution, and to state that, though I entertain the strongest belief that a British Colonization Society, founded on different principles from that established in America, and not contributing one sixpence to its aid, would be of great benefit; yet I must avow there was a period when I believed that the object of the American Colonization Society was the emancipation of the slaves. An examination, however, of all the documents, has shown me that it never was a part of its object; on the contrary, that its object was to colonize the free blacks in Africa, and render slavery in the United States more secure by their removal; and, therefore, that every person who has contributed a shilling towards the American Colonization Society, from the belief that it would lead to emancipation, has acted under a delusion. (Hear, hear!) I discovered it soon enough to save my mite, but I shall think it my duty to do all I can by writing, speaking and printing, and every other method, to undeceive those who have fallen into the same error as myself:—so that I stand here acquitted.

The motion was then put, and agreed to.

Mr. THOMPSON proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN, in acknowledging the compliment, said—I am very much obliged to the meeting for their approbation of any services that I have rendered. There is one remark that I should like to make, not only with respect to Mr. THOMPSON, but to others who may receive some remuneration for their services—a remuneration which is very trifling, compared with the merits of their labor in this benevolent cause. Now, if I had had the talents of Mr. THOMPSON, I should not have dared to stop at home—I must have gone about the country, advocating the cause; but I had not, nor would my health permit it. But I have some spare money, and he has talent—and why should we not put the two together? (Loud applause.)

The meeting then separated. It is estimated that about two thousand persons were present, whose attention for more than five hours was unbroken.

Conway, North Wales, July 14, 1833.

My Dear Sir.—Our friend, Mr. Cropper, will have informed you of the impossibility of my complying with your request, of sending you an explanation of the causes of my absence from your meeting yesterday. I certainly would not willingly have been absent; for it was my desire to take every fair opportunity of testifying my utter and increasing disapprobation of the principles professed, on the subject of negro slavery, by the American Colonization Society. I can have no objection, indeed, to the plan of colonizing in Africa, with a view to its civilization, and to the extension of Christianity in that deeply injured quarter of the globe. On the contrary, I desire above all things to see such plans, conceived in the true spirit of philanthropy, multiplying on that coast. But the Colonization Society appears to me to adopt, as the basis of its schemes, not the love, but the hatred and contempt of the negro race, and to regard every one tinged with their blood as an object, not of kindness and brotherhood, but of abhorrence, and of exclusion from the common sympathies and affinities of our nature, and from that union and fellowship in that Saviour, in whom there is neither Jew nor Gentile, Barbarian nor Scythian, American nor African, black nor white, bond nor free, but we are all one in Christ Jesus.

The unchristian prejudice of color, which alone has given birth to the Colonization Society, though varnished over with other more plausible pretences, and veiled under a profession of a Christian regard for the temporal and spiritual interests of the negro, which is belied by the whole course of its reasonings, and the spirit of its measures; is so detestable in itself, that I think it ought not to be tolerated, but, on the contrary, ought to be denounced and opposed by all humane, and especially by all pious persons in this country. And it especially becomes those who have taken any active part on behalf of the negro race, whether in this country or in the United States, to keep aloof from all co-operation with a body whose evident purpose is adverse not only to the liberty of the enslaved negro, but to the moral and political elevation of the free negro.

I beg to express my sense of the eminent services you have rendered to the cause of humanity, by your able and persevering exposure of the evil tendency of the principles on which the Colonization Society acts, and trust that your exertions will be crowned with success.

I remain, my dear sir,

Yours, very faithfully,

ZACHARY MACAULAY.

William Lloyd Garrison, Esq.

Paradise Row, Stoke Newington,
15th of 7th month, 1833.

Esteemed Friend, William Lloyd Garrison.—When I first heard of the formation of the colony at Liberia, I rejoiced at the intelligence, not doubting but that it was projected and planned by the friends of Africa, with feelings congenial with my own; that its object was to promote the civilization of the inhabitants of

that vast continent, and make some reparation for the enormous wrongs they had for so many ages endured. This must be the excuse of many in this country, and perhaps in North America also, who have countenanced or patronized the American Colonization Society. I have repeatedly told Elliott Cresson that, so far from being an enemy to this American Colony, I should be glad to see twenty more of them established, so that a more extended line of coast might be protected against the slave traders. But having heard thy exposition of the origin and main object of the American Colonization Society, at the meeting on the 13th instant, at Exeter Hall, and having read their own printed documents, I scarcely know how adequately to express my surprise and indignation—surprise, that my correspondents in North America should not have informed me of the real principles of the said Society; and also, that Elliott Cresson, knowing, as he must have known, the abominable sentiments it had printed and published, should have condescended to become its agent. My indignation is roused when I find it asserted in one of their publications, that the free people of color constitute a class, 'out of which no individual can be elevated, and below which none can be depressed.' Again—'We have endeavored, but endeavored in vain, to restore them either to self-respect, or to the respect of others. It is not our fault that we have failed—it is not theirs. It has resulted from a cause over which neither we nor they can ever have any control. Here, therefore, they must be forever debased; more than this, they must be forever useless; more even than this, they must be forever a nuisance, from which it were a blessing for society to be rid.' Again—'Is it not wise, then, for the free people of color and their friends to admit, what cannot reasonably be doubted, that the people of color must, in this country, remain for ages, probably forever, a separate and inferior caste, weighed down by causes, powerful, universal, inevitable, which neither legislation nor Christianity can remove?' If it be said that these are quotations from the *African Repository*. I understand that this is the ground maintained by the American Colonization Society. This being the case, I cannot but feel indignant that the benevolence of Great Britain and Ireland should have been so imposed upon, to the amount of the subscriptions obtained under the circumstances stated; and I do hope that an account will be called for of the sums subscribed, and of their application.

I rejoice that you have formed an Anti-Slavery Society in New-England, and shall be glad to hear that it goes on with increasing success. Can you not find some noble spirited landholders, in your parts, (who have capital also,) to set an example of what may be done for the colored free people, by placing them down upon land, and showing them how to cultivate it on the spade or garden plan? I have to request thy acceptance of two pamphlets, in which these plans are detailed. The capital employed in this way might be made to return with ample interest.

I remain, with great regard,

Thy sincere friend,

WM. ALLEN.

BRITISH PROTEST.

We, the undersigned, having observed with regret that the '*American Colonization Society*' appears to be gaining some adherents in this country, are desirous to express our opinions respecting it.

Our motive and excuse for thus coming forward are the claims which the Society has put forth to *Anti-Slavery* support. These claims are, in our opinion, wholly groundless ; and we feel bound to affirm that our deliberate judgment and conviction are, that the professions made by the Colonization Society of promoting the abolition of Slavery, are altogether delusive.

As far as the mere Colony of Liberia is concerned, it has no doubt the advantages of other trading establishments. In this sense it is beneficial both to America and to Africa, and we cordially wish it well. We cannot, however, refrain from expressing our strong opinion that it is a settlement of which the United States ought to bear the whole cost. We never required of that country to assist us in Sierra Leone ; we are enormously burdened by our own connection with Slavery ; and we do maintain that we ought not to be called on to contribute to the expenses of a Colony, which, though no doubt comprising some advantages, was formed chiefly to indulge the prejudices of American Slaveholders, and which is regarded with aversion by the colored population of the United States.

With regard to the extinction of the Slave Trade, we apprehend that Liberia, however good the intentions of its supporters, will be able to do little or nothing towards it, except on the limited extent of its own territories. The only effectual death blow to that accursed traffic will be the destruction of slavery throughout the world. To the destruction of slavery throughout the world, we are compelled to say that we believe the Colonization Society *to be an obstruction*.

Our objections to it are, therefore, briefly these :—While we believe its pretexts to be delusive, we are convinced that its *real* effects are of the most dangerous nature. It takes its root from a cruel prejudice and alienation in the whites of America against the colored people, slave or free. This being its source, the effects are what might be expected ; that it fosters and increases the spirit of caste, already so unhappily predominant ; that it widens the breach between the two races—exposes the colored people to great practical persecution, in order to *force* them to emigrate ; and finally is calculated to swallow up and divert that feeling which America, as a Christian and free country, cannot but entertain, that slavery is alike incompatible with the law of God, and with the well-being of man, whether the enslaver or the enslaved.

On these grounds, therefore, and while we acknowledge the Colony of Liberia, or any other colony on the coast of Africa, to be *in itself* a good thing, we must be understood utterly to repudiate the principles of the American Colonization Society. That Society is, in our estimation, not deserving of the countenance of the British public.

WM. WILBERFORCE,
WM. SMITH,
ZACHARY MACAULAY,
WILLIAM EVANS, M. P.
SAMUEL GURNEY,
GEORGE STEPHEN,

SUFFIELD,
S. LUSHINGTON, M. P.
THOS. F. BUXTON, M. P.
JAMES CROPPER,
WILLIAM ALLEN,
DANIEL O'CONNELL, M. P.

London, July, 1833

4
PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION,

HELD IN BOSTON

ON THE

27TH, 28TH AND 29TH OF MAY, 1834.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY GARRISON & KNAPP.

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LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

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James Appleton,

HALLOWELL.

Ebenezer Dole.

AUGUSTA.

Joseph Southwick.

CALAIS.

Aaron B. Church.

BANGOR.

S. L. Pomroy.

WELLS.

Walter F. Hill.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

DOVER.

Gibbon Williams, David Roat.

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N. P. Rogers,

WINDHAM.

David Cambell, Calvin Cutler.

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Nathaniel Southard,	Thomas Cole,
J. V. Himes.	Abner Forbes,
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J. C. White,	J. R. Cushing,
Nathaniel Budd,	Isaac Knapp,
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Increase S. Withington,	Perez Gill,
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Samuel E. Sewall,	John R. Cambell.

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William B. Oliver, Christopher Robinson,
John Berry, Edward S. Davis,
Israel Perkins, Samuel Gale.

DANVERS.

Edward Southwick, Jesse Putnam.

IPSWICH.

David T. Kimball, William Oakes.

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E. B. Dearborn,	Asa Wiggin,
Benjamin A. Gray,	Schuyler Lawrence,
Daniel Potter,	Avery Briggs,
Joshua Pope,	William Williams,
Daniel Weed, jr.	Thomas Drew,
Thomas Woodbridge,	William Chase,
Robert Coggsell,	Richard M. Chipman, Jr.
William Abbot,	Richard Hood,
Joseph Hale,	Benjamin H. Ives,
Samuel P. Flint,	Simeon Coburn,
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William B. Dodge,	—— Moore,
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Josiah Hayward,	Milton P. Braman,
Richard P. Waters,	John A. Innis.
Parke Brown,	

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Atkinson Stanwood,	

HAVERHILL.

John G. Whittier,	Dudley Phelps,
Samuel H. Peckham,	Nathan Webster.

SALISBURY.

Robert Scott,

AMESBURY.

Samuel Fielding.

LOWELL.

Giles Pease,	Aaron H. Safford,
William Twining,	Asa Rand.

CAMBRIDGE.

Dexter Fairbanks,	Charles Follen,
Sidney Willard,	Henry Ware, jr.
Jonathan Aldrich,	Francis J. Higginson.
Henry M. Chamberlain,	

NEWTON.

George Waters,	William G. Crocker,
Charles H. Peabody,	Eben Crane.

WALTHAM.

Sewall Harding,	George A. Williams,
James D. White,	Samuel G. Bemis.

READING.

Calvin Temple,	Ambrose Kingman,
Horace P. Wakefield,	Sumner W. Parker,
Jonas Parker,	Enoch Peabody,
Aaron Pickett,	James Nichols.
William Wakefield, jr.	

SOUTH READING.

Martin Stowell, Albert G. Sweetser,
Moses Sweetser, jr. Jacob Eaton,
Harrison Pratt, William Heath.

DORCHESTER.

D. Sanford, Richard Clapp.
John P. Clapp,

WRENTHAM.

William Harlow.

NORTH WRENTHAM.

Moses Thacher.

MILTON.

Joseph Porter.

CHARLESTOWN.

Oliver Holden.

HOLDEN.

Samuel Stratton, David Fish,
John P. Foster, Artemus Dryden.

ATTLEBOROUGH.

Jonathan E. Forbush, Charles Simmons.

UXBRIDGE.

Effingham L. Capron, Ephraim Bassett.

MENDON.

John M. S. Perry, David Wilson.

GROTON.

Isaiah Craggin, Amos Farnsworth.

NORTHBOROUGH.

Asaph Rice, Joseph Allen.

MIDDLEBOROUGH.

Wm. H. Eddy, Edward C. Messinger.

ANDOVER.

David T. Kimball, jr. Le Roy Sunderland.

FRANKLIN.

Elam Smalley.

GRAFTON.

Otis Converse.

ACTON.

James D. Woodbury.

BARRE.

Moses Gill Grosvenor.

SOUTH WEYMOUTH.

Charles J. Warren.

SUNDERLAND.

Erastus Andrews.

DUDLEY.

Abiel Fisher.

NANTUCKET.

Edward J. Pompey.

SHARON.

Jonathan Curtiss.

NATICK.

Edward Palmer.

WEST BOYLSTON.

Philemon R. Russell.

REHOBOTH.

Otis Thompson.

WOBBURN.

Luther Wright.

EAST RANDOLPH.

David Brigham.

MEDWAY.

Jacob Ide.

BROOKLINE.

Samuel Philbrick.

AMHERST.

A. Gray, H. Morse,
T. Hervey, E. Pritchett.
S. Leach, William G. Howard.

NEW BEDFORD.

J. O. Choules.

ABINGTON.

Daniel Thomas.

LITTLETON.

Silas Kenney.

FRAMINGHAM.

George Trask.

HALIFAX.

Elbridge G. Howe.

MARSHFIELD.

Silas Ripley.

SCITUATE.

Edward Seagrave.

ASSONET.

Stetson Raymond.

RHODE-ISLAND.

PAWTUCKET.

John Blain, Joseph Arnold,
Ray Potter, George W. Walker,
Samuel Foster, William P. Henry,
Joseph Healy, Rufus Bliss.

PROVIDENCE.

Anson Potter, Henry E. Benson,
George W. Benson,

CONNECTICUT.

PLAINFIELD.

Albert Hinckley, C. C. Burleigh.

BROOKLYN.

Samuel J. May, Herbert Williams.

ABINGTON.

George Sharp.

NEW-HAVEN.

Alanson Saunders.

HARTFORD.

Charles Grew.

NEW-YORK.

NEW-YORK CITY.

George Bourne, John Frost,
Charles Stuart,

OHIO.

WESTERN RESERVE COLLEGE.

Elijah Beckwith.

KENTUCKY.

AUGUSTA.

James A. Thome.

[NOTE. A very large proportion of the above persons were delegates from Anti-Slavery Societies in various parts of New-England. It will be seen that every State in New-England was represented, except Vermont: that State, however, is second to none for zeal and interest in the anti-slavery cause.]

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

Agreeably to public notice, the Convention, composed of delegates from various anti-slavery societies in the New-England States, and of the friends of immediate emancipation, assembled at Boylston Hall on Tuesday morning, May 27, 1834, at 10 o'clock.

The Convention was called to order by Rev. E. M. P. Wells of Boston, and opened with prayer by the Rev. John Blain of Pawtucket, R. I.

The following gentlemen were appointed, by nomination, officers of the Convention :

PRESIDENT.

Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, Brooklyn, Ct.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

Rev. JOHN BLAIN, Pawtucket, R. I.

WILLIAM OAKES, Esq. Ipswich, Mass.

Rev. E. M. P. WELLS, Boston, Mass.

EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, Uxbridge, Mass.

SECRETARIES.

Rev. JOHN M. S. PERRY, Mendon, Mass.

Mr. BENJAMIN C. BACON, Boston, Mass.

The President, upon taking the chair, expressed his regret that some other person, better qualified to fill it, had not been selected by the Convention; but it was a principle with him, and he hoped it might be with all engaged in the sacred cause of emancipation, *so long as it was unpopular*, to stand wherever put by the anti-slavery brethren. They had met to consider the most momentous subject which had ever agitated the land—relating, as it did, to the thraldom of more than two millions of their own countrymen. What was slavery, as it existed in this country? He would not harrow up the feelings of the Convention, by depicting individual cases of suffering and cruelty. He would only glance at slavery as it was established and regulated *by law*; and it was certainly fair to conclude that in practice it was no better than by law. Millions of native Americans were held in as abject a state of sub-

serviency as brutes—regarded as property—and bought and sold like cattle. It was a matter of every day's occurrence for husbands to be torn from their wives, parents from children, and brothers from sisters, and sold into remediless exile and captivity. All this was constantly done, even in the boasted capital of this republic. The law gave no more protection to the slaves than to brutes. If they dared to offer any resistance, under the severest provocation, any brutality might be inflicted upon them. Even if a slave should venture to defend his father or child from violence, or his mother or wife or sister from pollution, it would be at the peril of his life. The law contemplated no improvement in the physical, intellectual, or moral condition of the slaves. Any attempt to instruct them in reading and writing was regarded and punished as felony. The teacher was liable to be fined—cast into prison—and deprived of his elective franchise. Should they then advise delay, in view of these appalling facts? The nation had been indulged too long in its guilty slumber, and now, if ever, was the time for vigorous and determined action. In the prayer that had just been offered, the cause in which they were engaged had been commended to God. He hoped that all of them had united in that petition, that His wisdom might direct them and His grace bless.

The following gentlemen were appointed to act as a Committee of Arrangements—Messrs. George W. Benson of Providence, Samuel E. Sewall, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, and James G. Barbadoes of Boston, Wm. Oakes of Ipswich, Joseph Healy of Pawtucket, and Charles Follen of Cambridge.

Mr. Bacon asked leave to read the following letters from the venerable GEORGE BENSON of Brooklyn, Ct. President of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, and from the

venerable NATHANIEL EMMONS, D. D. of Franklin, Mass.

BROOKLYN, (Ct.) 17th April, 1834.

MY DEAR AND RESPECTED FRIEND:

I duly received your very kind and welcome letter, of the 31st ult., and fully acknowledge the propriety of an apology for this delay of any reply, but at present will only suggest, that it did not emanate from an absence of grateful respect to yourself and the Society, which is so happy in the selection of a Recording Secretary. Permit me to express a regret, that the same sagacity had not influenced the election of a President, which, however flattering and gratifying to me, would by near locality of situation, have rendered the choice more auspicious to the Society. As far as respects zeal, in this truly Christian cause, I feel tenacious of some favorable notice of its friends, and thank them and yourself, for the kind invitation of a visit to Boston, which, if my life is continued, I hope to enjoy; but during the ensuing month, I have business to transact in this town and Providence, which admits of no procrastination. In addition to this, my very venerable friend, MOSES BROWN, of Providence, (personally known to our friend Mr. Garrison,) has signified his wish that I should, some time in May, attend to revive a Society, instituted many years since, to aid in the abolition of the Slave Trade and Slavery: in order that the recently instituted Abolition Society in that city, should unite with the proposed renovated Society. It will therefore be very inconvenient, if not impracticable, to attend the proposed meeting of your Society in Boston. I perfectly accord in opinion with you on the importance of a dying testimony to the religiously correct faith in the prompt and immediate abolition of Slavery. During the discussion of the Slave Trade Question, in the British Parliament, I observed that the arguments opposed to that nefarious traffic, would in general apply with equal force and propriety to the no less moral turpitude of existing Slavery. On the introduction of a motion for the gradual abolition of Slavery, the celebrated Mr. Pitt 'rejoiced that the debate had taken a turn which contracted the question into narrow limits—the matter then in dispute was merely the time at which the Abolition should take place. Why ought it to be abolished at all? because it is an incurable injustice—a moral evil—how much stronger then, is the argument for immediate than gradual abolition—if, on the ground of a moral evil, it is to be abolished at last, why ought it not now? Why is injustice to be suffered to remain for a single hour?' &c. Mr. Burke declared that 'all men who desire liberty deserve it—it is not the reward of our merit, or the acquisition of our industry. it is our inheritance. it is the birth right of our

species. Slavery is a state so improper, so degrading and so ruinous to the feelings and capacities of human nature, that it ought not to be suffered to exist.' To the honor of the British Prelates, they exhibited the most decisive testimony against the detestable practice. Bishop Porteus said—'The Christian Religion is opposed to Slavery in its spirit and in its principles: it classes men-stealers among murderers of fathers and mothers, and among the most profane criminals upon earth.' Bishop Horsley declared that 'Slavery is injustice which no consideration of policy could extenuate.' The Bishop of St. David said, 'Slavery ought to be abolished, because it is inconsistent with the will of God.' Bishop Peckard pronounced 'the trade a dreadful pre-eminence in guilt.' Dr. Price, who was a distinguished friend to the American Revolution, says in reference to that event—'The negro trade cannot be censured in language too severe; it is a traffic shocking to humanity, cruel, wicked, and diabolical. I am happy that the United States are entering into measures for discountenancing it, and for abolishing the odious Slavery' (mistake) 'which it has introduced: till they have done this, it will not appear they deserve the liberty for which they have been contending.'

Perhaps you may be well acquainted with all the extracts I have transcribed. They are not designed for publication, unless it is expected that some good to our sacred cause may be the result. I had so long protracted my reply to your acceptable letter, that I concluded to occupy more than one page, and perhaps have even intruded on your patience. I solicit you to present my very amicable respects to our mutual and distinguished friend to the colored population, Mr. Garrison, and as opportunity may occur, to all the members of the Society, with my grateful acknowledgments for the favor with which they have honored me; and do, my dear Sir, assure yourself of the amity, respect, and esteem of your affectionate friend and colleague,

GEORGE BENSON.

I noticed, in a late *Liberator*, an allusion to a letter from me, and to my advanced age. I have been richly favored by a kind Providence, to have attained almost 82 years, without the aid of spectacles, which I now mention as an apology for the defects you may discover in composition and hand writing.

G. B.

BENJ. C. BACON, Esq., Boston.

FRANKLIN, April 25, 1834.

MR. B. C. BACON:

SIR,—Please to assure the Board of Managers of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, that I am deeply sensible of the unmerited respect which they have shown me, by their polite invitation to attend the Convention of the Delegates to that Society, to be held in the city of Boston on the last Tuesday of May next. I should have been

peculiar honor and privilege to have a seat in a Convention of such noble patriots and cordial friends of humanity. But my extreme age, and feeble powers of body and of mind, forbid me to go to such a distance from home, and especially forbid me to appear and sit in such a distinguished body of men on such a public and interesting occasion. I have always held and abhorred Slavery as a heinous and detestable crime in its own nature, and a foul blot upon any nation, and especially upon New-England and the United States. It is my sincere desire and ardent prayer, that God would afford his presence and direction to the honorable Convention, and lead them to devise and adopt the wisest and best measures to obtain their benevolent and important object.

I am, Sir, respectfully yours,

N. EMMONS.

Voted, That the foregoing letters be placed upon the files of the Convention for publication.

On motion of Rev. E. M. P. Wells, it was

Voted, That it be a standing rule of the Convention, that all business to be acted upon by the Convention be introduced through the standing Committee.

On motion of the Rev. John Blain of Pawtucket, it was unanimously

Resolved, That slavery, as it exists in our land, is contrary to the laws of God and to the principles of humanity, and ought to be immediately abolished.

Mr. B. observed that he was not a little surprised to hear, in a land where only five-sixths of the inhabitants are free, so much said of our liberty, our free institutions, &c. Go a little way south, and one sixth of the population are in abject and cruel bondage. To them the 4th of July is no day of Independence. While the proud eagles of our country have been waving for 58 years, and our orators have been trumpeting long and loud the praises of liberty, a large portion of our fellow men enslaved and oppressed, have been toiling beneath the lash, in our very midst.

And to whom shall they go for redress? To the north? Even there the almost universal cry is, No interference. Are we allowed to send out publications calculated to enlighten the public mind on this subject? Are we permitted to raise our voices in their behalf? By no means. We must be still, we are told. We can do no good—we may do mischief. Not so, however, if the suffering Greeks, on another continent, call for our sympathies, our contributions, our aid. There is then no want of contributions or orators. The press also is at once enlisted in their favor. Nothing is heard but notes of sympathy for that distressed people,

and not a dog is found to move his tongue against it. We can declaim long and loud, too, of the tyranny of the Czar over the unfortunate Poles; but on the subject of a worse tyranny in our very midst, *we must be still!* we must wait a little longer! Two millions of people enslaved in our very midst, and yet we must wait a little longer, before we may raise our voices in their behalf.

Wait, Mr. President? Why, we have waited half a century already. We have concluded to wait no longer. We are determined—at least a few of us—to *act*. We have determined to form Societies and send out agents to awaken and enlighten the public mind, in hopes that, by these and other kindred means, the time may eventually arrive when we may be able to say to the captive and the slave, Go free.

The time has arrived when it will not do to talk longer about *gradual* emancipation. Let us make the case our own. Suppose our own sons and daughters and parents and friends and neighbors were exposed in the capital of the United States, and compelled to undergo an examination—physically—like beasts, and then sold under the hammer of the auctioneer; and driven off to New-Orleans or elsewhere. How long should we talk about gradual emancipation? Are not the bodies and souls of colored people as really valuable as those of the people of the north? We have our benevolent institutions for improving the condition of the Deaf and Dumb, and the Blind; and some nations have institutions for the improvement and reformation even of criminals. But what is our country doing?

Mr. B. went into an examination of the apology for slaveholders, that many of them are benevolent and kind men, and treat their slaves with great kindness, and mentioned as indisputable facts many instances of the most wanton and unprovoked cruelty inflicted on them both by male and female owners. Cruelty, he insisted, was the rule—kindness the exception, universally. Something must be done. As men, and as Christians, we are called upon to express our feelings; and neither bonds, nor threats, nor persecution should deter us.

On motion of Dea. Asaph Rice of Northboro', seconded by Rev. David Brigham of Randolph, it was unanimously

Resolved, That the time has arrived when the ministers of the gospel must regard it as their duty to sustain the benevolent operations of the day, especially in reference to the abolition of slavery in this country and throughout the world.

Mr. R. said he came here to record his name as the friend of his race—as the friend of man. It was an eventful day in the history of our country—such an one as had not

before been witnessed. He insisted strongly on the demand made, at the present crisis, on ministers of the gospel. They are to preach the glad tidings to *every creature*. There is no exception—no limitation. He was not about to prescribe in detail the course which every minister ought to take, but something he must. The Anti-Slavery Society has no war with those who will do *anything*, whatever, for the colored people. It is only those who are against them, that they would oppose.

Mr. R's great age and occasional eloquence gave much interest to his remarks, independent of the nature of the subject itself. One burst of feeling was peculiarly happy.

'Ye ministers of Christ,' said he, 'it behoves you to come up to the spirit of this great work. You are to place your feet firm on the Rock of Ages, and with your shoulders firm at the wheel, you are to strain every muscle, and ligament, and nerve, and fibre. And are not the motives sufficient? See that master, with his whip in his hand! See the blood streaming down the lacerated back of the poor, and perhaps unoffending victim of his cruelty! Then imagine yourselves, on the other hand, at the throne of God, and a countless host of redeemed souls from our colored population—redeemed through your exertions. Can you then want motives to action? But if so, draw aside the curtains which conceal the bottomless pit, and view the miseries of the lost—lost perhaps by your neglect to do what you might have accomplished! Have you not slept long enough? Will you continue to sleep on? Will you longer go down with Jonah to the sides of the ship, when an awful storm is hanging over the country?'

Rev. Mr. Brigham, of Randolph, believed that preachers sometimes needed preaching to, and he rejoiced that they had received, on this occasion, much plain and wholesome instruction from a plain man. Still he thought Mr. R. did not rightly apprehend the present views and feelings of ministers in regard to slavery. In his own neighborhood at least,—he believed throughout New-England—a large majority of the ministers of the gospel were Anti-Slavery men. Yet without doubt they needed much exhortation—much stirring up to their duty. He hoped, therefore, that the resolution would pass. Only let 'light and love' be diffused through the country, he said, and the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause must be rapid indeed. He hoped ministers as well as all other citizens would come up to the work. Let light and love fly through the country, and all difficulties in our way will soon disappear. Slaveholders have consciences as well as other men, guilty as they are.

Committees were appointed to report upon the following subjects:

1. On slavery in the District of Columbia and in the Territories—Messrs. John Blain, Samuel E. Sewall, Asa Rand, David T. Kimball, Effingham L. Capron.

2. On the internal slave trade—Messrs. John Frost, David L. Child, Ray Potter, Jesse Putnam, and Joseph Southwick.

3. On the best means of effecting a more complete co-operation and union among abolitionists—Messrs. William Lloyd Garrison, William Oakes, George W. Benson, S. L. Pomroy, Asa Rand, C. C. Burleigh, S. E. Sewall, S. J. May, Charles Stuart, Effingham L. Capron, N. P. Rogers, Jacob Ide, Philemon R. Russell, and C. P. Grosvenor.

4. On Manual Labor Schools—Messrs. Moses Thacher, William Oakes, E. M. P. Wells, Philemon R. Russell, and George Sharpe.

5. On the expenses of the Convention—Messrs. Aaron Pickett, Amasa Walker, S. G. Shipley, Thomas Edwards, and James G. Barbadoes.

6. Committee to publish report of the Convention—Messrs. Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Isaac Knapp, B. C. Bacon, Henry Grew, and C. C. Burleigh.

7. On an address to the People of New-England—Messrs. Charles Follen, Dudley Phelps, Henry Ware, Jr., C. P. Grosvenor, John G. Whittier, and Charles Stuart.

Adjourned to 3 o'clock this afternoon.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

On motion of S. E. Sewall, Esq., of Boston,

Resolved, That the Committee on the address to the People of New-England, combine with it an address to the people of the United States.

On motion of William Oakes, Esq. of Ipswich,

Resolved, That the cause of Anti-Slavery, embracing as it does the objects of all the other benevolent institutions of our country, deserves the peculiar support, exertions, and sacrifices of its friends, and of the community.

In support of his resolution, Mr. Oakes said:

MR. PRESIDENT—I need not labor long to prove my resolution. A single proposition, which none will deny, will make it evident to every one. At present, the two millions of slaves in the United States are wholly shut out from the benefits of all the benevolent institutions and societies of our country. We seek the immediate abolition of slavery, and thus to extend, in the only possible manner, these benefits to the slaves.

But let us consider the subject a little more in detail. Let us consider the great divi-

ions, under some one of which, all our benevolent and literary institutions and societies may be ranked.

1. *Education.*—This great cause, in all its departments, moral, intellectual, and religious, employs the exertions of thousands of societies, and the time and talents of hundreds of thousands of our citizens, among whom are to be found many of the greatest minds in the country.

But who, among all these, teaches the slave to read?

By the laws of several of the southern States, the high offence of teaching a slave to read is punished at first by fine; when repeated, by severe imprisonment and death. In those States where such laws do not exist, universal custom, the power of public opinion rigidly applied, and the settled fear of the consequences of such teaching, produce exactly the same effect as the law. I do not say that there is not a solitary exception, but such exceptions are *solitary* indeed, and are therefore magnified and multiplied in the ears of the North, with the utmost solicitude. We seek the abolition of slavery, that the slaves may be taught to read.

2. *The distribution of the Bible.*—We have all heard of the enterprise of the American Bible Society in attempting to supply, with the aid of the Bible Societies of Europe, every family in the world with the Bible, in 20 years. This great and glorious plan originated, we are informed by the circular of the American Bible Society, in Virginia. On receiving that circular last year, I was peculiarly struck with the zeal of the agent of the Virginia Bible Society. He truly states 'that *EACH* of the heathen souls, to whom we send the gospel, is worth more than all the gold which could be produced in the whole world, though it were planted like wheat, and though each grain when produced, would become a bushel of gold.' He also says—these are his words,—'I give you the strongest pledge that I speak from the heart, when I tell you, that, dearly as I love the Colonization Society, and strongly as you know I have been urged to devote myself to its service, I have yet been constrained to decline that delightful office, and accept the agency of the Virginia Bible Society.' I looked through this gentleman's long letter, and through the numerous Resolutions of the Virginia Bible Society on this subject, to see whether the case of any of the half million heathen souls of Virginia were present in the minds either of the Society or its agent. I hope, and, indeed, I can hardly doubt, that they were—for the letter of the agent strongly enforces 'the duty of preaching the Gospel to every creature in the world;' and though they certainly do not directly mention the slaves, yet from their phrase, 'the reading population of the world,' it is probable that they had looked

at their case, on one or the other side of the way, at least. But they do *insist*, that all the 'reading population' of all the ends of the earth, in China, in Iceland, in New Holland, in Greece, in Rome, and in Liberia, and every other part of the world, shall be supplied in 20 years, if possible.

We seek to abolish slavery, that the slaves may be a reading population, and may be supplied with the Bible.

3. *The preaching of the Gospel.*—So little provision is made for the religious instruction of the slaves in any way, and so much discouragement and restraint are laid upon the preaching of the gospel to them, that they are in general, practically in a state of absolute heathenism. Many retain their African superstitions, but the greater part have lost the religion of their fathers, without receiving any other in return. A great part are ignorant of even the being of a God, and only know the sound of his name from the oaths which they hear. Yet these two millions of heathen are our countrymen—our *immediate* neighbors. To preach the gospel to them, it will not be necessary to instruct our missionaries in difficult foreign languages, or to print the Bible in Chinese or Arabic characters.

But these slaves cannot receive the christian religion from their masters, even if they were ardently desirous to give it to them.—For how can a slaveholder declare the whole counsel of God, holding the whip in one hand, and the Bible in the other, and utterly refusing to obey the great precept of Christianity? We seek the abolition of slavery, that the gospel may be preached to the slaves.

4. *Humanity.*—All the slaves of the south together, cannot make a single witness. Of what avail, then, are laws, which can never be executed? Their persons and their lives are left totally to the absolute control of their masters. We *call* upon the whole south to show a single instance, in which a slaveholder has been capitally, or even severely punished for the murder of his slave. They are generally considered as cattle, and are continually bought, sold, and exchanged; husband from wife, parent from child, and friend from friend. The northern slave States are now ridding themselves from the 'curse of slavery,' by sending in droves every year, thousands of slaves from the place of their nativity, dearer to a slave than to a freeman, as it is often to him the only known and fixed spot in the ocean of existence, to be sold in the new and unhealthy climate of the far south, where the human stock, which is produced with so much labor and selection in the northern slave States, finds a ready market, and a quick consumption.

Is not the cause of abolition the cause of humanity?

5. *Liberty*.—The sound of this word would once have thrilled every American bosom.—But at the present time in our country, perhaps from the constant and too universal enjoyment of her blessings, we have become blind to her charms and deaf to her voice. Still, however, Liberty is a good thing in Greece and in Poland. Even in this country, a little zeal for Liberty may be overlooked in some, though not in those who wish for the abolition of slavery. But this is an exciting subject, and I will not speak though I burst, for fear of affronting our friends both at the South and the North; we will not in vain ask them to ‘pardon a little to the spirit of Liberty.’

The Union of our country, though not an object of any benevolent Society, is justly dear to every one of us. Permit me, in illustration of this point, and of the proper means of preserving this Union, to relate an anecdote.

The too much indulged boy of a kind and worthy father, when he was in want of any favor from him, was in the habit of mounting the roof of the house, walking down to the eaves, and seeing his father in the yard, crying out to him, ‘Father, if you do not do as I say, I will certainly jump off.’ The affectionate old father, terrified to see him on the precipitous edge, cried out, ‘My son, my son, come down, come down! I will grant your request. I am willing to do *any* thing for the sake of *conciliation*.’

Finally, Mr. President, if our cause embraces the objects of all the benevolent institutions in the country, we are bound to give it our peculiar support. When with our friends we go out to cultivate the great field of benevolence, and know that they are prejudiced against a certain portion of that field, which we have found to be equally deserving of cultivation with any other, will it not be our imperious duty to spend our whole efforts upon this portion, confident that our neighbors will spend all theirs upon the other portions, and that thus the whole field will be cultivated? But however furious our zeal for our favorite object, yet I fear that even this apparently plain command of duty will not be obeyed. We shall still see, as usual, abolitionists among the foremost and most active in every ‘fanatical enterprise’ of the day. But I hope, until our brethren come in and bear their share of our burden, we shall spend the best of our money, the best of our time, and the best of our efforts, in the cause of anti-slavery.

On motion of Rev. Moses Thacher of North Wrentham, it was unanimously

Resolved, That be a committee to inquire into the expediency of recommending to the American Anti-Slavery Society the offer of a premium of dollars for

every cwt. of merchantable cotton; for every cwt. of rice; for every cwt. of sugar; and for hhds. of molasses, of a good and merchantable quality:—such premium to be paid upon satisfactory evidence being presented that such articles are the produce of *free labor* in any part of the United States.

Mr. T. said that, while he had been for many years, a warm and decided abolitionist in principle, he had found his practice rather at war with his principles. The language of the Bible is—‘Be not partakers of other men’s sins.’ It is commonly thought that New-England is free from the heinous sin of slavery. But is it so, Mr. President? How many articles of dress, and of food—even of those which we suppose ourselves hardly able to dispense with,—are the products of slave labor? Is there a gentleman or lady in this hall, who has not about their persons, some of those articles, which usually involve this kind of labor? But to use these articles, what is it but to hold out an inducement to slaveholders to continue slavery? What is it but to offer a premium on the labor of his slaves? Is there a manufactory in New-England, whose walls are not built up in the sighs, and tears, and groans of bondage?

Mr. T. said he was not in favor of attempting to hire men to abandon bad practices, but he could not avoid wishing that the resolution he offered, under some form or other, which should retain its substance, might pass. Mr. T. said he rarely, if ever, entered a grocery to purchase articles which he had usually thought were family necessities, without his conscience reproaching him; and that he continually felt that the subject was involved in difficulties. So intense were his feelings on the subject, that he was sometimes ashamed to hold up his head, or to appear in the presence of his fellow citizens.

Mr. Charles Stuart, of England, begged permission to relate an anecdote. Many years ago, when efforts were first made in England to abolish slavery, some friends of abolition went so far as to refuse to use articles which were the products of slave labor. At length, however, their conscientiousness wore off. About this time, a slaveholder from the West Indies, and an abolitionist, were riding together, in the north of England in a coach. The abolitionist endeavored to draw the West Indian into conversation on his favorite topic. At length, the latter looking him up in the face, said with a smile—‘Yes, I know that sometime ago, we were threatened with the loss of our slaves, but since you have returned to your old habits, we care nothing about your Anti-Slavery.’

Rev. E. M. P. Wells, of Boston, and one of the secretaries, Mr. Perry, of Mendon,

also addressed the meeting on the subjects involved in the resolution. Mr. Wells thought it our duty as consistent abolitionists to abstain from the use of the products of slave labor, without regard to consequences. Mr. Perry thought our inconsistency in this respect one of the 'condemning' sins of the land.

Rev. Henry Grew, of Boston, said he met with difficulty on this subject; that of late he had, in one instance, sought in more than forty shops for sugar which was not the product of slave labor. He had at length succeeded, and it was the sweetest sugar he had ever had in his family.

The following gentlemen were appointed a Committee on Mr. Thacher's resolution: Messrs. Henry Grew, Samuel Foster, and Henry E. Benson.

On motion of Rev. George Bourne of New-York city, seconded by Wm. Lloyd Garrison, the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

Whereas slaveholding cannot be reconciled with a profession of Christianity; and whereas the existing connexion of slavery with the christian churches in the United States constitutes the chief support of that ungodly system, and which is a stigma upon the cause of piety that ought without delay to be effaced—Therefore

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to report an address to the christian public, declaratory of the opinions of the Convention upon this solemn and most important subject.

Mr. Bourne having briefly but very cogently advocated his resolution, Messrs. Henry Grew, David Brigham, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Moses Thacher, and Sewall Harding, were appointed a committee to prepare an address to the christian public.

On motion of Rev. John Frost of Whitesboro', N. Y. it was unanimously

Resolved, That every citizen, whether he belongs to a free or a slave State, is deeply interested in the subject of slavery, and not only has a right, but is in duty bound, to use his influence to abolish this system of injustice and oppression.

Mr. F. sustained his resolution in an able manner, and in the course of his remarks made some statements respecting the interruption of the Anti-Slavery meeting in Middletown, (Ct.) and the gross violence used upon the persons of the gentlemen who spoke on that occasion.

On motion of Rev. Joshua V. Himes of Boston, it was unanimously

Resolved, That it be recommended to all the friends of immediate emancipation to as-

semble together on the 4th of July annually, and by public addresses on behalf of the colored citizens, and by taking collections in favor of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to hasten the period when the yoke of slavery shall be broken throughout our country, and all the oppressed shall go free.

On motion of Amasa Walker, Esq. the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

Whereas more than two millions of native Americans are held in cruel and degrading bondage in the midst of us—Therefore

Resolved, That 'THE LAND OF FREEDOM' is a phrase inapplicable to the United States of America, and ought not to be used by any real friends of universal liberty until slavery be abolished.

Mr. WALKER said, that the Resolution he had the honor to submit, was suggested to his mind by the remark of a gentleman who addressed the Convention this morning, that we live in a land of freedom. Assembled as we were to take into consideration the evils of American Slavery; and after hearing the impressive remarks of the President of the Convention, with a mind deeply absorbed in the interesting and appalling subject, he must confess he was forcibly struck with the declaration referred to, that we live in a land of freedom. He knew, indeed, that this expression was one of common, nay universal use; yet it appeared to him as extremely incongruous to the present occasion. It seemed a contradiction to the whole spirit and tenor of all we had done, and all we intended to do. The enquiry came home to his mind with irresistible force,—Is the term, 'the land of freedom,' applicable to the United States of America; and ought we ever to use that term while slavery exists in our country, and is sanctioned by our government? Both these enquiries, he said, received at once from his mind a decided and unequivocal negative; and believing that some useful purpose might be answered by bringing the subject before the Convention, he had taken the liberty of submitting the resolution now upon the table.

Mr. W. said he was aware that the assertion made in the former part of the resolution, might appear bold, and perhaps presumptuous. It certainly was at variance with public sentiment. 'The glorious land of liberty' had long been the boast of our people, and had been re-echoed through the land at every returning anniversary of our national Independence. Yet it was a fact, and the sooner we felt it the better, that we live in a land of Slavery, bitter, unalleviated Slavery; above all other lands, emphatically so. In contradistinction to other civilized nations, we call ourselves a *free* people. We point across the Atlantic to the empires

of Europe, and thank God that we are not like other men; that while they are groaning under ancient, feudal despotisms, we are free and happy. But how empty, how vain, was this boast! Where shall we find slavery in its most aggravated and direful forms; in Europe or America? We express and feel great commiseration for the oppressed and half-paid operatives of England; for the ignorant, degraded, half-starved peasantry of Ireland; but what was their condition, what their sufferings, compared with two millions of our own population? They, poor and miserable indeed as they were, could not be bought and sold like cattle; the sanctity of their domestic relations could not be violated with impunity by every lawless oppressor; parents could not be torn from their children, or the husband separated from the wife of his bosom; nor were their females exposed to universal dishonor, without the least protection from the civil law. No, sir. And if we go to semi-barbarous Russia, to find slavery that shall form a parallel to ours, we cannot find it even there. The serfs of the Autocrat have *some* rights, and the Russian boor is the *lawful* possessor of his *own* wife—the allowed protector of his own offspring. Nor even in the last stage of European civilization, among the subjects of the Grand Seigneur himself, do we find human degradation so complete and awful, as exists among the unfortunate colored people of this boasted land of liberty. Go where we will, we search in vain for a despotism like ‘the despotism of freedom.’ Let us, then, (continued Mr. W.) spare our errant sympathies, which we are proud to lavish bountifully on the miserable of other lands, for our own still more unfortunate countrymen.

The guilt of slavery is not a local, a partial guilt. It is strictly *national*; it is identified with our government; it exists, in its full extent, in the capital of our country, under the immediate laws of Congress; and is fully and unequivocally acknowledged as one of the established legal institutions of this nation.

Mr. W. said he would add nothing further to substantiate the first part of the resolution, but would advert, briefly, (for he did not come there prepared or expecting to make a speech,) to the other position, viz. that the term, ‘land of freedom,’ as at present applied to our country, ‘ought not to be used by any real friend of universal liberty.’ It ought not so to be used, he said, not only because it was not a just and proper term, and because it was inconsistent for us to do so, but because it had a tendency to paralyze the public mind to the subject of slavery. It was a self-deception; it was a concealment of a great and glaring fact; it tended to sear the consciences of men, and create a self-complacency altogether unwarranted by the

true state of the case. It was an attempt to cover up our national sin, and it contemned that declaration of Holy writ, that whoso covereth his sins shall not prosper, but he that confesseth and forsaketh his sins shall find mercy. So let us do, said Mr. W. Let us frankly and honestly confess that we live, not in a land of liberty where all enjoy equal rights and privileges, protected by and amenable to Law; but in a land where the right of freedom depends upon the complexion of the skin; where one sixth of the whole population are held in a state of vassalage more revolting and dreadful than can be found in Christendom besides. Let us confess that, as a nation, we are disgraced. Let us no longer subject ourselves to be justly ridiculed by all intelligent foreigners, as a people who, while they boast of the freest institutions on earth, and hold themselves up as the greatest models of justice and liberality, are yet the most cruel, uncompromising tyrants; a people, who, while they proclaim abroad the great truth, ‘that all men are born free and equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,’ hold more than TWO MILLIONS of their fellow men in a state of abject servitude, deprived of all personal rights, without any adequate protection of *life*, without the least vestige of *liberty*, and, as a body, without any possible means of *pursuing happiness* here, or being prepared for happiness in the world to come.

It is high time, said Mr. W., that we call things by their right names; that we look at facts as they are, and bring down upon our minds the tremendous responsibility of being participators in the sin of enslaving our fellow men. Let us not talk about ‘*Southern Slavery*’ and ‘*American Freedom*.’ Let us not lay the flattering unction to our souls, that we are free from this guilt; but let the astounding conviction come home to our hearts, that, as a nation, we are polluted; and that every individual in this great Republic must answer at the bar of God for the continued existence of this enormous iniquity. Mr. Walker closed his remarks by saying that he submitted the resolution with entire confidence, not doubting the reception it would meet with from an anti-slavery Convention.

Rev. Mr. Grosvenor, of Salem, asked leave to correct one expression of Mr. Walker, that in our country, freedom depended upon the color of the skin. Mr. Grosvenor said that many slaves were as white, or even whiter, than their masters. He stated the introductory clause of the Constitution of the United States. ‘We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, *establish justice*, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the

blessings of LIBERTY to ourselves and our POSTERITY, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.' He asked, are not the million of mulatto slaves a part of the 'posterity' of their white fathers? And does not the Constitution guarantee to *these* slaves, at least, *their* liberty? Surely, the Slaveholders ought to be looking up *their* 'posterity.' The fact is well attested, that one slaveholder has *seventy* children in Slavery. His '*posterity*' will soon be numerous.

Rev. Mr. Rand, of Lowell, thought that Mr. Walker, in offering his resolution, had departed from the ordinary and general use of words. He asked, is not this a land of Literature and of Religion, although perhaps a large majority of our people possess neither? A very great majority of the people of the United States were in the enjoyment of freedom, and it seemed improper for us, who formed a part of that majority, to deny that it was a land of freedom. He begged to relate an anecdote, to illustrate his meaning. A christian professor, rather exclusive in his feelings, always used to ask grace in the following manner: 'God bless *me* and *my* wife, *my* son and his wife, *us* four, and no more.'

Mr. C. C. Burleigh, of Brooklyn, Ct. said that slavery was upheld by the Laws of half of the Union, and that the Constitution of the United States was generally considered to sanction slavery.

William Oakes, Esq. of Ipswich, said, that the question seemed to be, whether this was a land of slavery. The United States held a greater number of slaves than any other country in the world, with the exception, perhaps, of Brazil, and a large majority of the voters of the United States were yet in favor of the continuance of slavery.

Mr. Garrison said, there was ever an absurdity in attempting to establish a *self-evident proposition*. He had never considered the sacred strife that was agitating the nation, as having exclusive reference to the emancipation of two millions of southern slaves: it aimed at the redemption of the whole land—of thirteen millions of people. We were all in bondage. He could not deem this a *land of freedom*, while in one half of it he could not denounce tyranny without perilling his life. We possessed neither the liberty of speech nor of the press. Was there not a reward of FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS still offered for his seizure, because he had ventured to assail a most execrable and bloody despotism? Even at the north, his personal security from outrage and abduction was by no means certain. Thought—utterance—action—the press—the pulpit—the bench—the bar—all were held in servile bondage. It was, therefore, not merely an abuse of language, but an outrage upon

common sense; it was consummate hypocrisy and glaring falsehood, to call ours a *free* country. When all unequal laws, having respect to the color of the skin, shall have been universally expunged from the statute-books, and prejudice scouted as a fiend, and the cord of caste burnt to ashes, and every chain broken, and every captive set free; when the time shall have arrived that, in any part of our republic, it will be safe and honorable to assail the oppressor as the enemy of his species; then—and not till then—may we truly call this 'THE LAND OF FREEDOM.' He trusted the resolution would pass unanimously.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Grosvenor,

Resolved, That a committee be raised to collect information from members of the Convention, respecting the progress of the anti-slavery cause.

Messrs. Horace P. Wakefield, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, and Albert Hinckley, were appointed on that committee.

Adjourned to 8 o'clock, Wednesday morning.

WEDNESDAY, May 28.

The Convention was opened with prayer by Rev. Mr. Snowden of Boston.

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read—

The Committee on the Manual Labor School made a favorable report, and submitted sundry resolutions, which, after an interesting debate, were unanimously adopted.

The Committee on Slavery in the District of Columbia made a report, which was accepted.

On motion of Rev. S. L. Pomroy of Bangor, Me. it was unanimously

Resolved, That a Committee of five be raised to ascertain, in behalf of this Convention, whether the academies, female boarding schools, colleges, asylums for the blind and for the deaf and dumb, for the reformation of juvenile delinquents, and institutions of a similar character in New-England, are willing to admit colored youth to their privileges on terms of equality with others, and report in such time and way as they shall think proper.

The discussion of this Resolution, and of the first Resolution on the Manual Labor School, brought before the Convention several most interesting facts.

Some gentleman in the Convention having stated that some of the Colleges of New-England were already open to colored men, Rev. William C. Munroe, of Portland, (a colored person,) rose and stated that he also had heard that certain Colleges of New-Eng-

land would receive colored pupils, and that Mr. John B. Russwurm, Mr. Edward Jones, and Mr. Prince Saunders, had in fact obtained their education in Bowdoin, Amherst and Dartmouth Colleges. He applied for admittance to these colleges, but met with an immediate rejection, or was offered admittance only on such degrading terms, as no one who had any sense of the rights of man would accept. The account given by Mr. Munroe of the successive rejection which he experienced, must have touched the heart of every friend of Education.

Rev. Mr. Perry, of Mendon, stated the astounding fact, that application had been made to the Institution for the Blind, for the admittance of a *blind* colored boy from Uxbridge, Mass. of excellent disposition and remarkable capacity, but he had been refused on account of his *color*! The Principal of the Institution, Dr. Howe, known as the friend of humanity in Greece, stated candidly to the applicants the reason for his rejection. We *may*, he said, have some pupils from the *South*, and if we admit this blind colored boy into our Institution, it may make it unpopular there.

Mr. Garrison said he had a letter which had been put into his hands some time since by the gentleman to whom it was addressed, (Effingham L. Capron, a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, and one of the Vice Presidents of the Convention,) which he would read in confirmation of the melancholy and disgraceful fact disclosed by Rev. Mr. Perry.

MENDON, Jan. 13, 1834.

DEAR SIR :

The Legislature, last winter, granted \$6000 a year to the Institution for the instruction of the blind, on condition that they should receive and educate twenty poor blind children, providing so many applied : application was to be made at the Secretary's office, before the month of May last, at which time the Governor, if there should be more than twenty applications, was to decide which should be admitted.

I caused the name of a poor colored boy to be entered in due season, but found, on subsequent inquiry, he was not admitted, notwithstanding there were only about 12 or 13 applications. The reason assigned was, *because he had a colored skin*!! I called on the Governor, sometime since, and he informed me that he had no objections to granting him a certificate ; but the trustees of the Institution objected. He also informed me that the Institution received nearly \$3000 last year from the unexpended appropriation to the Deaf and Dumb, making about \$9000 from the State last year. I understand the objection made by Dr. Howe, who seems to be the principal of the Institution, is, if they should have pupils from the south, their parents or friends would not like to have them in the same school with colored children! I am not aware that the Legislature intended any distinction of color when they made the grant, nor do I believe they would countenance it.

I hope you will take measures to bring up the subject before the Legislature, and see what can be done.

The boy is about 11 years old, very active and robust, and I feel very anxious he should receive the benefits of that Institution.

Yours respectfully,

BENJAMIN DAVENPORT.

Effingham L. Capron.

Mr. Garrison commented at some length, in terms of generous indignation, upon the inhumanity of this exclusion, and stated that measures would be taken to lay the facts before the Legislature at its next session. He had never seen a more malignant and deplorable exhibition of prejudice. In view of it, language could not express the shame, and disgust, and horror which he felt.

Another fact, not less remarkable, was stated, that application had been made for the admission of a colored boy into the House of Reformation of Juvenile Offenders at South Boston, but that the application had been rejected. It appeared that hardly any doors but those of our State Prisons, were open to our colored brethren.

The Committee on expenses of Convention presented the following as their Report, which was accepted :

Resolved, That the members of this Convention, and other Gentlemen disposed, be and they are hereby requested to pay *one dollar each*, and that any Gentleman have the liberty of paying as much more as he may choose.

The Committee would add, that from the best information they have been able to get on this subject, the sum thus raised would defray the expense of the Hall, and of publishing the doings of the Convention.

Per order,

AARON PICKET,

Chairman of Committee.

Adjourned to meet at half past 7 o'clock in the evening.

EVENING SESSION.

The evening session of the Convention, for the passage of resolutions and the delivery of addresses, was opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Ide of Medway, followed by singing performed by the Juvenile Colored Choir, under the charge of Miss Susan Paul.

The President made a short but forcible address to the crowded assembly.

We have invited you this evening, he observed, to urge upon your minds, and your hearts, too, a most important subject. We would urge upon you a calm consideration of the sufferings of the millions for whom we plead. We are told, it is true, that the slaves at the South are vastly happier than the free colored population. But we do not believe it. We think we have abundant evidence that this is not the fact. Grant, for the mo-

ment, however, that it were true. Grant that the slaves are happier. What sort of happiness is it? What, indeed, but mere animal happiness? Grant, as it is insisted (which, however, we know is not the fact) that, as animals, the slaves are kindly treated. Still, we ask, what is done for their minds,—their immortal minds? Ay, what, indeed is done but to depress instead of elevate the immortal part of the human being, and keep down if possible, the growing thirst for liberty? And what guilt like this?—What is it but the highest sin which can be committed against a holy God? What but to sin against the life of the soul—to murder it!

Much has been said of late about an instance of soul murder which occurred in Europe. And though it now appears to have been a fiction, how have our feelings, from Maine to Georgia, and from the Atlantic to the 'far west,' been harrowed up by it? I allude to the story of Caspar Hauser. Yet have we not 2,000,000 of similar cases before our eyes, in our own country? And shall we remain indifferent? It must not—it cannot—it will not be. We appeal to you then, in behalf of these suffering, persecuted, soul destroyed millions. We beseech you to hear us, and consider and weigh well the matter—as Christians—as Christian patriots—as friends of humanity.

The following letter was read from Rev. Simeon S. Jocelyn of New-Haven, Ct.

NEW-HAVEN, May 24th, 1834.

B. C. BACON, Esq.

DEAR SIR—I regret exceedingly my inability to attend the New-England Anti-Slavery Convention at Boston, on the 27th inst. Being one of the individuals who publicly invited our friends to convene for the purposes which will be discussed at your meeting, it may be proper that I should express my regret to the Convention through you, that I cannot be with you in accordance with my strong desire.

I rejoice at the signs of the times, in reference to the spread of Gospel principles affecting the cause of the oppressed. These principles which we have proclaimed, and on which, under God, we rely for the temporal and spiritual salvation of the enslaved, and for the salvation of our country, will soon be so imbedded in the hearts of the people, that no sophistry can shake them, no power can retard their progress. Love of popularity, and the esteem of those who are in honorable and public stations, is so universal, that we should, in the sacred cause of Emancipation, be conscious of our danger when we see our principles of abolition deeply interesting the minds of not a few in important stations, who, but a short time since, not only denounced our measures, but disputed our principles, so as now to secure in a great

degree their consciences, and to lead them to act on the great question of American Slavery—for its overthrow. These men, among whom are many excellent, influential, and I may add, commanding minds, will either come into our Societies, or will, as is *already suggested*, attempt the formation of another national society, modified in its character, to embrace at once those who shrink from the immediate and death-like grasp with which we must under God lay hold of the monster, who laughs at the tears of the oppressed and riots in the blood of his victims. Should they come to us, fidelity to God, to the oppressed, and to their own souls, demands that we should hold up the simple and piercing doctrine of our Declaration for their adoption. Great kindness, patience and forbearance should be exercised towards men, who, on this subject, seem to look as through the veil which Colonization has placed before all eyes; but until they can espouse the whole truth, and defend our 'form of sound words,' they cannot claim our confidence, nor expect to direct in our councils. Our watchword, *Immediate Emancipation*, (said to be so revolting and indefinite,) cannot be bettered. It is the most graphic language descriptive of our doctrine, which man can invent. It must through all circumstances be retained, until it is lost in the jubilee of earth and heaven, when its objects of pity and love shall rise from the dust, and sing the song of deliverance. Whatever may be the course of others, and the attempts which may be made to accommodate their views to the multitude, let us remember that we shall prevail if we trust in the Lord, and lean not to our own understanding, nor to the views of those who would embrace us if we would consult with flesh and blood; so far at least as to humor, for the time being, the errors and prejudices which they deem of no importance, but which we deprecate as the pestilence which walketh in darkness, and wasteth at noon day. Let us at the throne of grace plead for wisdom to guide us in all our public assemblies, and in all our individual duties.

I am, dear Sir, yours,

In the cause of freedom and of Christ,
SIMEON S. JOCELYN.

Charles Stuart, Esq. of England, being introduced to the audience, offered the following resolution, which was seconded by the Rev. John M. S. Perry, and adopted unanimously, with the exception of a single No.

Resolved, That immediate emancipation is the only right and sufficient remedy for slavery.

On motion of Rev. S. L. Pomroy, of Bangor, seconded by Wm. Lloyd Garrison, it was unanimously

Resolved, That no valid objection can be urged against the principles and measures of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Mr. James A. Thome, of Kentucky, was introduced, and offered a series of interesting and emphatic remarks upon the wickedness and evils of that prejudice which exists against the people of color.

Prof. Follen, of Cambridge, offered a resolution with reference to the expediency of forming an Emancipation Fund Society, which he supported in a short speech, and which, after some discussion, was laid upon the table.

The Rev. John O. Choules, of New-Bedford, made a brief but eloquent speech, at the conclusion of which the meeting adjourned to the next morning at 8 o'clock.

THURSDAY, May 29.

The Convention was opened with prayer by the Rev. John Frost, of Whitesboro', N. Y.

After reading the minutes of yesterday, the following letter was read from Mr. Robert B. Hall of New-Haven, and was put upon the files of the Convention:

NEW HAVEN, May 22, 1834.

MY DEAR SIR:—It is a source of unfeigned regret to me, to assure you, that I shall be unable to be present with you in the solemn convocation which you soon propose to hold, of the friends of immediate and universal emancipation. But, though detained by the providence of God from being with you in the body, my whole heart will be with you, with its most fervent supplications, for the blessing of the Almighty to abide upon you.

It is impossible for me to describe the intensity of interest with which I have looked forward to this Convention, regarding it as I do, as an event pregnant with momentous consequences to untold generations. Upon this meeting, under God, rests the solemn responsibility of determining what shall be the standard of public sentiment in our dear New-England, in reference to the abolition of slavery in this guilty land. And in determining what shall be the public sentiment of New-England, you solve, in my estimation, the great question, whether the principles of immediate emancipation shall prevail. New-England,—let them gainsay it who will,—New-England is the fountain of pure moral sentiment in this nation. It was so in the beginning of our national existence; it is so at this moment; and I trust in God it ever will be; for there are influences abroad here, preserving and purifying, which do not exist elsewhere on the globe. In the light of these sentiments, I look forward, then, with no slight degree of anxiety to the issue of your

deliberations. My faith is strong, however, that the pure principles of our cause will be preserved in their freshness and vigor—that strong, uncompromising attachment will be manifested to the simple doctrine which is the very corner-stone of our holy cause. A disposition has appeared within the last year, among many professed friends of the cause, to fritter away with needless explanations that sacred principle. Expunge the principle of *immediate* emancipation from our creed, nay, even adulterate it, and all is lost! We may go on—cheered with the smiles of the great—with all the potency which wealth can give us, and float upon the gliding billows of a deceitful popularity—but the glorious consummation which we so devoutly wish *will* not, *cannot* be accomplished:—for the blessing of our God will be withheld, and his withering frown will blast the designs of the timid and temporising.

There is one subject which lies very near my heart, which I hope will be brought before the convention; I refer to the Monthly Concert of Prayer, in behalf of the colored population. The importance of a regular observance of this sacred season, must be apparent to all who have just views of the nature of our cause, and of the source from which we may expect success. Our cause is eminently the cause of God; we know that he loves it—for we have the evidence of his word, and the broad seal of his Divine approbation. It is a remarkable fact also, as I have discovered by attentively observing the workings of his Providence, that *since this Concert has been established*, the cause has rolled forward with unparalleled velocity, and the friends of the slave have been multiplied, even as drops of the dew. What better means can be devised to reach the Christian's heart, than to bring him to the place 'where prayer is wont to be made,' and there spread out the wants of his suffering brethren, and call upon him to unite in the solemn petition for succor, to his Heavenly Father? It is through the Christian church mainly, I firmly believe, that the abolition of slavery is to be brought about. While the church sleeps on, and suffers her powerful energies to be paralyzed by the fell demon, no hope remains. And who but God, with the gentle strivings of his Holy Spirit, can arouse her from this fearful slumber? And has he not declared that it is his will, that for this thing also he will be 'inquired of'? Let us, then, realise the importance of this measure, and let our conduct evince that our professions in reference to this subject, are not insincere.

I do most ardently hope that the convention will appreciate this subject, and by energetic and united endeavors, will strive to secure a general and punctual observance of this season.

While you are engaged in the holy work, in which it will not be my privilege to bear a part, may the blessing of the Highest overshadow you, and direct all your deliberations for the advancement of his glory, and the good of our fellow men!

I am, my dear Sir, with cordial esteem,
Your humble co-worker in the best of causes,

ROBERT B. HALL.

SAMUEL E. SEWALL, Esq.

Mr. Garrison, from the Committee on the best means of effecting a more complete co-operation and union among the abolitionists of New-England, made a verbal report, upon which it was

Voted, That the Committee have leave to sit again, with instructions to prepare an address, agreeably to the suggestions in the report now presented.

The Convention then instructed the Committee that they define the fundamental principle of anti-slavery to be *immediate emancipation without expatriation*.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Woodbury, it was

Resolved, That the true doctrine of anti-slavery is, *immediate and unconditional emancipation*.

Voted, That the committee on expenses of Convention be authorized and requested, through their Chairman, to employ some one of their number, or some other person, to collect the dues that shall remain unpaid, so far as is practicable, after the adjournment of this Convention, and to settle the expenses.

Mr. B. C. Bacon was appointed to make collections, &c. in accordance with the foregoing vote.

Voted, That the collection taken last evening and the collection to be taken this evening be paid to the Treasurer of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, in consideration of their early and severe struggles in the cause, and in consideration of their present wants.

The Committee appointed to make inquiry respecting the interest taken in the Anti-Slavery cause, and to obtain facts, made a report which was accepted.

On motion of Mr. Garrison,

Resolved, That it be recommended to the friends of abolition to celebrate, by appropriate services, the first of August, 1834, it being the day on which the slaves in the British Colonies cease to be property.

On motion of Rev. J. V. Himes, it was unanimously

Resolved, That this Convention earnestly recommend to all Christians, who are friendly to the *immediate emancipation of the slaves*

in the United States, to meet on the fourth Monday evening in each month, to make supplications unto God, that He would save the nation from the dreadful judgments that we so justly deserve; that He would have mercy upon slaveholders, by leading them to immediate and heartfelt repentance; that His blessing may attend the efforts made for the immediate emancipation of the slaves.

The Committee on the Domestic Slave Trade made an elaborate report on that subject, stating some most appalling facts as to its nature and extent, and showing clearly that Congress have the right to abolish it between the several States.

On motion of William Oakes, Esq. of Ipswich,

Resolved, That we rejoice in the exertions now making by our free colored brethren to improve and elevate their intellectual, moral, and religious character; and while every encouragement and assistance ought to be given to these efforts, we hope that every free colored man will feel that a *double responsibility* is now laid upon him—that upon his conduct not only depends *his own* welfare, but in a great degree that of *his race*—and that all will therefore endeavor, by constant well doing, to put to silence the voice of prejudice and persecution.

Mr. Oakes observed, that our colored friends, in general, already felt as they ought on this subject. Their late unparalleled exertions for their improvement with little assistance, and their great and increasing success, showed how intensely they felt their situation and their responsibilities. But he wished that this responsibility could be brought home to every colored man. Every misconduct or crime committed by a colored man adds one link to the iron chain of prejudice and cruelty, with which they are now bound. Many will feel for their friends, who care little for themselves. Tell, then, every colored man who is guilty of any misconduct, that by this he is only assisting the enemies of his race in their exertions to perpetuate their degradation; and when you have thus induced him to act for the benefit of others, you may also hope to lead him to act for the benefit of himself.

The Committee appointed to inquire into the expediency of recommending to the American Anti-Slavery Society, to make the offer of a premium of such amount as they shall deem proper on certain articles produced by free labor in any part of the United States, made a report which was accepted.

On motion of David L. Child, Esq. of Boston,

Resolved, That it is the duty of all the friends and well wishers of the anti-slavery cause, to inquire out, and encourage with

their custom and their influence, those taverns, stages, and steamboats, which receive and accommodate our colored fellow citizens, without making an illiberal and disgraceful distinction either of charges or of treatment on account of color.

Voted, That Mr. Child be requested to furnish facts in relation to the abuse of colored persons, in respect to conveyance in steam-boats and stages.

On motion of Mr. Henry E. Benson, of Brooklyn,

Resolved, That ministers of the gospel, of all denominations, favorable to the anti-slavery cause, be respectfully and earnestly requested to deliver addresses on this subject on the ensuing Fourth of July, and take up collections in aid of the funds of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

On motion of Mr. Healy, of Pawtucket,

Resolved, That this Convention instruct the committee on a Manual Labor School, to issue a circular to the Presidents of the several Anti-Slavery Societies, requesting them to lay the subject of the subscription for raising funds for the establishment of a Manual Labor School, before the people in their vicinity, inviting them to subscribe to this noble object, and pay the same over to the Treasurer of each Society, and he transmit the same to the Treasurer of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, or such other person as may be appointed to receive the same.

On motion of Rev. C. P. Grosvenor, seconded by Mr. Barbadoes,

Resolved, That the interests of the Anti-Slavery cause demand that special efforts be made to multiply the subscribers to the Liberator.

On motion of Samuel E. Sewall, Esq.

Resolved, That a Committee of five be appointed to aid in extending the patronage of the Liberator. Messrs. Samuel E. Sewall, Wm. Oakes, C. P. Grosvenor, Jas. G. Barbadoes, and H. E. Benson, were appointed on that Committee.

On motion of Mr. James G. Barbadoes,

Resolved, That Messrs. Garrison and Knapp deserve the gratitude of the colored people and their friends, for their persevering exertions in pleading the cause of the oppressed.

On motion of Mr. John T. Hilton, of Boston,

Resolved, That having put our hands to the Plough of Liberty, we give our sacred pledge never to look back, until every root and branch of the noxious principle of slavery shall be exterminated from the American soil.

The Committee appointed to draft an address to the Churches of the United States, reported an address which was adopted.

On motion of Ellis G. Loring, Esq. of Boston,

Resolved, That all laws of the New-England States, creating distinctions between the whites and colored persons, should be repealed, as contrary to reason, religion, and the theory of our institutions.

On motion of Rev. Charles J. Warren, of Weymouth,

Resolved, That it be recommended to the friends of immediate emancipation to hold Conventions, for the full discussion of this subject, in the several Counties, or other more convenient portions of our country.

On motion of Nathan Winslow of Portland, Me.

Resolved, That this Convention contemplates with high satisfaction the formation of Female Anti-Slavery Societies; and that it regards the general co-operation of American females, in the sacred cause of emancipation, essential to the overthrow of slavery in this republic.

On motion of Albert Hinckley, of Pomfret, Ct.

Resolved, That Miss Prudence and Miss Almira Crandall merit the warmest approbation of all friends of the colored race, for their persevering and untiring exertions to educate colored females, under a most bitter and unchristian persecution.

Voted, That the Committee appointed to prepare an Address to the People, be requested to publish it with the proceedings of the Convention.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Grosvenor, of Salem,

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are cordially tendered to the President for the courtesy, dignity, and patience with which he has presided during the long and laborious session now about to terminate.

On motion of Samuel E. Sewall, Esq. of Boston,

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be given to the Rev. Mr. Perry, and Mr. B. C. Bacon, the Secretaries, for the very faithful and attentive manner in which they have performed their laborious duties.

After a very solemn and impressive prayer by the President, it was, on motion,

Voted, To adjourn to half past seven o'clock in the evening.

THURSDAY EVENING.

The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. George Bourne, of New-York.

The President made a few impressive introductory remarks; after which a Hymn was sung with great sweetness, skill and effect by Miss Paul and her scholars.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Bourne,

Resolved, That as slaveholding is contrary to the law of God and the precepts of Christianity; and as slaveholders can exhibit no just claim to be acknowledged as christians, the existing connection of slavery with the Christian Churches in the United States is inconsistent with the character of pure and undefiled religion; and therefore ought immediately to be destroyed.

On motion of Rev. John Frost, of Whitesboro', N. Y.

Resolved, That the doctrine of expediency, i. e. making our views of the consequences of an action the ground of duty, instead of the known will of God or the acknowledged principles of rectitude, is fraught with danger to the interests of the church, and tends inevitably to subvert the dearest rights of man.

Rev. John Blain of Pawtucket next addressed the meeting upon the subject of slavery in general, in an impressive speech.

On motion of Mr. Thome of Kentucky,

Resolved, That the principles of the Anti-Slavery Society commend themselves to the consciences and interests of slaveholders; and that recent developments indicate the speedy triumph of our cause.

Voted, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Miss Paul and her scholars, for the excellent entertainment they have furnished us this evening.

Adjourned, sine die.

S. J. MAY, *President.*

J. M. S. PERRY, }
B. C. BACON, } *Secretaries.*

REPORTS.

REPORT ON SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The Committee on Slavery in the District of Columbia, respectfully reports as follows:

The District of Columbia contained in 1830, 6050 slaves.

This District, it cannot be disputed, is under the exclusive jurisdiction of the government of the United States. That government, therefore, has the right of abolishing slavery there. And the people of the United States, as a nation, are responsible for the

guilt and shame of the further continuance of the system there.

The toleration of slavery at the seat of government has rendered it the centre of a great traffic in slaves, and led to other enormous abuses. The great duty of abolishing slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, will be evident from the following preamble to resolutions on the subject, introduced by Mr. Miner, before the House of Representatives in 1829.

'Whereas the laws in respect to slavery within the District have been almost entirely neglected; from which neglect, for nearly 30 years, have grown numerous and gross corruptions.

'Slave dealers, gaining confidence from impunity, have made the seat of federal government their head quarters for carrying on the domestic slave trade.

'The public prisons have been extensively used, (perverted from the purposes for which they were erected,) for carrying on the domestic slave trade:

'Officers of the federal government have been employed, and derive emoluments from carrying on the domestic slave trade.

'Private and secret prisons exist in the district for carrying on the traffic in human beings.

'The trade is not confined to those who are slaves for life; but persons having a limited time to serve, are bought by the slave dealers, and sent where redress is hopeless.

'Others are kidnapped and hurried away before they can be rescued.

'Instances of death, from the anguish of despair, exhibited in the District, mark the cruelty of this traffic.

'Instances of maiming and suicide, executed or attempted, have been exhibited, growing out of this traffic within the District.

'Free persons of color coming into the District, are liable to arrest, imprisonment, and sold into slavery for life, for jail fees, if unable, from ignorance, misfortune, or fraud, to prove their freedom.

'Advertisements beginning, 'We will give cash for one hundred likely young negroes of both sexes, from eight to twenty-five years old,' contained in the public prints of the city, under the notice of Congress, indicate the openness and extent of the traffic.

'Scenes of human beings exposed at public vendue are exhibited here, permitted by the laws of the general government.

'A grand jury of the district has presented the slave trade as a grievance.

'A writer in a public print in the District has set forth 'that to those who have never seen a spectacle of the kind (exhibited by the slave trade) no description can give an adequate idea of its horrors.'

'To such an extent had this trade been carried in 1816, that a member of Congress from Virginia introduced a resolution in the House, 'That a committee be appointed to inquire into the existence of an inhuman and illegal traffic in slaves carried on in and through the District of Columbia, and report whether any, and what measures are necessary for putting a stop to the same.'

'The House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, at their last session, by an almost unanimous vote, expressed the opinion, 'that slavery within the District of Columbia ought to be abolished.'

'Numerous petitions from various parts of the Union have been presented to Congress, praying for the revision of the laws in respect to slavery, and the gradual abolition of slavery within the District.

'A petition was presented at the last session of Congress, signed by more than one thousand inhab-

itants of the District, praying for the gradual abolition of slavery therein.'

The facts stated in this preamble are unquestionable.

The Committee do not think it necessary to adduce arguments, to prove that it is the duty of the people of the United States to abolish the atrocious and inhuman system which disgraces the seat of our government. Justice, religion, and humanity, all cry out against it. Its abolition has been deferred so long, not because the people of the United States approve it, but because the citizens of the Northern States have not yet had the moral courage to express the feelings which they really entertain on the subject. It is because they have been unwilling to offend their Southern brethren, by proclaiming disagreeable truths. It is the pusillanimity of the north, which is the soul of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

This system, which is thus supported by the prejudices of the South and the fears of the North, can be abolished, by an open and persevering attack upon it. Nothing is wanting for this purpose, but strenuous and united exertion. The people are becoming every day more and more convinced that it ought no longer to be tolerated.

The Committee therefore recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it be recommended to every anti-slavery society to send a petition to Congress at its next session, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

Resolved, That the following form of a petition for this purpose is approved by this Convention, and is recommended in cases in which no other form is convenient.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled.

The petition of the undersigned, citizens of _____, respectfully represents—That they consider the toleration of Slavery in the District of Columbia, as inconsistent with justice, humanity, and Christianity.

Your petitioners will not dwell upon the rights of six thousand fellow men, whom the laws of the United States retain in abject servitude, or the physical, moral, and political evils which spring directly from Slavery. But, in addition to these reasons for the interference of Congress, the Domestic Slave Trade, of which this District is the seat, is an enormous abuse which calls loudly for redress. The District of Columbia is a great market to which human flesh and blood are almost daily sent for sale, from the neighboring States, and there sold again to supply the markets of the more remote South. Your petitioners need not call to your recollection the cruelties which accompany this traffic, the fetters which bind the Slaves, the whips with which they are driven, the auctions at which they are sold. These are

sights often before your eyes. Public and private prisons in the District are crowded with the wretched subjects of this trade. Besides this, the permission of this traffic often leads to the enslaving of free men, who are sometimes kidnapped by violence, and sometimes sold under the laws which Congress permits.

The laws in relation to people of color, which have been passed by the city of Washington, and suffered by Congress, are inhuman and disgraceful to a civilized community.

Your petitioners, therefore, pray, that Congress will, without delay, pass a statute to abolish, immediately, Slavery in the District of Columbia; to declare every person coming into the District free; to annul all the regulations and ordinances of any municipal corporation there, which make any distinction of right between persons of different colors; and to provide for the education of all colored children in the District.*

JOHN BLAIN, *Chairman.*

* NOTE. The abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia can never be accomplished until the people send representatives to Congress, who are prepared to take a decisive stand in favor of this measure. It is, therefore, earnestly recommended to abolitionists, in every section of the country, to ascertain the opinions of candidates for Congress, upon this great subject, previously to the next election. Every candidate should be called on to declare explicitly whether he is in favor of the *immediate abolition* of slavery in the District of Columbia. If he is, let him be voted for. But if he is not, or if he will not answer the question directly and unequivocally, then the friends of abolition should set up a candidate for themselves, whose course they can depend upon.

The question, whether the people of the United States, as a nation, shall tolerate slavery at the seat of government, we consider as more important than any other which is likely to come before Congress. It is a great question of moral principle,—whether the nation shall continue to foster and encourage crime. Compared with this, all controversies of mere political expediency sink into insignificance. The nation incurs no guilt by adopting a tariff of high or one of low duties, or by establishing or refusing to establish a national bank. But who can measure the guilt incurred by denying our fellow citizens their rights as men?

This note is written without any authority from the Convention or the Committee, and is therefore only to be considered as expressing the views of individuals. It is, however, believed that most abolitionists will concur in the opinions we have expressed.

REPORT ON THE PROGRESS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.

The Committee, appointed to make inquiry respecting the interest taken in the Anti-Slavery cause and to obtain facts, have attended to their duty, and beg leave to report.

Your Committee have not obtained all the information they could wish, but have re-

ceived communications from several delegates, and those of an interesting character.

The community, your Committee are ready to say, are waking up to this all important subject. The scales are falling from their eyes; one here and another there is enlisting on our side. The communications in detail, your Committee have no doubt, would be interesting to the Convention; but since most of the important facts have appeared in the *Liberator* and other public prints, some of which are considerable long, and since the time of the Convention is very precious at this late moment, your Committee would recommend the adoption of the following resolution:

That the reading of the communications be dispensed with, and referred to the Committee chosen to publish the doings of this Convention.

All which is respectfully submitted.

H. P. WAKEFIELD, *Chairman.*

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF SALEM AND VICINITY.

The Society was organized Jan. 27, 1834. —Present number of members, 420; and many more are known to be ready to sign the Constitution. Among the members are 11 clergymen. The Society has held eight public meetings since its organization, and issued 1000 copies of its constitution. It has also published 1500 copies of an address delivered before the members, at their request, by their President.

This Society has been the cause of exciting a spirit of inquiry among very many of the people of Salem and vicinity. Rev. S. J. May has recently lectured in Danvers, and also in Salem, on the subject of Slavery, which will have a very favorable influence in exciting the minds of the people to this important subject. Our cause is evidently gaining ground very rapidly among the people of Salem and vicinity.

Per request of a committee of the Society.

RUFUS PUTNAM, Rec. Sec.

LOWELL ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Lowell Anti-Slavery Society was formed in March last, with about 60 members, to whom a few have since been added. A previous attempt to organize had been defeated, by the intrusion upon the meeting of some opponents of abolition; since that time, the Society has met with no opposition. Owing to providential hindrances, the Society has had but two public meetings for the diffusion of light; and their success has not

yet been great. There are, however, many minds in Lowell which are deeply engaged in the cause, and which will not suffer it to rest till their numbers be multiplied and the community aroused.

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF NEWBURYPORT AND VICINITY.

The Anti-Slavery Society of Newburyport and Vicinity (intended to embrace Newburyport and that part of Newbury immediately contiguous to Newburyport,) dates its organization April 1, 1834, with 110 members; it now numbers 160. During the present month, (May,) a Female Anti-Slavery Society has been formed, commencing with 117, and now numbering 175 members.

The cause of immediate emancipation, without any particular recent impulse, and although unsupported if not opposed by the more influential part of our community generally, is gradually progressing, and taking deeper and wider hold upon the minds of our citizens. The Society has met and continues to meet with opposition, and is particularly incommoded by the difficulty of obtaining suitable places for meetings of a public character. This difficulty, however, is at least partially removed; yet the doors of our churches are reluctantly, if at all, thrown open to the Society. The monthly Concert of prayer, for the Abolition of Slavery is observed with considerable and increasing interest. The friends of the cause look with confidence at these meetings, believing that they will be productive, as much as any other cause, of the diffusion of the principles of pure Christian liberty. In the neighboring towns—Newbury and West Newbury, as yet no effort has been made for the formation of Anti-Slavery Societies. There are, however, fast friends of the cause in both these places, who are desirous of organized action, and who would be stimulated to associate themselves, if the subject were once publicly brought before their fellow-citizens. Societies, no doubt, could be easily formed, and an impetus given to the cause of universal liberty, in a community always ready for every good word and work.

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF AMHERST.

The Amherst College Anti-Slavery Society has been organized one year.

About 6 or 8 members convened in the room of one of the students, *with closed doors*, where, after discussing the propriety of such proceedings, they formed themselves into a Society, and appointed a committee to draft a constitution, resolving to observe secrecy in relation to the subject, because of the great opposition then existing against the

principles of Abolitionists. Shortly, however, they determined to make known the existence and objects of the Society; and although opposed by the great majority in College, by the discussions in the weekly meetings of the Society, such an interest was excited as in a short time to increase our numbers to upwards of 50, for some of whom we are indebted to. Colonization addresses delivered in the institution. Formerly, the principles of Anti-Slavery were met with uncompromising ridicule—now every body is an Anti-Slavery man, ‘only the Anti-Slavery and Colonization Societies should run in harmonious parallel!’ All men of right principles see this to be impossible; for the Colonization Society advocates *gradual abolition*, which is a contradiction in terms, while the Anti-Slavery Society advocates *immediate abolition*, which is common sense. We have made some efforts towards educating our colored neighbors, and we have had offers of aid from Colonizationists.

T. HERVEY,
A. GRAY,
E. PRITCHETT, } *Delegates.*

WINDHAM CO. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Windham Co. Anti-Slavery Society was formed on the first of May inst. at Brooklyn. Among its officers are some of the first men for respectability, influence and talent in the country. Its President (George Benson) is a veteran abolitionist, who imbibed his sentiments of slavery from the noble philanthropists who, forty or fifty years ago, were contending against the slave trade. Some of its officers, however, are new recruits in this glorious war. One of the Vice Presidents, in particular, though now a firm and zealous abolitionist, was but a little more than a year ago, strongly opposed to the abolition faith. He owes his conversion to the perusal, in the Christian Spectator, of an attempt of Rev. Leonard Bacon, of New-Haven, to reply to Mr. Garrison's ‘Thoughts on Colonization.’

READING ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Reading Anti-Slavery Society was organized in March, 1833. The present number of members is about 60. Addresses have been delivered by W. L. Garrison, Oliver Johnson, Amasa Walker, and Horace P. Wakefield. Resolutions have been introduced and defended by D. L. Child, S. E. Sewall, and N. Southard. A lively interest has been taken by the members. There is no decided opposition; but on a large mass of the community no impression can be made. They are neither cold nor hot. A

Female Anti-Slavery Society was organized about the same time: it now numbers over 70, some of whom are mothers in Israel, and in the cause of Anti-Slavery.

UXBRIDGE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Uxbridge Anti-Slavery Society was organized in March of the present year. Addresses have been delivered by Effingham L. Capron, Ray Potter, and Samuel J. May. The Society is composed of about 450 members, male and female, 50 of whom belong to neighboring towns. There is no open opposition.

SOUTH READING ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Anti-Slavery Society of South Reading was formed in April, 1834—is now in a prosperous condition, consisting of about 90 members, one fourth of whom are females. We have had one public address from Mr. Garrison. There is no decided opposition, but a want of interest, which may be attributed to the want of information.

PROVIDENCE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Providence Anti-Slavery Society was organized in June, 1833. It originated chiefly from the efforts of only three or four individuals, who became deeply interested in the cause by reading the Liberator, and other publications on the subject of slavery. At its formation, about a dozen of the citizens of Providence, and about half that number from Pawtucket, came forward and signed the constitution. Since that time, the Society has done all in its power towards disseminating light and truth upon the subject. They have operated upon the public mind by christian measures, and have endeavored, through kind persuasive means, to lead all within the sphere of their influence to embrace the principles which they themselves have adopted, and to lend their aid in behalf of the suffering slave, and the overthrow of the most abominable and detestable system that ever disgraced the world. In November, agreeably to their Constitution, they held their first annual meeting, at which resolutions were introduced and supported, and a report from their Executive Committee read. This report, with their Constitution and a synopsis of the meeting, was immediately published and extensively circulated, not only throughout the city, but in many parts of the state. It was doubtless a means, through the blessing of God, of awakening many a slumbering soul, and arousing many a benevolent heart to see aright on this great subject, and leading them to act consistently with the dic-

tates of a pure and enlightened conscience. Many addresses have likewise been delivered, and a large number of tracts put in circulation through their influence—the effects of which, it is hoped, will yet be extensively felt. Through the past winter, they have held weekly meetings, in which resolutions, explanatory of their principles, have been discussed, and such other measures adopted as were thought most likely to advance the cause. But the Society has not yet obtained that place in the hearts and affections of the people, to which, on account of its pure and holy principles, it is so richly entitled. Notwithstanding all its labors and exertions, only between 50 and 60 individuals have enrolled themselves under its banner. But the few that have embraced the cause are true men,—sound in principle—united in effort—and devoted heart and soul to the accomplishment of the great work. And they are worth, too, a thousand half principled men, who only clog the Anti-Slavery wheels, and throw obstacles in the plain and undeviating path which they are endeavoring to pursue. And why have they accomplished no more? Why have they not revolutionized the city, and taken possession of every heart? It is because a deep-rooted and shameful prejudice is there—a prejudice which forbids even the examination of these principles—a prejudice which has bolted the doors of the houses of public worship against them, and controlled the voice of the press. It is because that out of fourteen settled clergymen in the city, not *one* has had the boldness and independence to come forward, and unite himself with them, and to preach the glorious truths of the gospel of Christ, which proclaims liberty to the captive.—There has been a timidity exhibited on the part of the clergy, which no excuse can possibly justify. Thousands are thirsting for the truth, and looking up with implicit confidence to their spiritual leaders for instruction; and yet through fear it is withheld. What an awful responsibility!

This is a brief sketch of what they have done, and of the obstacles with which they have had to contend. Through the blessing of Almighty God, they intend still to labor in the cause, and to do all in their power towards the full restoration of the inalienable rights of more than two millions of their colored countrymen, believing that their efforts will be finally crowned with success.

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF PAWTUCKET, R. I.

Some two or three years since, a layman, (Mr. RUFUS BLISS) became very much interested in the anti-slavery cause, through the instrumentality of the *Liberator*. He began to *work*—obtained a number of copies

of 'Thoughts on Colonization,' and spread them—talked with his neighbors. Two other laymen (Joseph Sisson and Wm. Adams) also labored assiduously in the same manner. R. Potter was an abolitionist, but having hold of *another* horn of the beast at that time, thought he was not called to give *particular attention* to it. He thought, however, all this time, that the Colonization Society was a kind of an Abolition Society, until A. Buffum came and lectured in his house, and read the Constitution of that Society, when he renounced it forthwith—and also in consequence of the position assumed by the Boston Atlas, and other kindred prints, shewing a disposition to *gag* Abolitionists. He therefore determined to 'rise up and work.' R. Potter, R. Bliss, and Wm. Adams united in the formation of the Providence Anti-Slavery Society. R. Potter prepared and delivered an address in his own house at Pawtucket to a small audience. He was requested to repeat it; perhaps ten times as many were out. About this time, Rev. J. Blain took up his residence in Pawtucket; and in the mean time, two members of the Society of Friends, Mr. Joseph Healy and Mr. Samuel Foster, the latter of whom had been engaged in the cause in the State of Maine, stepped forward, and put their shoulder to the work, as did a number of other individuals. As soon as the subject was fairly opened to Mr. Blain, he took hold like a man and a Christian, without feeling the popular pulse, or asking liberty of any man to do right. R. Potter repeated his address in Mr. Blain's house to a thronged audience—a Society was organized subsequently. We have not near so many names as we might have obtained—(about seventy)—we want only those who are *died in the wool*. Mr. Blain has delivered two addresses. We scatter the seed as we have opportunity all around us in adjacent towns. It is marvellous in our eyes, to see the simultaneous waking up to this subject all through these regions. The fields seem all white, ready for the harvest.

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF PLAINFIELD AND VICINITY, CONN.

At the commencement of last year, the doctrines and principles of the Abolitionists, and even the existence of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, were almost utterly unknown in Plainfield, and very little better known in the neighboring towns. Two or three colored persons in the vicinity took the *Liberator*, but scarcely any body, except colored people, thought the paper worth reading; and, indeed, the whole community might be said to be fast asleep on the subject of the rights and *wrongs* of our colored population, bond and free. In February of

1833, however, an event occurred, which roused people from their slumber, and prepared the way for the diffusion of light on the subject. This was the annunciation by Miss Crandall, of her intention to open a school for colored females in Canterbury, within four miles of Plainfield village. There were a few in both towns, and others around, who received the intelligence with heart-felt joy—some, perhaps with very little feeling either way; but almost every voice which was raised, was to utter the disgust or horror which such a project excited. What! locate a school for colored persons in the very heart of a pleasant village, where hitherto the sable or tawny hue was known only as a badge of ignorance and degradation! The idea was preposterous. The violence of opposition which was at once roused is well known, not only through this country, but across the Atlantic. But this violence served to defeat its own object. The cry on every side was, that Miss Crandall intended to teach the incendiary doctrines of the Abolitionists; and people, roused by the din to attend to the subject, were naturally curious to know what these pernicious doctrines were. Slavery, and its attendant and consequent evils, became the topic of conversation in the corners of the streets, in the social circle, and at the domestic fireside. Some read with candor, and others even who began to read with prejudice against them, the publications of the fanatics, found their prejudice wearing away; and several who were at first strongly opposed to Miss Crandall's scheme, and to the Abolitionists, as well as altogether in favor of Colonization, are now our most zealous and active Abolitionists; and one at least of this class may be found in the delegation from our Society to this Convention.

The question of Colonization and Abolition was discussed at the public exhibition of the Academy in April, and during the summer term it continued with much spirit, in the ordinary exercises in composition and declamation. The effect was happy. Converts were made to the Abolition faith, and a meeting was called to be holden on the third of July, 1834, to consider the subject, and if it should be thought advisable, to form an Anti-Slavery Society. The weather being unfavorable, the meeting was adjourned to August 20th, when the Anti-Slavery Society of Plainfield and Vicinity was formed, consisting of 43 members, male and female. Three or four towns were represented, among them the far famed town of Canterbury; but most of the members were citizens of Plainfield. Since its formation, the Society has held meetings in Plainfield, Pomfret, Abington and Brooklyn, at which addresses were delivered, besides which, several members have visited and addressed the people in dif-

ferent villages in Killingly, Pomfret and Woodstock. The meetings have, in almost every instance, been well attended, and sometimes crowded, and accessions have been made in each of the above named towns, till the Society now numbers about one hundred members.

At the annual meeting of the Windham County Colonization Society, much alarm was manifested at the rapid spread of Abolitionism, and the necessity of extraordinary efforts to counteract the heresy was urged upon the Society. Accordingly, measures were taken to secure the county from the dangerous infection. It was voted that meetings be from that time held quarterly, and addresses be delivered in different parts of the county, and agents in every town were appointed to take up collections, organize auxiliaries, and in any way promote the cause of Colonization. Among these agents is the arch opposer of Miss Crandall's benevolent efforts for educating her colored sisters, the author of the disgraceful black law of Connecticut, **ANDREW T. JUDSON**. The first quarterly meeting was holden in North Killingly, in September, when the Colonization orator had the satisfaction of addressing about 25 or 30 persons, and such was the success of this first attempt, that a second seems to have been thought wholly unnecessary, as none has since been holden.

At the second meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society in September, it was voted to invite the County Colonization Society to discuss publicly with them, by disputants selected from each body, the points on which the societies differ. This vote was communicated to the Secretary of the Colonization Society, but the invitation has never been accepted. Some time last fall, however, Mr. Garrison being in Brooklyn, a meeting was called, at which the friends of colonization were invited to speak. Some discussion ensued, and the impression was favorable to the Anti-Slavery cause. A discussion has also been holden in North Killingly this spring, in the building where last fall the quarterly colonization address was delivered, and the sense of the audience on the question being taken after the debate, nearly all present declared for abolition, and no hand was raised for colonization, except by the disputants on that side.

In conclusion it may be remarked, that though a majority of the people in Plainfield and its vicinity still hold themselves aloof from our society, and do not assent to our principles; yet these principles are steadily gaining ground, and are much less violently opposed than they were a year, or six months ago; and it may be added, that it is believed none have cordially and impartially examined the doctrines of the Abolitionists, without becoming converts to them.

REPORT ON THE SLAVE TRADE.

The Committee on the Domestic Slave Trade of the United States, ask leave respectfully to submit the following Report:

The Federal Constitution, in the same clause, which empowers Congress to regulate commerce with foreign countries and the Indian tribes, also authorizes it to regulate commerce among the several States. The three subjects, foreign commerce, commerce with the Indian nations, and between the different States, stand on precisely the same footing. It was so well understood at the time of framing the constitution, that the power to abolish the *foreign* slave trade was conferred by the above-mentioned clause, that it was thought necessary by dealers in the flesh of foreigners, and by their patrons and instigators, the slaveholders here, to except from the operation of that clause, the trade to Africa and other places abroad. '*Twenty years*' continuance of unutterable woes and unpunishable crimes, was stipulated and guaranteed by us to the *republican* masters and traders of slaves. And this plenary indulgence to the South to sin during that term, was one of the items in that price of principle, which the North paid for the Union! How completely does this fact put the seal of hypocrisy upon that boast, which has been so often made by masters in the slave States, and oftener by their apologists in the free, that Virginia *did* petition his majesty George the III. to prohibit the foreign traffic, which his majesty in Council refused to do. Even if this were done with earnestness, good faith, and right motives, which we deem very problematical, it was more than cancelled by the pertinacious and unprincipled demand of that shocking stipulation for the continued existence of the traffic, when it was about to expire without their aid, and would have expired but for their opposition! When we view that stipulation in connection with the slave representation in Congress, and the power and influence which it exerts upon every ramification and measure of the Government, and upon every important interest of society, our sorrow and indignation cannot fail to be at the highest, and to defy the power of language adequately to give it utterance. By these provisions *combined*, the slave States acquired an ascendancy in the Government, in proportion as they committed crime; the right to give law to a free country, in proportion as they violated the rights of freedom;

and thus political power, the dearest object of earthly ambition, (including as it does the control of the purses and employments of the people, and the honors and emoluments of the Government,) was given as a bounty for murder, and every other crime destructive and brutalizing to the bodies and souls of men.*

But the domestic trade, which is now carried on in these States, without an attempt to restrain it, does not differ essentially from the foreign. In its great and leading characteristics, it is the same. It is commenced and attended in its progress by the same heart-breaking separations from kindred, friends, and home—the same terror, anguish, and despair; it is conducted with the same violence, kidnapping, and in case of resistance or pursuit, murder and massacre, as in Africa; and it is unquestionably accompanied with more fraud than was ever perpetrated on the African coast. Your Committee feel it their duty, at the risk of being thought tedious, to illustrate by facts the tremendous guilt and misery of this business.

Hezekiah Niles, Esq. editor and publisher of the Baltimore Weekly Register, is situated in the focus of the domestic slave trade. He has ever shown himself, though a *feeling*, yet a faithful apologist of slaveholders. His testimony, therefore, so far as it is against those persons, and their agents and *protegees*, (for slave traders are nothing more,) is peculiarly valuable. It is the confessions of the adversary. To that testimony your committee invite your attention.

In the Register for 1829, vol. 35, p. 4, we find the following statement, under the head of '*Kidnapping*.'

'The Winchester (Va.) Republican has an interesting narrative of a case of kidnapping, in which a

* In a very late work, entitled '*Transatlantic Sketches*, comprising visits to the most interesting scenes in North and South America and the West Indies, with notes on negro Slavery and Canadian Emigration, by Capt. J. E. Alexander, of the British Army, London, 1833,' we find the following passage:

'The most remarkable circumstance connected with slavery in America is the following. A planter in Louisiana, of forty years standing, assured me that there are a set of miscreants in the city of New-Orleans, who are connected with the slave traders of Cuba, and who at certain periods proceed up the Mississippi as far as the Fourche mouth, which they descend in large row boats, and meet off the coast slave ships. These they relieve of their cargoes, and returning to the main stream of the Mississippi, they drop down it in covered flat bottomed boats or arks, and dispose of the negroes to those who want them.' Vol. 2. p. 26.

woman was rescued, though the wretch who sold her to a trader in human flesh escaped. Dealing in slaves has become a LARGE BUSINESS. Establishments are made at several places in Maryland and Virginia, at which they are sold like cattle. These places of deposit are strongly built, and well supplied with iron thumbscrews and gags, and ornamented with cow-skins and other whips,—oftentimes bloody. But the laws of these states permit the traffic, and it is suffered. *All good men obey the laws.**

Dr. Jesse Torrey, of Philadelphia, one of the earliest, and therefore most meritorious laborers in the anti-slavery field, has collected a number of cases, from which your Committee select a few, recommending to all who hear this report, to read Dr. Torrey's book.*

'A youth, having learned the subject on which I was occupied, and being prompt to communicate whatever he might meet with relative to it, informed me, on returning from school on the evening of the 18th of December, 1815, that a black woman destined for transportation to Georgia, with a coffin about to start, attempted to escape, by jumping out of the window of a garret of a three-story brick tavern in F street, about day break in the morning, and that in the fall she had her back and both arms broken. I remarked that I did not wonder; and inquired whether it had not killed her? to which he replied that he understood she was dead, and that the *Georgia-men* had gone off with the others. The relation of this shocking disaster excited considerable agitation in my mind, and fully confirmed the sentiments, which I had already adopted and recorded, of the multiplied horrors added to slavery, when its victims are bought and sold, frequently for distant destinations, with as much indifference as four-footed beasts. Supposing this to be a recent occurrence, and being desirous of seeing the mangled slave before she was buried, I proceeded with haste early on the following morning in search of the house. Calling at one near where the catastrophe occurred, I was informed that it had been three weeks since it took place, and that the woman was still living. I found the house, and having obtained permission of the landlord to see her, I was conducted by a lad to her room. On entering the room, I observed her lying upon a bed on the floor, and covered with a white woollen blanket, on which were several spots of blood, which I perceived was red, notwithstanding the opacity of her skin. Her countenance, though very pale from the shock she had received, appeared complacent and sympathetic. Both arms were broken between the elbows and wrists, and had undoubtedly been well set and dressed, but from her restlessness, she had displaced the bones so that they were perceptibly crooked. I have since been informed by the mayor of the city, who is a physician, and resides not far distant from the place, that he was called to visit her immediately after her fall; and found besides her arms being broken, that the lower part of her spine was badly shattered, so that it was very doubtful whether she would ever be capable of walking again, if she should survive. The lady of the mayor said she was awakened from sleep by the fall of the woman, and heard her heavy struggling groans. I inquired of her, whether she was asleep when she sprang from the window? She replied, '*No; no more than I am now.*' I asked her, what was the cause of her doing such a frantic act. She answered, '*They brought me away with two of my children, and would not let me see my husband.—They didn't sell my husband, and I didn't want to go;—I was so confused and distracted, that I didn't*

know hardly what I was about—but I didn't want to go, and I jumped out of the window;—but I am sorry now I did it.—They have carried my children off with them to Carolina.'

I was informed that the slave trader, who had purchased her near Bladensburg, gave her to the landlord as a compensation for taking care of her. Thus her family was dispersed from north to south, and herself nearly torn in pieces, without a shadow of hope of ever seeing or hearing from her children again. "He that can behold this poor woman, (as a respectable citizen of Washington afterwards remarked,) and listen to her *unvarnished* story without a humid eye, possesses a stouter heart than I do."*

'I have been informed by several persons in the District of Columbia, that a woman who had been sold in Georgetown, *cut her own throat* ineffectually, while on her way in a hack to the same depository; and that on the road to Alexandria, she completed her purpose by cutting it again mortally.'

'A statement was published in the *Baltimore Telegraph* a few months ago, that a female slave who had been sold in Maryland, with her child, on the way from Bladensburg to Washington, heroically cut the throats of both her child and herself, with mortal effect. This narrative has been since confirmed by a relative of the person who sold them.'

Mr. Henry B. Stanton, in a recent letter to the editor of the *New-York Emancipator*, dated April 23, 1834, states the following case, as among the disclosures made in the late remarkable discussion at Lane Seminary in Ohio.

'I will now relate briefly a few facts of a different character, showing the unspeakable cruelty of this traffic in its operations upon slaves left behind. The following was related during our debate by Andrew Benton, a member of the theological department, who was an agent of the S. S. Union for two or three years in Missouri. A master in St. Louis sold a slave at auction, to a driver who was collecting men for the southern market. The negro was very intelligent, and, on account of his ingenuity in working iron, was sold for an uncommonly high price—about 7 or 800 dollars. He had a wife whom he tenderly loved—and from whom he was determined not to part. During the progress of the sale, he saw that a certain man was determined to purchase him. He went up to him and said, "If you buy me, you must buy my wife too, for I can't go without her. If you will only buy my wife, I will go with you willingly, but if you don't, I shall never be of any use to you." He continued to repeat the same expression for some time. The man turned upon him, and with a sneer and a blow, said, "Begone, villain! don't you know you are a slave?" The negro felt it keenly. He retired. The sale went on. He was finally struck off to this man. The slave again accosted his new master, and besought him with great earnestness and feeling to buy his wife, saying, that if he would only do that, he would work for him hard and faithfully,—would be a good slave—and added with much em-

* After this part of the report was read to the Convention, the Rev. Amos A. Phelps, agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, remarked that he had just had the privilege of seeing this woman who still survives; that one of her arms and hands was perceptibly crooked, as Dr. Torrey described it at the time; that she had become the mother of three children by her husband, who was not sold; that the trader, who gave her away as above, allured by the children, had recently laid claim to them and their mother!

* Portraiture of Domestic Slavery in the United States—Philadelphia, published by the Author, 1817.

phasia, 'If you don't, I never shall be worth any thing to you.' He was now repelled more harshly than before. The negro retired a little distance from his master, took out his knife, *cut his throat from ear to ear*, and fell, weltering in his blood!—Can slaves feel?

A member of this Convention,* to whom we were indebted on yesterday for so much interesting information, touching the disreputable exclusion of colored persons from republican seminaries of learning, has related to your Committee the following case. It occurred in Maryland, his native state, while he was yet a resident there.

A woman, a cook belonging to a gentleman on the Eastern Shore, was sold by him to Georgia. The first time he entered his kitchen after the tidings were received by her, she stabbed him with a carving knife, quite through the breast, and he fell dead instantaneously. Then, with the same instrument, she slashed her arm in the bend of the elbow, severing the flesh, cords and arteries, and fell and expired on her master's corpse.

One of your Committee† was informed by a Methodist clergyman in Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, of the case of a husband, who, upon his wife being sold and carried to the South, pined away, and in a few weeks died of a broken heart.

The case of another husband in Washington, in the same District of Columbia, was narrated to the same gentleman, by a member of a church in that city. Upon the sale and departure of his wife, he became, from being an industrious and sober man, a drunkard, and in a short time crazy, and so remains.

Your Committee recur with a painful satisfaction to the testimony of Mr. Stanton's letter. He says:—

'The slaves at the north have a kind of instinctive dread of being sold into southern slavery. They know the toil is extreme, the climate sickly, and the hope of redemption desperate. But what is more dreadful, they fear that if they are sold, they will have to leave a wife, a sister, or children whom they love. I hope no one will smile unbelievably when I say, *that slaves can love*. There is no class of the community whose social affections are stronger. The above facts illustrate this truth. Mr. Benton, of whom I spoke above, tells me, that while prosecuting his agency in Missouri, he was applied to in more than a hundred instances by slaves, who were about to be sold to southern drivers, beseeching him in the most earnest manner to buy them, so that they might not be driven away from their wives, their children, their brothers and their sisters. Knowing that his feelings were abhorrent to slavery, they addressed him without reserve, and with an entreaty

bordering on frenzy. Mr. B. related the following. He was an eye-witness. A large number of slaves were sitting near a steam-boat in St. Louis, which was to carry them down to New-Orleans. Several of their relatives and acquaintances came down to the river to take leave of them. Their demonstrations of sorrow were simple but natural. They wept and embraced each other again and again. Two or three times, they left their companions—would proceed a little distance from the boat, and then return to them, when the same scene would be repeated. This was kept up for more than an hour. Finally, when the boat left, they returned home, weeping and wringing their hands, and making every exhibition of the most poignant grief. Take the following facts as illustrative of the deep feeling of slave mothers for their children. It is furnished me by a fellow student who has resided much in slave states. I give it in his own words. "Some years since when travelling from Halifax in North Carolina, to Warrenton in the same state, we passed a large drove of slaves on their way to Georgia. Before leaving Halifax, I heard that the drivers had purchased a number of slaves in that vicinity, and started with them that morning, and that we should probably overtake them in an hour or two. Before coming up with the gang, we saw at a distance a colored female, whose appearance and actions attracted my notice. I said to the stage-driver, (who was a colored man,) 'What is the matter with that woman, is she crazy?' 'No massa,' said he, 'I know her, it is —. Her master sold her two children this morning to the soul-drivers, and she has been following along after them, and I suppose they have driven her back. Don't you think it would make you act like you was crazy, if they should take your children away, and you never see 'em any more?' By this time we had come up with the woman. She seemed quite young. As soon as she recognized the driver, she cried out, 'They 've gone! they 've gone! The soul-drivers have got them. Master would sell them. I told him I couldnt live without my children. I tried to make him sell me too;—but he beat me and drove me off, and I got away and followed after them, and the drivers whipped me back;—and I never shall see my children again. Oh! what shall I do!' The poor creature shrieked and tossed her arms about with maniac wildness—and beat her bosom, and literally *cast dust into the air*, as she moved towards the village. At the last glimpse I had of her, she was nearly a quarter of a mile from us, still throwing handfuls of sand around her, with the same phrenzied air." Here we have an exhibition of a mother's feelings on parting with her children.'

On the subject of the dreadful apprehensions under which slaves, and even free negroes in free states labor, in consequence of this odious trade, Dr. Torrey relates a remarkable instance. An African youth, in the city of Philadelphia, cut his throat, almost mortally, merely from the apprehension, as he said, of being sold. This information was obtained from several respectable citizens of Philadelphia, who had personal knowledge of the fact.

Mr. Garrison relates, on the authority of a clergyman of Kentucky, the case of two little boys, which is not surpassed by the most affecting incident recorded in the annals of the African trade. The boys were tenderly attached to each other, and constant compan-

* Rev. William Monro of Portland.

† Rev. John Frost of Whitesboro', N. Y.

ions from their infancy. Their owner sold one of them, but not without some anticipation of the consequences upon the other, and therefore used deception to prevent and quiet his sorrow. When the traded lad was removed, the other was told that it was but for a little while, and that he would soon see him again. He soon became uneasy at the unwonted absence of his playmate. He was again assured that he would come back. This pacified him only to increase his alarm, when he found himself again balked. Again he was soothed by falsehood in some new form, and with more solemn protestations, and this cruel mockery of the most beautiful and sacred affections, was repeated with less and less effect, until the lad lost all confidence in his perfidious comforters, and gave himself up to despair. He drooped a few weeks, pined away and expired. His heart was crushed.

Your Committee have entered into these authentic details, notwithstanding their painful nature, with the hope of convincing some of those persons, who are in the habit of replying to all instances when presented singly, that they are of doubtful authority, or that they are too rare to be reasoned upon. The feelings of that person are not to be envied, nor his principles admired, who cannot be affected even by a solitary instance of excessive and deliberate barbarity, especially when he *knows* that the same tyrant who has committed one, may commit an hundred with equal profit and impunity; and that half a million of owners are all the time at 'liberty, and very likely to do the same.

One of the evils of the domestic slave trade, most grievous in its nature, though not the most extensive in its effects, is the great temptation and facility which it affords for kidnapping freemen, both in the slave and free states. Some examples will prove and illustrate this proposition.

A member of this convention,* who formerly resided in the District of Columbia, has communicated to your Committee a case, which was within his own knowledge, he having interfered to prevent the unrighteous result. A drunkard and spendthrift, named *Lasky*, having dissipated his money, took this method to replenish his pockets. He procured a newspaper, (no difficult task,) con-

taining an advertisement of a runaway slave, and presented himself before a judge of the United States Court in the District, and made oath that a certain *free* colored man, residing there, was the slave intended by the advertisement. The accused was brought before the judge, and upon the testimony of this miscreant, and an accomplice, he was adjudged a slave, and was carried south, in spite of the zealous exertions of our friend. It is the opinion of the same gentleman that by a conspiracy of one or two needy and profligate men with a domestic slave trader, any free colored man in *any* state may be, and a very considerable number annually is kidnapped *according to law*! The liberty of colored free men has not been sufficiently guarded by the laws of the United States, nor of any of the separate states; for in none of the free states, on the question of *liberty or slavery*, is the alleged slave allowed a trial by jury, any more than he is on the question of life or death in the slave states! New-York has lately provided for such trial where a man is claimed as a slave, but it seems to be considered very doubtful if the judicial tribunals of that state will sustain the enactment. If they should not, it will be high time, that Congress should revise the act for restoring men to slavery, who have escaped from it, so that it may not be used as an instrument for enslaving those who are by birth or manumission free. Suppose such a statute as the one abovementioned had been applied to the pilgrims, who fled from ecclesiastical tyranny, or to their descendants; for no length of time, no number of generations, can by the slave code render the posterity of slaves free! Or, suppose the British Parliament should pass an act to reduce these states to colonial dependence once more. We should fight, immediately, and justly. And what does this show? It shows that the reclaiming of fugitive and self-emancipated slaves, is an affair of *mere power*, and *not of right*; and is submitted to on the same principle that we surrender our purse to a highwayman, who points a pistol at our breast.

The following is from the testimony of the Rev. George Bourne, in a recent publication* abounding with useful and afflicting details.

* Mr. Abner Forbes, teacher of the Boston Grammar and writing school for colored youth.

* 'Bourne's Picture of Slavery in the United States, Middletown, Conn. E. Hunt. 1834.'

'Nothing is more common than for two of these white partners in iniquity, Satan-like, to start upon the prowl, and if they find a freeman on the road, to demand his certificate, tear it in pieces or secrete it, tie him to one of their horses, hurry to some jail, while one whips the citizen along as fast as their horses can travel. There, by an understanding with the jailer, who *SHARES* in the spoil, all possibility of intercourse with his friends is cut off. At the earliest possible period, the captive is sold to pay the felonious claims of the law, bought through jugglery by this trio of man-stealers; and then transferred to some of their accomplices in iniquity, who fill every part of the Southern States with fraud, rapine and blood.'

Mr. Bourne mentions several cases, where the most subtle frauds, and the most revolting cruelties, are by turns displayed. The Committee recommend the whole book to the attention of anti-slavery friends. The author probes with a firm hand, this fever-sore of the body politic.

Mr. Munro and Mr. Forbes, whose testimony has before been referred to, concur in declaring that the practice of whites to *search* any colored persons, bond or free, male or female, whom they meet in the slave states, is universal; and indeed any one who reflects upon the laws of those states, must be aware that this right of search would necessarily result from those laws. This is very important in its bearing on the kidnapping branch of the Domestic Trade. For generally speaking, a free colored man deprived of his free papers, can entertain very little hope of vindicating his freedom. Your Committee are fully satisfied that where the liberty of a slave is in question, it is extremely difficult to obtain the testimony of whites to facts in his favor, however clear or notorious they may be. Mr. Forbes says, that he has known white witnesses, whose love of truth, justice and humanity, impelled them to come forward, and enabled them to defy persecution, to give their evidence amidst the hisses of the whole court-house. When it is considered that the sheriffs and constables or other persons serving subpœnas for witnesses, must all be white—that they must be *paid*—that the negro has very little to pay with, and can never, on the score of expense, compete with his master—that even if he should be able to bring his witnesses into court, he can seldom from these causes have legal counsel—and that at last he is to be judged by slaveholders—it must be seen and acknowledged, that any free colored man, without his certificate in his pocket, is a *slave*—not of one man, but of every man

he meets! Such are some of the consequences of substituting a bit of parchment for that great law of God, that all men are free—that universal law, which the Roman code in its worst state fully acknowledged, and applied to the condition of slavery in that empire; so that there, in the worst of times, every man was *presumed to be free, until the contrary were proved*. Here he is presumed to be a slave, unless he proves himself free!

Your Committee would now recur to the work of Dr. Torrey. The evidence which that gentleman has recorded is the more valuable, as it has been before the whole country for *sixteen* years, and no contradiction, or even qualification of his statements has been attempted. This is the best proof that they will admit of none—He says:

'The others whom I found in the same garret, (meaning where the woman with broken back and limbs was lying,) and at the same time, were a young black widow woman, and an infant at the breast, both of whom were born free. Her husband had died a few days previous to her seizure, and she was in a state of pregnancy at the time. She stated that the man in whose house she resided, together with his brother, and three other persons, (two of whom, she said, then stood indicted for having seized and carried her off at a former time,) came into the room (a kitchen) where she was in bed, seized and dragged her out, fastened a noose round her neck to prevent her from screaming, and attempted to blindfold her, which she resisted with such violence that she prevented them from succeeding. She said, while one of them was endeavoring to fix the bandage over her eyes, that she seized his cheek with her teeth, and tore a piece of it entirely off. She said one of them struck her head several times with a stick of wood, from the wounds of which she was almost entirely covered with blood. She showed me a large scar upon her forehead, occasioned by one of the blows which a gentleman, who saw her the day previous to the seizure, has since informed me was not there before. She said, while she was struggling against them, and screaming, the man in whose house she lived bawled out, 'Choak the ———; don't let her halloo; she'll scare my wife!' Having conquered her by superior force, she said they placed her with the child in the chaise, and refusing to dress herself, three of them, leaving the two who belonged to the house, carried her off in the condition that she was dragged from the bed, to a certain tavern in Maryland, and sold them both to the man-dealer, who brought them to the city of Washington. She stated that one of her captors drove the carriage and held the rope which was fixed to her neck, and that one rode each side, on horse-back; that while one of them was negotiating a bargain with her purchaser, he asked her who her master was, and replying that she had none, her seller beckoned to him to go into another room, where the business was adjusted without troubling her with any further inquiries. She stated that her purchaser confessed, while on the way to Annapolis, that he believed she might have had some claim to freedom, and intimated that he would have taken her back, if the man of whom he bought her had not run away; but requested her, notwithstanding, to say nothing to any body about her being free, which she refused

to comply with. She affirmed that he offered her for sale to several persons, who refused to purchase her, on account of her asserting that she was free. She stated that her purchaser had left her in Washington for a few weeks, and gone to the Eastern Shore, in search of more black people, in order to make up a drove for Georgia.'

The same writer states, that a free mulatto to who had been sold near Philadelphia, by his employer, and brought to Washington, was most unmercifully beaten on the road with a club for telling that he was free!

'A mulatto youth had been purchased in the city of Washington, and kept in it in irons several weeks by a person who confessed his regret, that he had not removed him before the suit, for the recovery of his freedom, had commenced; and that, if he had known it sooner, he would have taken him on to —, (the place of his residence,) even if he had been satisfied of his being free. One Slave-Trader, to whom he had been offered, was however so conscientious, that he refused to purchase him or the lad, who was with him (before mentioned) being confident that they were illegally enslaved.'

'I have been assured by a gentleman of the highest respectability, that a former representative to Congress, from one of the southern states, acknowledged to him that he held a mulatto man as a slave, having purchased him in company with slaves, who affirmed that he was free born, and had been kidnapped from one of the New-England states, who was well educated, and who, he had no doubt, was born as free a man as himself or my informant. Upon being asked, how he could bear then to retain him, he replied that the customs of his part of the country were such that these things are not minded much.'

'Mr. Cooper, one of the representatives to congress from Delaware, assured me that he had often been afraid to send one of his servants out of his house in the evening, from the danger of their being seized by kidnappers.'

It appears by the following passage, that Dr. Torrey was powerfully struck by that resemblance, or rather identity of the American Slave Trade and the African Slave Trade, which your Committee have asserted. He says—

'Thomas Clarkson states, in his History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, that the arrival of slave ships, on the coasts of Africa, was the uniform signal for the immediate commencement of wars for the attainment of prisoners, for sale and exportation to America and the West Indies. In Maryland and Delaware, the same drama is now performed in miniature. The arrival of the Man-Traffickers, laden with cash, at their respective stations, near the coasts of a great American water, called justly, by Mr. Randolph, 'a Mediterranean sea,' or at their several inland posts, near the dividing line of Maryland and Delaware, (at some of which they have grated prisons for the purpose) is the well known signal for the professed kidnappers, like beasts of prey, to commence their nightly invasions upon the *fleece flocks*; extending their ravages, (generally attended with bloodshed, and sometimes murder,) and spreading terror and consternation amongst both freemen and slaves throughout the sandy regions, from the western to the eastern shores. These 'two-legged featherless animals,' or human blood-hounds, when overtaken, which is rare, by the messengers of the law, are generally found armed with instruments of death, sometimes with pistols with latent spring daggers attached to them.'

On the subject of the difficulty of kidnapped persons holding any communication, by which assistance could be procured, Mr. Munro states the following facts, as having come under his own observation.

In the droves, which are marched inland from Maryland south, and from the prisons, depots and public houses to the vessels, none is allowed to address a bystander of any color or condition. Now and then, a negro raises his head and calls out, 'Good bye,' to his friends and acquaintance. This is all. It is exceedingly rare that one hears more. I was once present, when a woman cried that she was free, and had been kidnapped. A gentleman of respectable character attempted to inquire into the particulars of her case, but *Woolfolk*, the ferocious merchant of souls rode up to him on the side walk, and drew pistols upon him. Of this action, no notice was taken by the police or public authorities of any kind. *Woolfolk's* servants follow him, armed with pistols and daggers.

It may be observed in general, that the kidnapping of freemen is common all over this country, and prevails to an extent of which few are aware.

Mr. Jude Hall, a colored man of New Hampshire, a valiant soldier during the whole of our revolutionary war, and at the time of his death a pensioner of the United States, lost three sons by kidnapping from New England vessels. One of them, after ten years bondage, escaped to England, and wrote from there a few years ago, an account of his being sold by his captain, of his continuance in slavery during the above period, of his escape thence, and of his success and prosperity after arriving in England, where he had become the captain of a coasting vessel, and was happily married. This news was received after the death of the father. The other two, if living, are still in slavery, —and it is not known where.*

A colored seaman of Boston, was lately kidnapped at New Orleans, and committed to the *calaboose*, preparatory to being sold and sent into the interior. He supposes that his captain, a Scotchman named *Bulkley*, was privy to the outrage. There he remained in the most filthy and infested of prisons, and believes that he should have been in slavery

* Affidavit of Robert Roberts of Boston.

at this time, if he had not been able to speak French. Availing himself of this advantage, he conveyed a message through a creole French soldier who was on guard, to two friends in the city, who obtained his release.

This sailor saw in the prison nine colored men, whom he knew to be free, having known several of them as stewards on board of northern vessels. Two of them belonged to Boston, one to Portland, and three to New-York. After twenty days, they were to be sold. The witness adds the following remarkable declaration, which it is to be hoped may operate, if not as a help to reform this horrid abuse, at least as a caution to all colored seamen, both against their own officers, and the catiffs who infest the shores of the Mississippi.

'There is a continual stream of free colored persons from Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, and other seaports of the United States, passing through the CALABOOSE into slavery in the country.'

A member of this Convention* states, among five cases of kidnapping within his own knowledge, that of his brother. We quote his own words.

'About eighteen years ago, Robert H. Barbadoes was kidnapped in New-Orleans, imprisoned, handcuffed and chained, for about five months or longer, and deprived every way of communicating his situation to his parents. His protection was taken from him, and torn up. He was often severely flogged to be made submissive, and deny that he was free born. He was unluckily caught with a letter wrote with a stick, and with the blood drawn from his own veins, for the purpose of communicating to his father his situation; but this project failed, for the letter was torn away from him and destroyed, and he very severely flogged. He then lost most every hope; but at length the above Peter Smith† was kidnapped again in this garden of paradise of freedom, and being lodged in the same cell with him, he communicated to Smith the particulars of his sufferings. At the examination of Smith, he was found to have free papers, signed by the Governor; in consequence of which, he was set at liberty. He then wrote to Barbadoes' parents, and likewise arrived in Boston as soon as the letter. Free papers were immediately obtained, and signed by his father and Mrs. Mary Turel, Mr. ——— Giles, and Mr. Thomas Clark, town clerk; and by the Governor of this state demanding him without delay, he was returned to his native town, Boston, where all these other persons belonged.'

The following is from Mr. Stanton's letter.

'A member of this institution, recently visiting among the colored people of Cincinnati, entered a house where was a mother and her little son. The wretched appearance of the house and the extreme poverty of its inmates induced the visitor to suppose that the husband of the woman must be a drunkard. He inquired of the boy, who was two or three years old, where his father was? He replied, 'Papa stole.'

The visitor seemed not to understand, and turning to the mother, said, 'What does he mean?' She then related the following circumstances. About two years ago, one evening, her husband was sitting in the house, when two men came in, and professing great friendship, persuaded him under some pretence to go on board a steamboat, then lying at the dock, and bound down the river. After some hesitation he consented to go. She heard nothing from him for more than a year, but supposed he had been kidnapped. Last spring, Dr. ———, a physician of Cincinnati, being at Natchez, Miss. saw this negro in a drove of slaves, and recognized him. He ascertained, from conversation with him, that he had been driven about from place to place since he was decoyed from home by the slave-drivers,—had changed masters two or three times, and had once been lodged in jail for safe keeping, where he remained some time. When Dr. ——— returned to Cincinnati, he saw the wife of the negro, and engaged to take the necessary steps for his liberation. But soon afterwards this gentleman fell a victim to the cholera, which was then prevailing in Cincinnati. No efforts have since been made to recover this negro. No tidings have been heard from him since the return of Dr. ———. He is probably now laboring on some sugar or cotton plantation in Louisiana, without the hope of escaping from slavery, although he is a free born citizen of Philadelphia.'

Mr. Stroud, author of the Sketch of Southern Slave Laws, states that more than thirty free persons of color were carried off from Philadelphia in two years. Five with great difficulty and expense had been released. The rest were still in bondage.

Torrey says, that in many cases whole families have been attacked by night, knocked down, gagged, and dragged away, leaving no traces behind, except trails of their blood. He further says, on the authority of an 'ingenious slave-trader,' which reminds us of the title of a comedy, ('Honest Thieves,') that 'several thousand free citizens of these United States, are held in hopeless captivity in this land of freedom.'

The star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the—slave.

The laws of the slave states concur with private depravity, to keep up this abominable trade. Their prisons, as well as that, which we all pay to support in the District of Columbia, stand ever ready to fly open for the accommodation of soul-sellers and stealers, and to close upon their captives. The statutes of the old, slave-breeding and slave-trading southern states provide every means for rendering man-merchandizing easy and lucrative. Thus they authorize the county courts to issue under seal, certificates of the good character of any slave about to be sold to Georgia, Louisiana, &c. which greatly enhances his merchantable value, and is analogous to an invoice or bill of health in a law-

* James G. Barbadoes of Boston.

† One of the four persons previously mentioned by Mr. Barbadoes.

ful commerce. The inhuman, and worse than heathen principles, universal in the slave states, that any colored man shall be taken and deemed to be a slave, and shall be incompetent as a witness, whether slave or not, augment prodigiously the facility of enslaving free men. Thus any colored man may be imprisoned by any white, and if no white witness appear, he must be sold to pay the advertising, jail fees, and for apprehending him. The laws in some states are so conscientious as to direct that in such cases he shall be sold only for a term of years to pay the above expenses; but all accounts of the practice agree that this restriction is generally nugatory. Once sold, they are taken to Georgia and other states more south, and disposed of as entire slaves, to those who know not the contrary, or disregard it if they do; and after this they must inevitably remain slaves for the residue of their lives. The awful motto was not more applicable to Dante's hell,—

'O ye, who enter here, abandon hope!'

than to the entrance of Georgia or the Mississippi by these unhappy men.

It is true that 'free papers,' as they are called, are some protection so long as they are retained, but what are they worth when every white ruffian has the RIGHT OF SEARCH, and in nine cases out of ten, (we use the language of Mr. Monro), finds those papers, however carefully concealed, and tears them in pieces?

Another law, which if not universal is very general in slave states, is that a slave, or any person for him, who shall sue for the freedom of the slave, in case the action shall fail, shall pay to the master DOUBLE COSTS, and no slave can prosecute such action without first giving security for costs.

With such multiplied impediments in their way, let the Convention judge how many free men held in bondage, will be likely to vindicate their freedom. The negroes must have a white man in some states to prosecute for them; in all, they must have white sureties and witnesses, either of which it renders a white man unpopular with his caste to be. Then he has counsel to fee, and clerk's and jury fees to advance. All these things require money of men, whose very condition it is to have no right to acquire property, and to be incapable of possessing

a farthing? Supposing him by some miracle to have surmounted these, still judge and jury are slaveholders.

Your Committee forbear at this time to multiply examples, not because they are few, but because they are so many.

It may be reckoned as among the great evils of the Domestic Slave-trade, that to an owner, who abuses his power in such a manner as not to destroy life, but yet to render the victims disagreeable to his sight, disquieting to his conscience, or dangerous to his reputation; or their resentment, or the sympathy of their companions formidable to him—it affords the means of getting rid of them as effectually as if they were buried. 'Dead men tell no tales,' is likewise true of traded men.

From a manuscript for which your Committee are indebted to a member of this Convention,* we extract the following case.

A gentleman of Baltimore was the father of a mulatto girl, by his slave. He determined to fulfil his natural duty towards her, and gave her an excellent education, and she grew up a very accomplished young lady. When she was arrived almost at womanhood, her father died. By a codicil to his will he emancipated her, and bequeathed her a handsome property. Her white brother, who was the executor, destroyed the codicil of the will and the modesty of the maiden, and when she was about to become a mother, sold her for an enhanced price to Louisiana.

Many cases have been stated of slaves, whose masters had voluntarily contracted with them to give them emancipation, when they should have earned a certain sum, (the full value of their persons,) over and above their usual tasks; and after they had earned and paid it over, have sold and removed them to a safe distance. This cruel deceit seems to be resorted to for gain or revenge.

The affecting case of a barber, who attempted to cut his throat on being informed that he was sold, when he had just paid over to his master the last of the purchase-money for his own body, has been generally published within a few months in the newspapers. It may be considered as some proof of

* Rev. George Bourne.

the power of that story that it should have found its way into those vehicles of information, which systematically suppress the truth, touching the condition and fate of our enslaved countrymen!!

The following is from a recent publication.*

'A master had repeatedly promised to manumit a slave who was an excellent blacksmith, but he had as often violated his promise. The slave had worked earlier, later and harder, upon the expectation of becoming so much the sooner a *man*. At length, however, his heart grew sick. Disappointment, sharper than a serpent's tooth, relaxed the sinews of his arm, and poisoned his coarse and scanty fare. The master, to revive his spirits and restore his vigor, finally promised with unwonted solemnity, that if he would earn by extra labor a certain sum of money, amounting to several hundred dollars, he should be free. The slave felt to work once more with redoubled energy. He toiled long and hard, and at last the blessed day dawned, on which, according to the stipulation, he was to be enfranchised. But his treacherous and brutal master had sold him to a slave trader, to be carried to New-Orleans! and on that day he was destined to receive—not his promised freedom, but a new suit of chains. The heart-stricken man told his tale to the trader; how he had been promised, how he had toiled, how cherished and deferred hopes would be blasted forever. He entreated him in the most touching language, to renounce the sacrilegious bargain. But 'there is no flesh in the heart' of a slave trader. Seeing that his prayers and tears were vain, the slave became desperate. He told the dealer that if he did take him, one or the other of them must die; and that he then gave him fair warning. The trader was highly diverted, and said 'he liked such a spirited fellow.' They went on board a vessel, and, during a serene evening in that delicious climate, the trader reposed himself upon the deck. In the dead of the night, the slave contrived to rid himself of his hand-cuffs, and groped until he grasped an axe, and, thus armed, stood over the sleeping man. He waked him and told his purpose. 'Then God have mercy on me,' said the slave trader. 'God will not have mercy on you, neither will I,' said the slave, and beat out his brains.'

There cannot be a reasonable doubt that the *American* 'Middle Passage' abounds in horrors very similar to those of the African. The victims collected for the Southern market, are consigned to prisons attached to private establishments, or to county jails, or to the jail in the District of Columbia. There they suffer from hunger, heat and cold, in chains and in cells, which all witnesses describe as filthy and loathsome in the extreme and even in this situation the traders still find or make occasions for using the 'bloody lash.'

If from these receptacles they are transported by sea, they are crowded between

decks and into the hold in just such numbers as the captain pleases, and their fare is such as pleases him or the owner of them. Of course, it is not likely to be *expensive*. The ship-room to be reserved for each slave coming from Africa was prescribed by the British Parliament long before they abolished the trade. Our Congress has found it necessary to prescribe the ship-room which captains shall reserve *for passengers* on foreign voyages to and from the United States. If these enactments were necessary, is it not probable that the unlimited liberty of crowding unreasonably and uncomfortably our coasting *slavers*, is abused in nearly every voyage? Will not the captains make money by abusing it? Will not traders save by it? The ordinary cargo appears to be from one hundred and fifty to two hundred slaves. It seems to your Committee that there *must* be suffering, excessive suffering from straightness of room; and we have a painful suspicion that it is much greater from this cause, and also from badness and scantiness of provision and harsh treatment on board, than is either known to us, or generally suspected. No one has yet told the secrets of an *American coasting slaver*.

The following from the letter of Mr. Stanton, may serve to give an inkling of what may be.

'A trader was recently taking down nine slaves in a flat boat. When near Natchez, his boat sprang a leak. He was compelled to abandon her. He put his slaves into a small canoe. Being manacled and fettered, they were unable to manage the canoe. It upset—they were plunged into the river—and sunk, being carried down by the weight of their chains. The water was deep and the current rapid. They were seen no more. My informant conversed with a man who accompanied a cargo of slaves from some port in Virginia, round, by sea, to N. Orleans. He said the owners and sailors treated them most unmercifully—beating them, and in some instances literally knocking them down upon the deck. They were locked up in the hold every night. Once on the passage, in consequence of alarm, they kept them in the hold the whole period of four days and nights, and none were brought on deck during that time but a few females—and they, for purposes which I will not name. Mr. Editor, do the horrors of the middle passage belong exclusively to a by-gone age?'

'There is one feature of this nefarious traffic which no motives of delicacy can induce me to omit mentioning. Shall we conceal the truth, because its revelation will shock the finer sensibilities of the soul, when by such concealment we shut out all hope of remedying an evil, which dooms to a dishonored life, and to a hopeless death, thousands of the females of our country? Is this wise? Is it prudent? Is it *right*? I allude to the fact, that large numbers of female mulattoes are annually bought up, and carried down to our southern cities, and sold at enor-

* Speech of David L. Child, Esq. at the first anniversary of the N. E. A. S. S. published by the Boston Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society for the Diffusion of Truth, 1834.'

mous prices, for purposes of private prostitution. This is a fact of universal notoriety in the south-western states. It is known to every soul-driver in the nation. And is it so *bad* that *Christians* may not know it, and knowing it, apply the remedy? In the consummation of this nameless abomination, threats and the lash come in, where kind promises and money fail. And will not the mothers of America feel in view of these facts?

'Those who are transported down the Mississippi river, receive treatment necessarily different, but in the aggregate no less cruel. They are stowed away on the decks of steamboats (our boats are constructed differently from yours,) males and females, old and young, usually chained, subject to the jeers and taunts of the passengers and navigators, and often, by bribes, or threats, or the lash, made subject to abominations not to be named. On the same deck, you may see horses and human beings, tenants of the same apartments, and going to supply the same market. The *dumb* beasts, being less manageable, are allowed the first place, while the *human* are forced into spare corners and vacant places. My informant saw one trader, who was taking down to New-Orleans one hundred horses, several sheep, and between fifty and sixty slaves. The sheep and the slaves occupied the same deck. Many interesting and intelligent females were of the number. And if I were satisfied that the columns of a newspaper was the proper place to publish it, I could tell facts concerning the brutal treatment exercised towards these defenceless females while on the downward passage, which ought to kindle up the hot indignation of every mother, and daughter, and sister in the land.'

Let it be remembered that this testimony comes from the very scene of these atrocities, and from the mouths of the sons of slaveholders.

There is much testimony which might be heaped up on the subject of the cruelties to the droves, which move to market by land. In the works of Torrey, Rankin,* Bourne, Mrs. Child, the Liberator, and the New York Anti-Slavery Reporter, facts may be found sufficient to oppress the soul of any one, whom custom has not rendered insensible to human misery and the blackest crimes. On this subject Mr. Stanton says—

'The slaves are taken down in companies, varying in number from 20 to 500. Men of capital are engaged in the traffic. Go into the principal towns on the Mississippi river, and you will find these negro traders in the bar-rooms, boasting of their adroitness in driving human flesh, and describing the process by which they can '*tame down*' the spirit of a '*refractory*' negro. Remember, by '*refractory*' they mean to designate that spirit which some high-souled negro manifests, when he fully recognizes the fact, that God's image is stamped upon him. There are many such negroes in slavery. Their bodies may faint under the infliction of accumulated wrong, but their souls cannot be crushed. After visiting the bar-room, go into the outskirts of the town, and there you will find the slaves belonging to the drove, crowded into dilapidated huts,—some, revelling—others apparently stupid—but others weeping over ties broken and hopes destroyed, with an agony intense, and to a free man, inconceivable. Many re-

spectable planters in Louisiana have themselves gone into Maryland and Virginia, and purchased their slaves. They think it more profitable to do so. Brother Robinson conversed with one or two of them when on their return. This shows that highly respectable men engage in this trade. But those who make it their regular employment, and thus receive the awfully significant title of '*soul drivers*,' are usually brutal, ignorant, debauched men. And it is *such* men, who exercise despotic control over thousands of down-trodden, and defenceless men and women.'

'The slaves which pass down to the southern market on the Mississippi river and through the interior, are mostly purchased in Kentucky and Virginia. Some are bought in Tennessee. In the emigration they suffer great hardships. Those who are driven down by land, travel from two hundred to a thousand miles on foot, through Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi. They sometimes carry heavy chains the whole distance. These chains are very massive. They extend from the hands to the feet, being fastened to the wrists and ankles by an iron ring round each. When chained, every slave carries two chains—i. e. one from each hand to each foot. A wagon, in which rides 'the driver,' carrying coarse provisions, and a few tent coverings, generally accompanies the drove. Men, women and children, some of the latter very young, walk near the wagon; and if, through fatigue or sickness they falter, the application of the whip reminds them that they are slaves.—Our informant, speaking of some droves which he met, says, 'their weariness was extreme, and their dejected, despairing and woe-begone countenances I shall never forget.' They encamp out nights. Their bed consists of a small blanket. Even this is frequently denied them. A rude tent covers them, scarcely sufficient to keep off the dew or frost, much less the rain. They frequently remain in this situation several weeks, in the neighborhood of some slave-trading village. The slaves are subject, while on their journeys, to severe sickness. On such occasions the drivers manifest much anxiety lest they should lose—their *property*! But even sickness does not prevent them from hurrying their victims on to market. Sick, faint, or weary, the slave knows no rest. In the Choctaw nation, my informant met a large company of these miserable beings, following a wagon at some distance. From their appearance, being mostly females and children, and hence not so marketable, he supposed they must belong to some planter who was emigrating southward. He inquired if this was so, and if their master was taking them home. A woman, in tones of mellowed despair answered him:—"Oh, no, sir, we are not going home! We don't know where we are going. *The speculators have got us!*"'

The cruelties exercised in these passages are not always unavenged by the miserable slaves. It is in the recollection of most men, that a company of sixty slaves, while marching through the West some years ago, killed two of their drivers, and severely wounded their purchaser. Two slave traders were slain by the slaves they were driving to market, near Prince Edward Court House, Va., about a month since.

The anguish, wailing and despair which are daily witnessed at the slave market, are themes familiar,—alas! too familiar to us all; and your Committee will not now dwell upon them. The brutal examination of

* 'Letters on Slavery, by Rev. John Rankin.' p. 80-4.

women which takes place, is less spoken of than other particulars relating to that mighty *instrument of torture*, a slave auction.

On this topic your Committee refer to the testimony of Mr. Robinson, a member of the Lane Seminary, a citizen of Nashville, Tennessee, where he was graduated, and has resided.

'After slaves arrive in market, they are subjected to the most degrading examinations. The purchasers will roll up their sleeves and pantaloons, and examine their muscles and joints critically, to ascertain their probable strength, and will even open their mouths and examine their teeth, with the same remarks, and the same unconcern, that they would a horse.'

'The females are exposed to the same rude examinations as the men. When a large drove of slaves arrives in a town for sale, placards are put up at the corners of the streets, giving notice of the place and time of sale. Often they are driven through the streets for hours together (for the purpose of exhibiting them) exposed to the jeers and insults of the spectators. About a year since, Mr. Robinson saw about a hundred men, women and children, exposed for sale at one time in the market place at Nashville; and while three auctioneers were striking them off, purchasers examined their limbs and bodies with inhuman roughness and unconcern. This was accompanied with profanity, indelicate allusions, and boisterous laughter.'

'There are planters in the northern slave-states, who will not sell *slave families*, unless they can dispose of them all together. This they consider more humane,—as it in fact is. But such kindnesses are of no avail after the victims come into the southern markets. If it is not just as profitable for the traders to sell them in families, they hesitate not a moment to separate husband and wife—parents and children, and dispose of them to purchasers, residing in sections of the country, remote from each other. When they happen to dispose of whole families to the same man, they loudly boast of it, as an evidence of their humanity.'

What a condemnation of the general practice of the slave traders, and indeed of their whole traffic do these boasts imply!

Your Committee had long entertained a painful *suspicion*, that corrupt and degenerate persons from the United States were fraudulently introducing and holding slaves in the *Texas*, notwithstanding that slavery was abolished forever, throughout all Mexico, in the year 1829. This suspicion was founded upon the confident calculations of southern planters and politicians upon the *Texas*, as a future market of slaves, and upon their known eagerness to purchase or conquer it.* Nevertheless, we did indulge the hope, that even fugitives and intruders from the United States, who should set down in that fair country, would have too much respect for their native land and her apparent institutions, to attempt to convert a friendly

and free, into a slave state. Or, if this were not so, that the Government and people of Mexico would have too much respect for themselves to permit those base men to condemn their laws, or even to pollute the soil with their presence. But we now regret to say, that we have met with evidence on this subject, which reduces suspicion to reality. Capt. Alexander, whose work we have before cited, makes the following statement.

'The Mexicans complain with justice that instead of industrious and respectable settlers being introduced into *Texas*, in general the most worthless outcasts enter their territory. I heard of people there quarrelling and shooting one another with pistols in the open day with impunity;—of a dialogue between two friends, who unexpectedly met there. One asked what brought the other there. 'The murder of his brother-in-law.' The other 'had fled after being detected in kidnapping free negroes.' Again, the Mexicans complain that *they are insulted by the Americans, who, contrary to express stipulation, introduce slaves into the colony, under pretence of their being indentured servants*; and indeed it seems quite evident that the Americans are endeavoring to obtain possession of the country (a very tempting prize)—as they did Florida, by encouraging squatters to enter it, who when they are sufficiently numerous will rise under pretence of being oppressed, and an American force will be marched in to succor them, which retaining possession of the country, a compulsory sale will ensue.' Vol. 2, pp. 43—4.

It is supposed by many persons now residing at the South, that if the planters could not *sell* and send off a few slaves *annually*, to make up the deficiency of income from their agriculture, they would be obliged to abandon immediately so bad a system of labor. The Domestic Trade, in this view, is chargeable with the whole guilt of the continuance of slavery in several of the States.

It is impossible to form any satisfactory idea of the number of slaves annually sold in the United States, by the regular traders. There is no other branch of commerce, concerning which our government has given us no statistical information. It would be unseemly for a republican government to publish these things, but not at all for a republican people to do them.

One of your Committee* has information, on which we can rely, that one house in the District of Columbia exported *one thousand*, in the year 1833, and will export more the present year. They employ two vessels constantly. There is another house in the same District. A third, located in Georgetown, has been given up; not, however, on account of the decline of the trade, for that is allowed to be increasing. Prices are


* See Debates of the Virginia Convention.

* Rev. Mr. Frost.

depressed at this moment, owing to the derangement of the currency, but the trade is unquestionably brisk and profitable.

The high price of cotton and the ravages of the cholera last year, and the return of the same *blessing*, (for such it has been said the poor slaves esteem it,)—and the new tracts of cheap and fertile land, wrested from the Indians, conspire, and will conspire, to increase the demand for slaves in the South and South-West, for some time to come.

Mr. Niles in his Register states that in the week, ending Sept. 16th, 1831, three hundred and seventy one slaves were reported in the New-Orleans papers, as landed from Baltimore, Alexandria, Norfolk and Charleston. Supposing this to be an average number, it would follow that the Domestic maritime Slave Trade supplies that city with no less than twenty thousand slaves every year, *three times the annual importation from abroad into the United States, when the foreign trade was most brisk.* We may add ten thousand for those landed in other states and territories, without touching at New-Orleans, and twenty thousand for the inland trade, making a total of *fifty thousand men*, trafficked yearly, in the U. S. like swine and turkeys from Kentucky. It is supposed by one gentleman in this Convention,* that the number will this year exceed *one hundred thousand.*

It is a fact worthy of observation, that just at the precise time that the foreign slave trade was *permitted*, by our Constitution to cease, the Domestic was ready to begin. The turn of the tide could not have been calculated with more accuracy! Perhaps we owe it to this circumstance, that the law of 1808 was passed at all! *Extensive* arrangements would seem, by all accounts, to have been made in the *northern* slave states, to prepare a supply for the market, and to profit by the *monopoly.* And now this *dreadful result* takes place, that *if slaves are the only domestic article, the production of which, is encouraged by a prohibitory tariff.* 

In conclusion, your Committee recommend an earnest and early appeal to Congress on this subject, that a petition, setting forth the constitutional law, and the practical horrors and atrocities relating to this trade, be draft-

ed under the direction of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, and printed with the minutes of this Convention, and sent to all parts of the country and to all Anti-Slavery Societies, for circulation and signatures; and they recommend the passage of the following resolution:

Resolved, As the opinion of this Convention, that the Domestic Slave Trade of the United States is equally atrocious in the sight of God with the foreign, that it equally involves the crimes of murder, kidnapping and robbery, and is equally worthy with the foreign to be denounced and treated by human laws and tribunals as piracy, and those who carry it on as enemies of the human race.

All which is respectfully submitted.

D. LEE CHILD,
JOHN FROST,
RAY POTTER,
JESSE PUTNAM,
JOSEPH SOUTHWICK.

TO THE CHRISTIAN PUBLIC.

The New-England Anti-Slavery Convention, believing in the permanent importance of the Christian religion, in respect to the glory of its divine author, and the present and eternal interests of man; and being fully assured of the entire incompatibility of the whole system of slavery existing in these states, with the spirit and precepts of that holy religion; deem it their high duty to announce their deliberate judgment on this most solemn and important subject.

It is not necessary, at present, to describe by minute detail what is to be understood by that slavery which is contrary to the law of love, which is the law of God. The nation has declared in the tenth article of the treaty of peace with Great Britain, that *ALL* traffic in slaves is irreconcilable with the principles of justice and humanity. Nor is it requisite to analyze the anomalies which may occasionally appear amid the operations of a general system, or to ascertain the individual exceptions which may sometimes occur in violation of a universal rule. By slavery we intend that system of injustice, oppression, and cruelty, which now exists in this republic, sanctioned and prolonged by custom and laws.

The Convention are fully satisfied, from the most indubitable testimony, to adopt the description, of one of the most eminent ecclesiastical bodies in the union, that 'slaves enjoy no instruction; are prohibited from all

† Rev. Mr. Blain, of Pawtucket.

relative endearments ; cannot preserve their personal purity and honor ; realize all kinds of cruelty ; are lawlessly separated from all their congenial and beloved companions ; are trafficked without remorse, only to suffer additional anguish ; and that christian professors sell as slaves, members of the church, into the most awful bondage !' In view of a scene, presenting so dreadful an outrage on all justice, love and mercy, where is the christian who does not mourn and weep ? Where is the christian who does not fear and tremble ? Where is the professor of that religion, which speaks good will to all men, who can can doubt respecting the duty of contemplating and acting on this momentous topic ?

Taking a retrospective view of the moral darkness with which this direful system has enshrouded our beloved country ; contemplating it, as it has been in truth, a continual source of collision and animosity, no fact appears to be more certain than this ; that had the proper and legitimate moral and religious influence been urged in all its force against slavery at the termination of the revolutionary war, the baneful system would then have been eradicated. But the principles of carnal, temporising and selfish expediency swayed ; and as the bitter consequence, the truth that that which is morally wrong can never be politically right, we have found most lamentably verified.

The Convention are fearfully impressed with the melancholy fact, that the evils, both moral and social, which are inseparably conjoined with slavery, have been accumulating in an augmented ratio, during the last fifty years, and that no efficient remedy has hitherto been applied to these growing injuries, to the church and the world. On the contrary, it is manifest, that the only means which, under the divine auspices, might have been effectual to overthrow slavery in the United States, through the decided perversion of them, have constituted the principal support of that unholy despotism.

Christianity, that richest gift of the divine benevolence, is, in its legitimate sway, the only antidote to the corruption of our hearts, or to the propensities of man to transgress the commands of God, which relate to our duties to him and one another. But in reference to slavery its holy authority has been contemned and prostrated ; its denunciations

of iniquity have been either concealed and silenced, or transformed into a direct sanction of that identical crime which they so authoritatively and solemnly condemn.

No iniquity is so pernicious, as that, the abhorrent qualities of which, are apparently neutralized by decorating it in a Christian garb, and honoring it with a Christian name. Is it not the very climax of anomalies, that a system so replete with outrageous violations of moral law and reciprocal equity, should be openly countenanced as consistent with the blessed Gospel of Jesus Christ ? What is that Gospel ? Is it not the reign of love, inspiring peace and good will among men ? And what is the system we deprecate ? What is slavery as it actually exists in these States, but a perpetual series of violations of this law of love ? What is it but a vile compound of transgressions of the precepts of the divine decalogue, in their most atrocious developments ? And now is it not high time for the professors of our holy religion, who are hastening to the tribunal of Him who will not be mocked, to pause and enquire whether or not the slaveholder, or his abettors, can make an honest, credible and consistent profession of the religion of righteousness and truth and love ? 'Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle ? Who shall dwell in thy holy hill ? He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart. He that doeth not evil to his neighbor, nor taketh up a reproach against his neighbor. In whose eyes a vile person is condemned. He that taketh not reward against the innocent. Who shall dwell on high ? He that despiseth the gain of oppressions, that shaketh his hands from holding of bribes, that stoppeth his ears from hearing of blood, and shutteth his eyes from seeing evil. Holiness becometh thine house, O Lord, forever.

Is the fruit of slavery, the fruit of the spirit ? Is it love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, fidelity, meekness, temperance ? Is the language of God's children appropriate on the lips of a slaveholder ? Can he say, in reference to this subject, 'When the ear heard me, then it blessed me ; and when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me ; because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me ; and

I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. I was a father to the poor; and the cause which I knew not I searched out.

The whole system of slavery is as opposite to the religion of love, as darkness is opposite to light. We feel solemnly impressed with the assurance, that it is high time that our holy religion should be disabused of the charge of having the least affinity with a system so odious to infinite purity and love. A religion emanating from such a source, can have no accordance with the court of iniquity which frameth mischief by a law. Consequently, its professors are solemnly charged, on the authority of the King of Kings, to have no fellowship with such works of moral darkness, but rather to reprove them.

Whatever forbearance past ignorance in relation to this momentous subject may call for, we are assured that the flood of holy light which has now exposed and developed this system of consummate iniquity, enforces with unutterable obligation the mandate of the Almighty, that now all men should repent.

The Convention have no wish to dictate to any Christian Church, in respect to its order or duty. But for the sake of truth and love; for the sake of our brethren suffering, bleeding and dying under this most unrighteous system; for the sake of Zion's purity; for the sake of our beloved country, which is threatened with the holy judgments of that Avenger, into whose ears the cries of the oppressed have entered; and finally, for the sake of the present and eternal interests of more than two millions of souls, we ask, is there not a high and immediate duty devolving on the whole church of the living God, which is the ground and pillar of the truth?

We are indeed zealous, for we believe that it is good to be zealously affected in a good cause. But we wish to have zeal according to knowledge. We wish to give no exaggerated view (if it be possible,) of the evil we deplore. We call for the dispassionate and impartial attention of the professed disciples of the Prince of liberators, who came to make us free from the law of sin and death, to this affecting subject. And we ask,

First. Are not the principles and practices of slavery, as it now actually exists in

these States, really subversive in their nature and tendency of that truth and love which are the pillars of the temple of the living God?

Secondly. Has not the King of Zion, whom the Father has placed on the holy throne, instituted laws by his own precepts, and those of his inspired and commissioned Apostles, for the maintenance of the purity of his church, that she may exhibit to the world what is that holy and acceptable and perfect will of God?

Thirdly. Are not those laws applicable to the subject before us? Is the fact of holding our brethren in slavery, of buying and selling, abusing and tormenting those for whom Christ died; of withholding from them the book of God, the only lamp of life eternal, by keeping them in ignorance; and the other concomitant evils, a course of procedure so compatible with the principles and practices of our holy religion, as not to be the subject of those disciplinary laws which are essential to maintain the true character of the Christian Church?

The Convention wish not to be misunderstood. Whatever may be the views of individual members on this important subject, they do not as a body, at present, declare what, in their opinion, is the duty of the Christian Church in respect to the admission or exclusion of persons who may, in various ways and degrees, be maintaining this abominable system. It is believed that the whole nation has been guilty concerning our brother, in that we have seen the anguish of his soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear. This whole nation is involved in the guilt of robbing God of the workmanship of his hands. Let us not, however, blunt the arrows of conviction, by the delusive impression that individual guilt is cancelled in the gross, or that we are secure because we have followed a multitude to do evil.

The Convention do not hesitate to declare that, in their view, it is the indispensable duty of the churches of Christ to examine and judge, in what manner the laws of his holy kingdom apply to this subject; and what they are bound to do by these immutable laws of holiness and truth, which neither the blindness of prejudice, nor the pleas of expediency can ever disannul. While they deprecate all measures which may tend to mar

that peace of Zion, which is the fruit of truth and love, they are in haste to disturb that deceitful calm of insensibility to iniquity, which is the precursor of that storm of retribution which righteousness awards to all the workers of iniquity.

Attention to this important subject has been awakened at different times, and among different denominations of professing christians. More than seventy years ago, the Friends made a successful effort to purify themselves from this evil. The few members of that Society who had been allured from the path of righteousness and love, by the hope of gain, were persuaded to abandon their practice. Many churches of the Baptist denomination, the Associate Presbyterian, and the Reformed Presbyterians, have considered it their duty to apply the laws of Jesus Christ more or less to this subject. If any suppose that these laws do not apply to this subject, we ask, to what subject can they apply? The true church of Jesus Christ is denominated the light of the world, the salt of the earth. It deserves the solemn consideration of all the churches in the United States, who claim a title to this high and holy character, whether or not they are exhibiting these characteristics in relation to the subject before us. Are they the light of the world in respect to the true evil and guilt of slavery? Is their testimony, verbal and practical, clear, holy, and decisive on this matter? Are they preserving themselves from the corruption of this ruinous iniquity? Alas! so far from this, it is our belief, that the criminal supineness of men professing godliness, and the intimate and incongruous connection of slavery in its most odious forms, with the churches in these States, has long constituted the chief shield with which this man of sin has repelled the arrows of truth. Had the champions of the Cross gone forth with the whole armor of God, with invincible prayer, they would long ago have seen this monster fall like Philistia's Idol before the Ark of the Almighty. And now we are well assured that all other means, without these, will prove abortive. Solemnly impressed with this conviction, and feeling our accountability to the God of justice and mercy, we do most earnestly and affectionately call upon all who fear God, to cast away that compromising spirit and that illusive doctrine of expediency, which have so long sacrificed truth,

righteousness and love, the laws of God and the rights of man, on their reeking and polluted altars.

Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God hath shined. Our God shall come, and shall not keep silence; a fire shall devour before him—he shall call to the heavens from above, and to the earth, that he may judge his people—and the heavens shall declare his righteousness, for God is Judge himself. Hear, O my people, and I will speak, O Israel, and I will testify against thee.'

Does not this solemn appeal call on all the professed people of the Lord, in this slaveholding and guilty nation, to prepare to meet their God in his awful judgments, if we repent not? May the Lord grant us that repentance to the acknowledgment and practice of the truth.

HENRY GREW, *Chairman.*

PRODUCTIONS OF FREE LABOR.

The Committee appointed to inquire into the expediency of recommending to the American Anti-Slavery Society to make the offer of a premium of such amount as they shall deem proper, on certain articles produced by free labor in any part of the United States, beg leave to report:

Your Committee believe that the subject of the resolution committed to their consideration, has a bearing on the good cause which we are associated to promote, of such importance as to merit the serious attention of the Convention.

It must be obvious to every reflecting mind, that the desolating waters of slavery, which, amid storms of vile oppressions, are bearing away their miserable victims to the ocean of death, are to be traced to the fountains of depravity in the human heart. The idolatry of covetousness, which the Lord of all abhorreth, has sacrificed on its cruel altars all the rights and interests of man.

What motive induced the owner of the first slave ship to invade the land of the colored man, to steal his brother, and bear him away from his wife, his children, and his home? Was it not that love of money which is the root of all evil? What induced the West India planter to purchase the living flesh and blood and bones sent to him by the soul of avarice? Was it not the hope of unrighteous gain, to be obtained from the

hard and unrequited labors of the wretched captive? And on what foundation did that hope rest, but on the assurance that individuals would purchase and consume the produce of that uncompensated and cruel toil? Here, then, we see the galling chain, and that it is the last link which moves all the rest. As it is for the consumer of the fiery poison, that the retailer applies to the wholesale vender, and he to the distiller; so in this case, it is for the consumer the lash is driving the slave to his toil, the man-stealer is going about this land of pretended freedom seeking whom he may devour, and the slave ship is violating all law both human and divine.

Let the consumers of the liquid poison say to the retailer, we shall drink no more of your waters of death, and what is the consequence? He buys no more; the wholesale vender buys no more; the distiller makes no more. So if the consumers of slave produce should say, we will no longer be partakers of other men's sins, we will eat no more, we will wear no more, the product of fraud and oppression, of the groans and tears of our brethren, the consequence must be, that the labor of the slave would be valuable no more. The sordid and reckless trafficker in human souls would buy and sell no more; and no more would the ocean bear on her polluted bosom the abodes of the miserable victims of relentless avarice and cupidity.

It is believed that free labor, if generally established on equitable principle, would promote, in various respects, the prosperity of the slaveholding States. It is obvious, however, that under the present direful and lamented system, the extraordinary efforts and means necessary to furnish the friends of humanity with the articles enumerated in the resolution, in the desirable contemplated manner, must be attended with some additional expense. It cannot, therefore, be reasonably expected that the end proposed in the resolution can be obtained without the means it suggests.

Impressed with the belief that the object of the resolution is in perfect accordance with the great and distinguishing principle of our noble association, your Committee present these few considerations, which incline them to the conclusion that the recom-

mendation proposed in the following resolution is expedient :

Resolved, That it be recommended to the American Anti-Slavery Society to make the offer of a premium of dollars for every cwt. of merchantable cotton; for every cwt. of rice; for every cwt. of sugar; and for hbls. of molasses, of a good and merchantable quality :—such premium to be paid upon satisfactory evidence being presented that such articles are the produce of *free labor* in any part of the United States.

All which is respectfully submitted.

HENRY GREW,
SAMUEL FOSTER,
HENRY E. BENSON.

MANUAL LABOR SCHOOL.

The Committee to whom was submitted the subject of 'Manual Labor Schools,' ask leave respectfully to

REPORT.

Your Committee are not only satisfied of the utility of manual labor schools, in general, when organized on sound principles, and managed by a judicious policy; but they are deeply impressed with the conviction, that such schools, if carried into operation by those who maintain the *true* principles of civil and religious liberty, will tend, more than almost any other means, to elevate the condition of our free colored population, put them in *possession* of those privileges which are their due as *American citizens*, and powerfully co-operate with those great moral causes, which are now in operation to the ultimate extinction of slavery.

We are well aware that the colored population throughout New-England have, by custom and prejudice,—which are stronger than law,—if not by law itself, been almost universally excluded the blessings of science and of literature. If here and there a *few* have been raised to enjoy the boon of what may be called an ordinary education; and here and there an individual has attained to any degree of eminence in science or literature, it has been wholly without any public aid, or even those ordinary inducements, which are held out to all other classes of the community. The soul, imbued with an inherent and unquenchable thirst for knowledge, has been obliged to *force* its way against obstacles, which required the utmost fortitude,

resolution, and perseverance to surmount; and nothing but that noble *energy* of mind, which occasionally bursts those bonds by which prejudice and misanthropy have sought to enchain it, has ever been sufficient to obtain those draughts at the 'Pierian spring,' which are so salutary to an immortal mind. Shut out from our high-schools, academies, and colleges, and, in very few instances, enjoying any of those primary instructions which are afforded to white children, it would seem as if one great system of darkness had been framed and carried into execution for the express purpose of perpetually shrouding our whole colored population. Thus the iron hand of prejudice and of hatred crushes a brother to the dust, and then the finger of scorn points him out as an object *too degraded* and unworthy to enjoy the blessings of freedom!

In order to remedy these, and other serious evils which could not be enumerated in this Report; your Committee are persuaded, that it is the imperious duty of the people of New-England to provide schools expressly for the benefit of the colored population. But, as the institution of Primary Schools, on the best system, for the instruction of *children*, must be the work of time, and cannot come within the scope of our *immediate* efforts; your Committee recommend, that it be a primary object of this Convention, in connection with the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, as speedily as possible, to establish, in New-England, one High Manual Labor, or Self-supporting School, for the express purpose of educating those colored persons, who may be disposed to avail themselves of its advantages. The establishment of one such school, on enlightened and liberal principles, would tend to prepare the way for others of a similar nature; would speedily qualify individuals to engage in the instruction of Primary Schools; and your Committee think, that such a measure would very soon open the way for the light of literature and of science, to beam upon a now *benighted* and 'degraded' population. Such a measure as this, to be carried into effect as speedily as possible, seems absolutely necessary, in order to secure the munificent bequest of a worthy, venerable and enlightened philanthropist, not long since deceased; to secure the great object of Mr. GARRISON's mission to England, and to render of any avail those

funds which have already been raised for this object, by the friends of humanity both in England and America. For the accomplishment of this object, many have now been looking, for a considerable time, with intense feelings of friendly interest; others have inquired, with a sneering smile, 'What has become of your Manual Labor School;,' not a few, with confident expectation, that something efficient would speedily be done, have asked, 'When is the Manual Labor School going into operation?' and others still have stood ready liberally to contribute for that object, whenever they could see a rational prospect of its being accomplished.

The School which your Committee contemplate, and which is doubtless contemplated by this Convention and by the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, would probably require, to commence its successful operation, a sum of — dollars. To this sum, John Kenrick, Esq., late of Newton, and late President of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, bequeathed 250 dollars; and the sum of — dollars has already been raised in England and in this country. So that the sum of — dollars is now necessary to be raised in order to commence the operation of the School contemplated in this Report.

The Committee, therefore, believing that the time and the day has now arrived when a prompt, and earnest, and vigorous effort ought to be made for the immediate establishment in New-England of a Manual Labor School for our colored brethren—and believing that the subject ought to receive the full and deliberate attention of this Convention, submit the following Resolutions:

1. Resolved, That a vigorous effort ought to be made for the immediate establishment of the Manual Labor School.
2. Resolved, That a subscription be now opened in this Convention, for this specific purpose, and that we request our friends in this Convention to give this subscription their liberal and zealous support.
3. Resolved, That a Committee be appointed by this Convention to see that the fullest means be used to raise by subscriptions and contributions, before the end of six months, the sum of ten thousand dollars, to be wholly devoted to the establishment of the school, and that this Committee be requested to prepare and publish an address to the public, and to appoint an agent to collect donations and contributions.

SPEECHES.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, May 28.

MR. STUART'S SPEECH.

MR. CHARLES STUART of England, addressed the audience. What, said he, is the cause that brings us here this evening, my friends. It is the cause of freedom in a land of boasted freedom—it is the cause of the colored man, for he is oppressed, and wherever man is oppressed, there the Scriptures teach us is our neighbor—it is the cause of the white man, for he is the criminal, and we are taught to care for those who are criminal as we would ourselves be cared for—it is the cause of liberty, of truth, of benevolence, of mercy, of justice,—the cause of the great God himself.

But before I proceed to present some few reasons why this cause should engage the attention of every philanthropist and christian, permit me to say a few words, in giving my testimony to correct two errors which I find have been widely circulated in this country. One is that the blessed Wilberforce; once blessed on earth, as all are who love the Lord, now blessed in heaven as all shall be whom the Lord loveth; had signed the protest against the Colonization plan, while laboring under the debility of sickness, and not in the full possession of his judgment. I have heard this story since I left England, and I now wish to give it a denial, and proclaim it a falsehood. No, it was upon full, candid and prayerful investigation that he put his name to that document, in the full possession of his holy mind, before the brief sickness that terminated his life had seized him, and it rejoiced his spirit, when about to depart to receive its reward, that this was one of the last acts of his life to leave his testimony against a system adapted to strengthen unjust prejudices, and rivet the chains of slavery.

Another misrepresentation I wish to correct is in reference to the visit of Mr. Garrison to England. It has been stated that while in England he traduced his country. It is not true, dear friends. I lived with him a month in London. I do not believe him a hypocrite, and if he were, I had every possible opportunity of knowing his real sentiments, and if ever I knew a pure minded man, ardently devoted to a pure cause, that

man is William Lloyd Garrison. He never slandered his country in private or public. I wish to give this denial, from personal observation.

I will now offer as a resolution the following:

Resolved, That immediate emancipation is the only right and efficient remedy for slavery.

What is slavery? By slavery we mean the bondage of persons innocent of any crime by which they can have forfeited their right to that liberty which God has given to every man who cometh into the world. It is the bondage of the innocent. It is such slavery as exists in one half of this glorious empire. It is a state in which those under it have no legal protection for their person, their property, or even for the chastity of their wives and daughters. Nay, more, they have no right to cultivate their immortal minds. This is the condition in which one sixth part of the innocent population of this great and free empire are placed by its laws. Yes, Mr. President, one in every six of the people of this free Republic are *slaves*. They have no sufficient protection for their lives because they may be taken with impunity, or at most for the penalty of a fine. They have no right to acquire property for themselves, and can call nothing their own. They have no right to receive instruction, nor has any one the right to preach to them the unsearchable riches of Christ.

But these slaves are so well off, say those who justify or excuse slavery; is it not a blessing for them to have been brought from their barbarous country to a land of light and liberty, where they are made so comfortable? As if we had a right to steal men and deprive them of liberty, in order to make them happy against their will. I will answer this as the clergyman did, in the North of Ireland. I will suppose, he said, that Nicholas, the emperor of Russia, should die, and the throne be left vacant. I will suppose that the nobles of that great empire had heard of me, a poor minister in the north of Ireland, and had sent a deputation to summon me to the vacant throne. Still, I should prefer my own coarse fare, my little parish, my homely fireside, my relations and friends, here in this obscure place, to all the pomp of the throne of Russia; must I be torn forcibly from them, because those who carry me

away insist that I should be happier as an emperor, than as I am? Would it be any compensation to me for the loss of liberty and all I loved, to give me a throne? This is the answer of the slave, when you attempt to justify the robbery of his freedom, because he may be, in your opinion, better off, than if he had not been stolen.

The remedy we propose for this great evil of slavery, is immediate emancipation, by which is meant the immediate substitution of right law for wrong law, of equitable law for unequitable law; in short, emancipation without expatriation. Who, in a land of freedom, can take pleasure in a law which authorizes one class of men to be as cruel and as selfish as they please, to another class equal before God, and alike entitled to their unalienable right of freedom, and yet without protection, from law?

The friends of anti-slavery seek to deliver these innocent people from tyranny and despotism, and restore them to liberty. Liberty! What man, woman or child is there here, who would not sooner lay down their life than lose their liberty by an unjust law? And shall we not do unto others who are in bondage, as we would they should do unto us, were we in their case, and they in ours? Immediate emancipation is the right remedy, because it is right that the slave should go free; every other measure, is merely *preparing* to do right, while we are still continuing to do wrong. Will you ever accomplish any good purpose in this way? You may prepare, and continue preparing, but so long as you do nothing but prepare, you continue to do wrong. The question is a simple one. Slavery is wrong. He who continues to hold his fellow man in bondage, or countenances others in so doing, does wrong or upholds wrong. The only right thing is that the slave should have his freedom. The slaveholder may say he is *preparing* to do right, but that is not doing right. The drunkard may be preparing to do right, and yet continue to resort to the intoxicating bowl. The robber may be preparing to do right, and still persist in his lawless depredations. The liar may be preparing to do right, and still go on in falsehood and wickedness. There is no right so long as the wrong is practised. Half of right is not right. If I restore one half of what I have dishonestly taken from my neighbor, do I do right? If I

wait to repair the wrong I have done, until I can do so without injury to myself, is that doing right? We owe to the slave his liberty, of which he has been unjustly deprived. Emancipation can alone pay the debt. We cannot stop short of our whole duty, for man has no license to stop short of that point.

Let us make the case of the slave our own, and bring it home to the community in which you live. Suppose a respected and beloved family in the city of Boston, should be kidnapped, and carried into slavery, a calamity which, thank God, cannot happen in this community of laws and good order; and yet white men have been stolen and carried into bondage, as well as colored men. Not long ago, travelling in the South part of Ireland, I was shown the ruins of a castle on the sea, where, in former years, a band of Algerine Corsairs had landed, had made prisoners or put to death every soul, and carried off three hundred people as slaves. Suppose that a similar outrage should happen here, and a father, a mother and their children should be kidnapped. What would satisfy you? Would any thing satisfy you short of the restoration of the whole to their freedom? Would the return of the father, while the wife and children were left in bondage, be a reparation of the wrong? Would the restoration of both the parents, while the children were retained, be all that you would ask? Would you be content to have *one* left behind? No, nothing would be sufficient to repair the wrong, but bringing back father, mother, children, all.

Take the case of a slavemaster, and let us see if he is satisfied with any thing short of his whole right. He has a *legal* right to oppress his fellow men, and a heart to avail himself of this legal right. He has lost a slave, who has fled from bondage to a free state. The law allows him to reclaim the slave. Will he be satisfied with any thing short of the whole slave, or the whole of his value? He insists on immediate restoration, and though years may pass away, before he discovers the slave he has lost, still he claims him as his property.

A slave made his escape from a southern state, eight or nine years ago, and got to Philadelphia. This was no crime in the slave. It was right for him to have his freedom, and the law cannot make a right action wrong. The slave was guilty of no crime

in taking what he had been robbed of, his liberty. He got employment in Philadelphia, was industrious and prosperous;—married, and was rearing a little family in love. A few months ago, the man who claimed him as his slave discovered him, and urged his claim, and it was allowed by the law. The owner of the slave was offered three hundred dollars if he would let him remain in freedom. Was this sufficient? Did it satisfy him? No. He said, 'I would not take a thousand dollars for him. I must carry him back to my plantation; I must punish him, in the sight of all my slaves, to strike terror into their minds, and teach them, that though they may go clear for years, they will finally be brought back and made to suffer, if they run away from their master. When I have punished him enough, then if you will come and offer me a thousand dollars, perhaps I will take it.'

Now if the slavemaster, under all these claims to his mercy and generosity, would not abate a jot of his price for his slave, shall the friends of emancipation—shall the injured slave himself, be satisfied with any thing short of a full restitution of all his rights to the slave? Shall we deem any thing sufficient but this? Yes, my friends, the slavemaster teaches us our duty. He insists upon all his rights, even to the tearing of the husband and father from the wife and children; and has not the unhappy slave a prior right, a higher and a holier right—the unalienable right of liberty?

I will not pursue this subject. I might draw a picture of this one instance of the effects of slavery that would make the heart weep, but I forbear, and will content myself with offering the resolution,—[which was then adopted.]

SPEECH OF REV. S. L. POMROY.

Mr. President,—The ground of the principles of anti-slavery are, that it is the duty of all men, every where, to do *right*. There is a right, and there is a wrong, in every act requiring moral agency. On which side are you, is the question—are you right or are you wrong? Now, as friends of emancipation, we say that if any one is doing wrong, he should leave off doing wrong; not next year, or next week, when he has done more wrong, but *now*, at this moment, before he

can do any more wrong. Slavery is wrong. It never can be right. The longer it is persisted in the greater will the wrong accumulate. This is our principle—cease to do wrong! We proclaim it in peace and love. We want to emblazon it on the heavens, to blow it through a trumpet,—*let the oppressed go free*, until every ear is made to hear, and every heart to feel and believe—and as soon as men are convinced it must be done, we shall have no trouble about the means—there will be a way to effect it. It is in this belief, that our starting principle is placed on a foundation which cannot be moved, that I offer as a Resolution.

Resolved, That no valid objection can be urged against the principles and measures of the Anti-Slavery Society.

Ours is the golden rule, do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you. Who, then, if he were a slave, would not wish to be free? Would you ask for colonization or for immediate emancipation? Every moment you keep the slave in bondage, you violate the law of love, and yet we are told, that if we knock off the fetters of the slave and let him go free, it would be very cruel to him indeed, and we ought to keep him in slavery some hundred years longer, until we can civilize Africa, and prepare a place to send him there, where he will trouble nobody but people of his own color! Is this the law of love? Is this the way you would wish to be done by, if you were slaves in a foreign land, or in the land where you were born?

This is the right test to settle this question by—Come down at once to the condition of the slave, and make it your own. How long would a free man like to live in slavery? Suppose we were all slaves, assembled here to discuss our right to be free, how long should we propose to have the process go on, of making us freemen? Would we wait till our children or grand children should take our places? No. There would be but one voice, and that voice would be, *immediate emancipation!*

But it is said that we cannot elevate the people of color here, and we must send them to Africa, in order to elevate them; though they never can be elevated much any where, because their skins are so much darker than ours. And who are we, the pale faces, but a small portion of mankind, a new race, com-

paratively; and yet we rise up and say our color is the only true color, and all other color is incapable of being elevated to our standard. I deny it. God made the soul of man of no particular complexion, and he is no more a respecter of colors, than he is a respecter of persons. The colored people not only can be elevated, but they are many of them elevated, even under all the discouragements and prejudices they have to contend against.

I went to visit a colored family, with several gentlemen, recently, in Philadelphia. The father was seventy years of age, with a family of three daughters. We found them elevated and refined, with a cultivation of mind and manners that would have adorned the best society. When we left the house, the clergymen, who were with me, said to each other, we talk of elevating these people, and because we are white and they are black, we doubt whether they ever can be elevated to our condition. So strongly impressed was the gentleman who made this remark, that he shed tears at the recollection of the scene we had witnessed. These people were elevated in spite of every thing to counteract their own efforts. The idea of inferiority of intellect in the people of color is wholly without foundation. We falsely attribute to natural organization, the irresistible influence of circumstances upon our colored population. Go to the intelligent slaveholder himself, and ask him if his slaves are incapable of being elevated. He will laugh at you, if you tell him that his favorite slaves are not equal in faculties to white men.

To say they cannot be elevated, is to say that the gospel cannot purify and elevate colored men; and if the gospel cannot do this, then it must be a settled point that either the colored man or the white man is to be shut out of heaven. Both cannot go there, unless both are alike capable of being elevated by the teachings of the gospel.

But some people say that we have no business to meddle with this matter. We at the north have nothing to do with slaves, and need not trouble our heads about their management at the South. That is the affair of their masters, and we have no concern with it!

Now, Sir, if this is a good argument I call upon some of those who urge it, to move, at the next meeting of the American Bible So-

ciety, of which they are members, to stop their presses, and print no more Bibles to meddle with the concerns of other people. Let them move, in the Missionary Societies, that the missionaries they have sent abroad to meddle with other people's souls be forthwith called home, for we have no business to interfere with the concerns of the unconverted, and must not trouble our heads about their worship of idols, and the sacrifice of victims to their superstitions and their false gods!! Will these men follow this advice, while they recommend to us to leave the slaveholders alone to do as they please? By no means. No one thinks of applying this doctrine to any thing but the Anti-Slavery Society. If the Greeks are struggling for freedom three thousand miles off; if the Poles are suffering under the despotism of Russia; we can then interfere—Oh, yes! it is the highest duty of patriotism and benevolence to interfere, and help set them free; all the eloquence of the press and the pulpit is roused, to induce us to interfere; but when we point to these poor colored people, right in our own boasted land of freedom, here in our midst, the answer is, let them die—let their masters scourge and oppress them as they will—we have no right to interfere!

I have no faith in this doctrine. I believe, that as long as there are souls to be saved, we have something to do with every man on the globe, as far as our influence can be made to reach; especially have we something to do with more than two millions of Americans whom we of the North consented the South should hold in bondage, and, so far, have become participators in the guilt of slavery. This was the sin of our fathers. The people of the North have upheld slavery, and made it constitutional. The guilt is theirs, and it is their duty to repair the wrong they have aided in doing, to an innocent race. They can do it, and do it effectually; for whenever the North will rise as one man, and demand that the slaves shall be free, it will be done. God calls upon us to break their chains, not by violence, but by the resistless moral force of truth! We have got a great deal to do, and we can do a great deal, to bring about the emancipation of more than two millions of our fellow-men.

But it is said, 'Why do you make so much noise about it here, at the North, where

there are no slaves. Why don't you go to the South, and preach to the slaveholders there? You can be very bold and bluster here, but you don't dare to go to the South, and hold forth your anti-slavery doctrines. If you were sincere you would go there, and preach to those who need it.'

Now we Yankees know better than this. We don't go to work in this way to accomplish an important object. We know that we can reach the slaveholder more effectually here, than we could at the South. Why, Sir, you know if we went to the South and attempted to tell them the plain truth, they would gag us, and perhaps put us in jail, or offer a reward for our heads, as the refined Legislature of Georgia did, for our brother here, (Mr. Garrison) so that we should have no chance to preach the truth. But so long as we have the freedom of speech and of the press here, we can reach the slaveholder, and produce an impression upon him, which he will long resist, but from which he cannot finally escape. It is the power of truth, and it will prevail. I saw a Tennessee slaveholder, the other day, and I asked him if he had ever heard of the Anti-Slavery Society? His reply was, we are well informed of your proceedings. We know what you are doing, and our interest makes us alive to your movements. You think you make us angry, but I tell you honestly, and other slaveholders if they speak honestly will tell you so too, we think you will eventually accomplish your object, but I think you are going too fast. The time, he thought, had not yet come for our principles to find favor in the slave states, but it must come one day or other, and he was prepared for it, but not now. These were the views of an intelligent slaveholder in the West. He had heard of anti-slavery doctrines. Sir, you cannot touch a cord in this great republic that does not vibrate through the whole. Every pulsation at the North is felt at the South. Every effort made for home emancipation, strikes there. Intelligence is sought after. Their own sensitiveness on this subject, an undefined consciousness that they are holding a species of property to which they have no just claim, induce them to seek after intelligence, to learn what is going forward in the march of public opinion, which is calling louder and louder, for the emancipation of the slave. Sir, we are doing just the thing to

enable the slaveholder to accomplish his own wishes, in being relieved from the curse of slavery. We are bringing the minds of the public to the conviction that slavery must be abolished, and when that conviction becomes universal, it will be done. I repeat, there will be no difficulty in finding the means.

But it is said that the Constitution and laws recognize slavery, and therefore we have no right to meddle with it. Just so the Constitution and the laws recognized the foreign slave trade, a few years ago. Why did we undertake to meddle with that, and deprive the slave dealer of his very profitable commerce in human flesh? Was it *right* to carry on the slave trade when it was not prohibited by law? And if it was not right to traffic in the souls and bodies of men *abroad*, can it be any more right to do so at *home*? Let those who talk of slavery being constitutional and lawful, restore the slave trade in all its glories; for if it is right to hold slaves and sell them *here*, it verily must be right to import them, and buy and sell them *abroad*.

Those who think to stop our mouths by saying that slavery is sanctioned by the Constitution and laws, must go upon the principle that bad laws are never to be changed. We do not seek to violate the law but to change it; change it by the resistless force of public opinion. Why, Sir, law and custom formerly sanctioned drinking rum and brandy, and they do so still, though to a less extent—but does that make it *right*? Ought you to stop in the temperance reform, because it is *lawful* for men to sell and to drink ardent spirit? Why do you meddle with the rights and the profits of the rum trader if we are not to meddle with the rights and the profits of the slave trader? The law and the constitution protect one, as much as the other, and instead of depriving the slaveholder of his property, we mean to increase it, by giving him free labor, instead of slave labor.

But be the laws as they may, the laws of fallible man cannot make that which is *morally wrong*, even *politically right*, or expedient, or useful. The question is not what are the laws, in this respect, but are the laws right? If they are morally and politically wrong, then the thing for us to do, is not to resist such laws, but to see that they are repealed; and to this end to quicken and

extend public opinion, until Legislatures are forced to repeal such unjust laws. If there is a stain on our boasted constitution—a stain of *blood*, let us hasten to wipe it off. We seek to redeem the constitution from the disgrace of making our Declaration of Independence a falsehood, and it is because we love our country that we desire to see her laws recognizing slavery, forever abolished.

There is another objection which is urged against the Anti-Slavery principles with great earnestness. They tell us, 'your plan is to emancipate the slaves at home, but O! horrible! just as sure as you let the slaves go free, they will turn right round and stab their masters, and the land will be deluged with blood!' In other words, if you do right, by these your oppressed fellow men; if you say to them you are free, if instead of exacting their labor, as slaves, at the end of the whip, you employ them as your laborers, by mutual agreement, and give them the benefit of their voluntary industry—if you undertake to treat them in this manner, why then they will certainly stab you for it, on the spot!

Stab you for it? No! These poor, crushed beings, to whom the voice of kindness and freedom would come like an angel of peace, tell them they were free, that you wanted their services as men, and not as slaves, and they would fall at your feet, and help you, and hold themselves in readiness to do any labor in their power for you; you would then have willing hands and grateful hearts around you, instead of the half-starved, wretched and beaten slave, brooding over his wrongs, and thirsting for vengeance on his oppressors.

I do not understand this, Mr. President. It is the strangest doctrine in the world, that if you do right, and give a man just what he most wants, he will be so angry, that he will take your life for it! Look at it a moment, and the argument refutes itself. All facts in history show that immediate emancipation has always proved a safe remedy. How was it in Mexico? The colored people were placed on an entire equality, by the Constitution. There was no stabbing of masters there, no murders, no violence, and no necessity for expatriation. Instead of slaves, they had the same men, as free laborers. So in South Africa, the Hottentots, regarded as the lowest race of men, were emancipated at a blow, and Dr. Clarke informs us, that they

at once became industrious and orderly citizens. Wherever the experiment has been tried, it has resulted in improving the condition not only of the slave, but of the master, by giving the latter the benefit of free labor, instead of slave labor.

But we are told to look at St. Domingo, with its horrible massacres and terrible devastation,—and that they say, it is a true picture of immediate emancipation. It is not so, and those who assert that it is, are either ignorant of history or wilfully misrepresent it. The massacres of St. Domingo had nothing to do with emancipation. France, when a Republic, had proclaimed freedom to the slaves of her colony in St. Domingo. They were then emancipated in a body, and the historian relates that they were employed as free laborers, and worked peaceably and industriously, so much so, that he says they carried on whole plantations themselves, in the absence of their employers, who were never more prosperous than at this time. When Napoleon was supreme in his power, some of the planters of St. Domingo proposed to give him a large sum of money to carry on his wars, if he would reduce the colored people there again to slavery. It pleased this man of ambition, who thought more of a victory than of the liberties of millions, and he sent out an army, to subdue the colored people of St. Domingo, and reduce them to slavery. When these men, who had tasted of freedom, heard of this, they resolved to die, sooner than submit to put on their chains again. They fought for freedom, and drove out the French who had been sent to conquer them, and swept from the Island every Frenchman, with a terrible destruction. That was the cause of the massacres of St. Domingo; not *emancipation*, but an attempt to make slaves of men who had been emancipated. Such was the spirit of those men, that the whole power of France, in the days of Napoleon, was unable to subdue them. They retreated to the mountains, cut off the resources of their foes, and finally compelled them to leave them in the enjoyment of freedom, which they have ever since maintained. Our fathers resisted a tax on tea, even unto blood, and we rejoice in their deeds of patriotic valor. But they were not threatened with *slavery*, as the people of St. Domingo were, when they resisted the power of France.

These facts which I have related of the history of St. Domingo may be found in French history, and are indisputable.

But there is one other objection and the only one I will notice, which is made a great handle of, by our opponents—you will dissolve the Union, say they, if you preach up Anti-Slavery! This is the knock down argument. If we dare to tell the truth, to proclaim the rights of man, and insist that the Declaration of Independence is not a falsehood, why then, to be sure, we shall dissolve the Union.

So far from this being true, we regard our object as the only effectual means of preserving the Union. We want to save the Union. Slavery is the mother of all the sectional divisions and heart burnings which threaten the dissolution of the Union. The great political struggle is between free labor and slave labor, and if slavery continues, the Union cannot continue. It is so black, so full of evil, so pernicious in its influences, that there will be no security, no peace, no permanent national prosperity till it is done away. The great eternal and just God, will never bless a people, which holds in its embrace and countenances such an evil in the land, as the slavery of more than two millions of our fellow men. Let our politicians and our public men, do what they will, they may depend upon it we shall never be one nation, and one people, until slavery is done away.

Mr. Pomroy said, that in the course of his remarks he had alluded to the arguments of the slaveholder, that the condition of the slave was improved, by his being held in bondage, and that we had no right to interfere with his privilege of holding his slaves, as property, because it was secured to him, by the Constitution and laws. These and other arguments of the apologists of Slavery were forcibly presented, in a petition, which he would suppose was presented, some thousand years ago, from the Egyptians to the Senate of Egypt, concerning the Hebrews. He then read the following from the New-York Evangelist.

A PARABLE FOR THE CAROLINAS.

To the Princes and Lords of Egypt, in Senate assembled:

'The petition of the undersigned, being free born citizens of the land of Zoan, sheweth—

'That we, your petitioners, are all honor-

able and just men, and as much attached to the religion and institutions of the land as any class of Pharaoh's subjects.

'That your petitioners, on the faith of compacts, have embarked all their property in building Pyramids.

'That your petitioners verily believe that the building of Pyramids cannot be carried on at all by free labor.

'That, therefore, your petitioners were induced, according to the law of nations, to make slaves of the Hebrew shepherds.

'That the state of slavery is the most congenial to the Hebrew intellect, and rank in existence—and that their state in slavery is infinitely superior to their former starving and perishing state in the land of Canaan.

'That if your petitioners had no motives of humanity, yet that from motives of interest and profit, they would look after the health and comfort of their slaves, as much as the proprietors of any other cattle would look after their herds in the land of Goshen.

'That the slaves like their situation well, and would remain perfectly satisfied with their easy and comfortable condition, were it not for the officious meddling of a gang of canting hypocritical missionaries, and a junta of despicable saints in the Senate, headed by the upstart Moses.

'That the slaves, though they much love their present state, are, some of them, exceedingly stubborn—and others run away from their work—and that, therefore, your petitioners are obliged to brand them in order to know them, and also to use a scourge and a goad in order to keep them at their work—but, generally speaking, the scourge and the goad are rather the insignia of power in the drivers than instruments of cruelty.

'That your petitioners hear with horror and indignation of an unjust and iniquitous requisition of emancipating the Hebrew slaves totally and immediately, which your petitioners cannot contemplate without shuddering at such a gross violation of vested rights.

'That your petitioners beg permission to declare, temperately but firmly, that if this clamor about the Hebrew slaves shall be continued, we your petitioners will oppose it with force and arms, and will declare ourselves independent. And your petitioners shall ever pray, and dissolve the union.'

REMARKS OF MR. CHOULES.

REV. J. O. CHOULES of New-Bedford, addressed the Convention. He said he was asked to-day how long he had been in favor of emancipation, and his answer was that when he was quite a child, residing in England the place of his birth, he went with his grandfather to visit Mr. Wilberforce the great philanthropist and christian. He took him

on his knee, and show him a figure, representing an African slave, with his manacled hands raised imploringly to heaven, and the supplication put into his mouth, 'Am I not a man and a brother?' He asked what it meant, and his venerable friend explained to him the nature of slavery. From that moment, said Mr. C. I have been an abolitionist—the lesson sunk so deep in his mind he never could erase it, so that he dated his conversion to the doctrines of Anti-Slavery, from the time he was six years of age.

This was his answer to the question, how long it was since he had been converted to Anti-Slavery. These were the principles he had learned as a child in England, and they had been strengthened and confirmed in his manhood, in America. I am, said he, an Englishman by birth—I love the land of my birth, but I *adore* the land of my adoption.

It was said that this subject of slavery had better be suppressed; that nothing should be said about it to disturb the harmony of the Union. But if *we* are silent, can we hide it from the great Jehovah? Will *he* be silent if we say nothing? No, it cannot be concealed. We cannot conceal it from ourselves. It must be contemplated, and it will flit across the stage to startle those who are guilty of this sin of holding their fellow men in bondage, as did the ghost that affrighted the wicked usurper. Here were two millions and almost a half of our fellow men, deprived of all moral agency, without option, without the power to call even their immortal souls their own; holding life itself at the mercy of a task master, who buys and sells them, and drives them away like cattle. If they are men and have souls to be saved, have they not a right to look up, to extend their manacled hands to heaven, and say in the name of God, who created man in his image, 'We protest against the oppression of our fellow man!'—and who can say that God will not hear them; and who can say, if God be just, that the consequences of that appeal to him against the white man, will not be tremendous?

Mr. C. said he had recently returned from the South, and he was satisfied that perpetuation was the determination of slaveholders. Nothing but the irresistible force of public opinion could break the chains of the slave, and let the oppressed go free. They

have never regarded emancipation as within the range of possibility, and if a single slaveholder has ventured to express such a sentiment, it has been checked at once by those around him. Public opinion must be made to reach them, and support those who are almost persuaded that their true interest, as well as their duty to God, is to emancipate and employ the slave.

What was this slavery? In what light were slaves regarded by their masters? as immortal beings having souls to be saved or lost? O! no. Hundreds of men who were slaves had died this day, and their masters have looked upon them not as men having souls to be saved, but as broken pieces of machinery, the value of which was lost to the owner, because they could not be made to go any longer. Here was the crime of the whole nation: and were we so rich in virtue as to look up to heaven, and dare to ask for a blessing on our country, with this plague-spot upon it? He had lately met with a clergyman, who had been in a slave family, the head of which was a professing christian, and after prayers, he asked the minister to go to his slaves and see if they were not satisfied with their condition. They were called in for that purpose, but they knew that their master was where he could hear what was said, and that the lash would be the consequence of their telling the truth. It is thus that the fear of God is put out, in the conscience of the poor slave, by the fear of his master. The master cannot tell his slave all about God, for if he does, the slave will wonder why he became such, and he will never believe that his master can fear God. The slave master has to pray for ignorance. From all Sunday schools, religious teachings and reformations, he prays to be delivered, for fear he shall lose his slaves. If a cloud of heavenly blessings is about to fall, the planter must pray that it will pass over his plantation. Let it fall any where else but there, for if religion or knowledge gets among his slaves, he dreads the effect upon them more than he does the cholera or the plague. Professing christian men, who are owners of slaves, are thus striving to shut out the blessed light of the gospel from the benighted mind of the slave. We must talk of this, and proclaim it through all the churches, and it must be done, and the truth must be told in the fear of God, even though the rich

should leave the Church. I have seen that done, said Mr. C. but not in my parish.

He rejoiced in being present here to night, and seeing the evidences around him that this cause was progressing, and taking hold of the hearts of men. In order to be present here, he had left another place full of heavenly influences, and had come here to raise his feeble voice in the cry for the emancipation of the slave, that was going up louder and louder every day, to the throne of a just God. He should go home, blessing God for what he had seen and heard, and take courage. The cause had advanced, and was advancing. Three years ago, the most that men could be got to say was that they were getting ready to come over, but now they were coming over by hundreds and thousands. Five years ago he was told that no anti-slavery minister would be able to get a pulpit; now those same persons were ready to say, God be with you; and he would say to his fellow laborers in this cause, God be with you—go on—and you shall yet see the day of deliverance come.

[The Convention here adjourned to meet again on the following evening, for further discussion.]

NOTE. In the course of the evening, a resolution was offered by *Professor Follen*, of Harvard College, relative to providing compensation for the masters of emancipated slaves. Mr. Follen spoke to this resolution in an eloquent manner, though he stated he had not matured his suggestions upon the subject, and he was not prepared at that time to propose any plan, though he had drawn one up. He wished the resolution might lie on the table, to be taken up at some future time. He contended that so far as the relation of master and slave went, the slave had a distinct right to his liberty; and if it could not be obtained in a kind manner, he had a right to escape for it, to fight for it, in every way to obtain it. The slave owner could have no property in his slaves, for there was no such thing, in the nature of things, as property in man. But the constitution and laws secured the slave to the master, and compelled every judge in the free States to be an associate with the slave owner, in securing and delivering up to him his fugitive slave. But it had been said that we were dealing in a cheap philanthropy, which cost

us little or nothing, while it was to deprive the master of his property in slaves. To avoid this imputation, he had thought of a plan not to remunerate the slaveholder, but to relieve him from the effects of emancipating his slaves, and losing his right to their labor. To do this required great sacrifices on the part of the people of the free States; but it was a national evil, a national sin, and all must bear the burden of it, as all were more or less involved in the guilt. With these remarks, which were somewhat extended, Professor Follen moved that his resolution be laid on the table.

MR. DAVID L. CHILD believed that the view taken by the learned Professor was founded on a wrong theory, though it did that gentleman credit, as a liberal philanthropist. He admired the excellent feeling in which it was proposed, but it could be fairly demonstrated that emancipation would take nothing from the slave master, if it was not followed with expatriation. He believed that free labor would be cheaper than slave labor, and thus there would be a gain, rather than a loss of property.

The resolution was then laid on the table.

THURSDAY EVENING, May 28.

The Convention met, and the discussions were resumed.

REMARKS OF REV. MR. BOURNÉ.

REV. MR. BOURNE, of New-York, [rose immediately after the Choir of colored children had sung an appropriate hymn to Liberty.] I have been, Mr. President, said he, where those children, had they attempted to sing a hymn to the liberty of the slave, would have been rewarded for it with the lash, to remind them of their chains. But, Sir, can any rational being give me a reason why those children, because their skins are colored, should be less entitled to sing a hymn to Liberty, and enjoy liberty themselves, than children whose skins are white? I hope, Sir, we have met here not only to assert abstract right, but to carry forward principle by practice. All agree with us in admitting that slavery is a great evil, but the difficulty is that they are contented with saying it is a great evil. How it is to be abolished they do not undertake to say. There they leave us, and if all men were to go no

farther, there the evil would exist as long as man exists. I propose to examine this evil in its relation to christian churches, and for that purpose I offer as a resolution the following—

Resolved, That as slaveholders can show no just claim to property in the men they hold in bondage, the existence of slavery in the Churches is inconsistent with the christian religion, and ought to be abolished.

But it is said, if we undertake to put this sound doctrine in practice, we shall destroy the churches. Destroy the churches, Mr. President, by obeying the command of God to do unto others as we would that others should do unto us! This is as inconsistent as it would be to say, we shall destroy the justice of God, by doing justice and loving our neighbor as ourself. Destroy the Church, by expelling slavery from it! No, Sir, you would cleanse and purify and save the Church. The experiment has already been tried in one portion of the Church. The Friends have done it. No man, for years, has been allowed to be a member of that religious Society, who holds slaves. It has not destroyed them. Many Baptist Churches, at the South and West, have solemnly entered it on their records that they cannot recognize a slaveholder as a Christian. The Reformed Presbyterian Church will not admit a slaveholder in their communion, and that canon of their Church discipline is rigidly enforced. A proposition was before their Association not long ago, that every slaveholder who was a member, must cease to be a slaveholder, or be excluded from the Church. The proposition was agreed to, and there was no more slavery in that Church. The slaves went free, and the Church was not destroyed. Go and do likewise, is the injunction which comes home to the consciences of every christian Church. How can they escape from it in the sight of God? If a member of a Church steals the smallest particle of property from his neighbor, would he be held a fitting member? and how then can a man be a christian and a man-stealer?

But they tell us that this sin is so woven into the church in the slave States, it cannot be got out. I will tell you how it has been done, and how it can be done effectually. In a Methodist Church, in one of the slave States, the leaders of the classes had resolved that they would not hold christian fellow-

ship with any man who held his fellow men in bondage. They went to work, and prayed out every slaveholder in the Church. A Methodist Minister from Kentucky came to preach one day, and he began to talk to the christian brethren about the Bible and religion. Their reply to him was, 'Go back to Kentucky, and wash your hands of the negro blood that sticks to them; make your peace with God for stealing your fellow man, and then come and we will listen to you as a teacher of the gospel of Christ!'

Another man-stealer, who was a preacher, had sold a woman in Lynchburg, (Va.) for \$300. He also came to this little band of faithful christians, and began to inquire into their feelings. Addressing one of them, 'Brother K.' said he, 'how do you feel about the love of God in your soul?' The brother who was thus addressed, jumped up in his seat, and said to him, 'How dare you talk about the love of God! If you had the love of God in your soul, you would love your neighbor. Go back to Lynchburg, pay back the 300 dollars, the price of blood, and set the woman free you have sold into bondage, and then you may talk of the love of God.' I knew a minister in Indiana, one of the purest oracles of the word of God. A man came into his society who had sold his slaves in Georgia, and with the proceeds bought a farm in Virginia. This man became a fanatic in religion. He rebuked the brethren for their conformity to the world in dress, and was much offended in his conscience, if any of them had two or three extra buttons on their coat. The Minister heard him complaining of his brethren for their dress, and he told him that he admired to see a man with a tender conscience, but he could not comprehend how a man could swallow a whole plantation of negroes without hurting his conscience, and yet choke at a few buttons! Let these examples be followed; let the sin of slavery be openly and boldly rebuked wherever it is found to exist in the Church, and the curse will be removed from the professing people of God. [The resolution was then adopted.]

REMARKS OF REV. MR. FROST.

Rev. Mr. Frost, of Whitesboro', N. Y. offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the doctrine of expediency; that is, making our views of the conse-

quences of an action the criterion of right, instead of the revealed will of God and acknowledged principles of rectitude, is fraught with danger to the interests of the church, and tends inevitably to subvert the dearest rights of man.

The notion of *doing evil that good may come*, is no new doctrine. It is as old as the days of the Apostles, and by them it was condemned.

There is in fact no sound moral distinction between what is right and what is expedient.

What is best on the whole to be done, is both right and expedient. There is no clashing, therefore, between duty and expediency.

But our views of what is expedient are often very narrow and imperfect.

There is but one Being in the universe who can, with unerring certainty, determine in all cases what is expedient.

There is but *one eye* which can accurately survey the whole field of moral influence, and trace all the consequences of moral action under his boundless and eternal reign, and see what is best. The omniscient God alone is, therefore, the only infallible guide. It is always safe to obey him, and trust to his providence, whatever man may command or predict to the contrary.

When fallible man, leaning to his own understanding, turns prophet, and gravely warns us of the consequences of an action, and sets up his notions of expediency as the rule of duty in opposition to the known will of God, there is cause for alarm. He is certainly wrong, and a compliance with his notions of what is expedient will, in every supposable case, be followed with more disastrous consequences, than obedience to the divine will.

The next safest guide to the will of God, where that will is not definitively made known, is the judgment of the wisest and best among finite beings, and the great principles of rectitude established by the common sense of mankind. He who sets up his own views of expediency, in opposition to these, is probably wrong. The suspicion naturally arises, that some selfish, depraved affection of heart lies back of his reasoning, and controls his judgment.

It is true that an enlightened and unbiased mind will, in most cases, be able to discover good reasons for the will of God,

and the acknowledged principles of rectitude, by looking at consequences; but there is a great advantage in having an acknowledged standard by which men may at once test the propriety or impropriety of moral action. If such a standard is disregarded, every man is left to his own fallible judgment of consequences as the rule of action. To allow men to do this, would be to sap the foundations of human society, and introduce endless confusion and misrule.

This is the fruitful source of infidelity and atheism. Men become too wise, in their own eyes, to be guided by the word or the providence of God. At length they question the fact that he does speak or provide, and even the fact that he exists.

In looking at the errors which have prevailed, every sober man must be struck with the strong tendency which has been exhibited to set aside the revealed will of God and the acknowledged principles of rectitude, and to set up this principle of expediency in their place.

This was the error of the Jesuits. That the end sanctifies the means, was the maxim upon which they justified their hypocrisy and cunning, and which rendered them the terror of Europe.

What led to the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope, and of the church of Rome? This doctrine of expediency. What established the Inquisition? Expediency. It was expedient that all men should be made to think alike on matters of religion, and to effect this, it was expedient to resort to torture and murder.

What deprived the common people of the bible? It was inexpedient to trust them to 'search the Scriptures' as God had commanded, because more evil than good would result from such examination.

It was the same doctrine which led to the persecution of the Quakers in this State. It was expedient to prevent heresy, in the armies of Israel, by substituting carnal weapons for spiritual.

It was this mode of reasoning which led a few individuals in a neighboring State, to commit an outrage on one of its citizens, which has shaken the whole nation, and which has led the great body of the people to believe, that the institution itself, which could have induced intelligent men to set at naught a plain command of God, 'Thou shalt

not kill,' must be dangerous to the rights and liberties of men. And by their voice that institution is doomed to destruction, which some of its friends thought it expedient to support by the death of Morgan.

This doctrine of expediency was resorted to as a justification for the slave trade.

It was held 200 years ago to be an act of christian benevolence to take men from Africa, and sell them as slaves in a christian land, where their pious masters might convert them in their chains, and lead them along to heaven!! And now, forsooth, this pliable doctrine, expediency, requires that the slaves shall be held in bondage for the good of their masters, as well as their own!!!

What is the plea of the modern duellist for his summary mode of justice, by which the laws of God and man are set aside as unworthy to control a spirit so honorable? It is *expedient* that he should have the privilege to resent an insult by taking the life of his fellow.

These results of the doctrine of expediency clearly show the danger of overlooking the will of God and the great principles of righteousness, and setting up our own wisdom above that of the wisest and best of men, and even that of the Father of lights.

This dangerous doctrine of expediency is the only show of support for that system of abominations, Slavery.

Slavery is manifestly inconsistent with the genius and precepts of christianity, and the acknowledged rights of man.

Most, it is true, will coldly admit that slavery in the abstract is wrong; and yet will contend that its continuance is justified. They assert, and apparently believe, that all men are created equal, and are entitled to the inalienable rights of liberty, agreeably to the Declaration of Independence upon which our government and institutions are based; and in the next breath are stout defenders of slavery in practice, and denounce as fanatics and incendiaries those who have the weakness to believe it ought at once to be abolished.

Such doctrines and denunciations are heard not only from noisy politicians and newspaper scribblers; but from members of Congress, and others in high places. They boast of the wisdom of our fathers, which gave birth to the Declaration of Independence, declaring it a *self-evident* truth that

'all men are equal,' and endowed by their Creator with the *inalienable right of liberty*, and yet they insist that it is expedient that every sixth man, woman and child in this nation of freemen should remain a slave.

To be consistent, they should say the Declaration means, and ought so to have read, 'We deem these truths self-evident: that *all men* are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; *Indians, Negroes, and all colored people that God hath made to dwell on all the face of the earth, excepted.*'

But it is objected to the friends of anti-slavery, 'You are going to deprive the South of their property.' Property? Property in men? Yes, those who make this objection, must contend that men without crime, born as free as themselves, are not the owners of their own bodies and souls. This objection sets aside the doctrines of natural rights, the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and the spirit and genius of christianity.

But it is said, 'If you attempt to convince men of the sin of slavery, you will dissolve the Union.' This is the plea of expediency again. If slavery be a sin, and the Union worth preserving, we shall not dissolve it; for if the freemen of this nation can be made to feel that slavery is a sin, they will abolish it, and thus strengthen the Union which slavery now weakens and threatens to destroy. 'But men will not listen. Those interested will be irritated even by temperate discussion, and a faithful exhibition of the evils of slavery, and will dissolve the Union unless the subject be let entirely alone.' And suppose we let it alone? What then are to be the consequences? Less disastrous? Is it not expedient to do right, lest some should be offended, and do themselves or others injury? If God has said, 'Thou shalt not steal,' and holding men's bodies and souls in slavery is a violation of this law, must we hold our peace, lest those who uphold the system should dissolve the Union? If such be the result, whose is the fault,—those who insist upon the right of violating Heaven's laws and man's rights, or those who show the sin and danger of such violation? Those who disregard the will of God and the rights of man, and not those who respect that will and defend those rights, are to be held responsible for consequences.

And in all cases, the consequences are less disastrous, where only ten righteous men cry out against the sins of the land in which they dwell, than when all follow the multitude in countenancing evil.

Let us, then, not fear to hold men's consciences to first principles, human and divine, however restive they may be, until they are compelled to prove these principles false, or yield to them an unqualified submission. Let this be done, kindly indeed, but *firmly and perseveringly*. Thus acting, we are safe. We plant our feet upon solid rock, against which the waves of popular tumult will dash in vain;—we place ourselves in an impregnable fortress, reared by unerring skill, *'against which the gates of hell shall never prevail.'*

—
DAVID L. CHILD, Esq. of Boston, seconded the resolution. He said that there was a curious illustration of this doctrine of expediency about keeping men slaves, related in Clarkson's history of the Slave Trade. When Mr. Wilberforce proposed to abolish the slave trade, Alderman Watson of London, a member of Parliament, opposed the measure. And what do you suppose his reason was for doing so? Mr. Speaker, said he, if you abolish the slave trade, what will become of the West Indies, nay more, what will become of Newfoundland! There is a vast quantity of refuse fish consumed by the slaves, and where shall we find a market for this fish if we abolish the slave trade!

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

[Since the speech of the Rev. Mr. Frost was delivered, the Publishing Committee have received the following communication from that gentleman, in further explanation of his views on the subject of slavery.]

If the address I made at the late New-England Anti-Slavery Convention is published, I should wish it might be accompanied with the following additional remarks. It is impossible, in the short space usually allotted to a speaker, on such an occasion, to enter into all the explanations which may seem desirable. I know that there are many intelligent men, and among them men of great moral worth, whose opinions and feelings are entitled to the highest respect, who complain of anti-slavery men, as they are termed, for not explaining more definitely

the terms they use; and also for an indiscriminate condemnation of slaveholders; while there are many among them who abhor slavery, and would gladly release their slaves did the laws of the land, and the good of the slaves permit them to do it. Whether this complaint is well founded, I will not say; that it is frequently uttered, I know.

Slavery, in this country, is that system of human bondage, which is upheld by a legal power, granted to an individual to purchase, raise, use and sell, his fellow creatures as property.

The conferring of such a power is virtually a denial of the established doctrine of human rights among civilized nations. It is a subversion of our Declaration of Independence. It is a nullification of the institution of marriage, and of the duties God has enjoined upon husband and wife, parent and child, by subjecting them to the entire control of the will of another.

It nullifies the commission of Christ to his ministers, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature,' by giving the master of slaves the power to exclude him from doing it orally or by letters. Such a system ought not to have an existence. Such a power over his fellows no community has a right to confer on one of its members.

When we speak of slavery as a sin, we ought to be understood to mean just such a system of servitude as this power is adapted to produce, and not that of which some slave is the subject, who has a master that treats him as a child, and is willing he should be free.

A slaveholder, in common parlance, means, and ought to be understood to mean, one who voluntarily assumes and exercises this power over others for the purpose for which it was bestowed,—that of holding their fellow men as property. Slaveholders are answerable for the evils of this system. It was established for their benefit. It is continued for their benefit. The laws that uphold it are nothing but an *expression of their will*. When that will is changed, slavery is virtually abolished. And when a majority of them regard slavery as a system of injustice, and repent of it, they will bring forth fruits meet for repentance, by blotting it from the statute book.

To apologize for slaveholding, by referring

to one who abhors the system, who is using all his influence in every proper way to abolish it, who is willing to emancipate his slaves, but who cannot dissolve the relation which the law has formed, is to divert the public mind from ordinary slaveholding and its sinfulness, and to fix it upon an excepted and special case. And many difficult questions may arise as to the duty of such a man. He is forbidden to teach his slaves to read. Ought he to obey or disobey? He is forbidden to emancipate on the soil, where are the attachments of his slaves, where they wish to dwell, and where he can look after them. Ought he to disregard the law; and if they are taken up and sold, to feel unanswerable for consequences? Or ought he to send them out of the state, or to Africa? Such cases, instead of leading us to apologize for slavery, should lead us to cry aloud against it. It shows what a tyrannical spirit it has, not to allow those who desire it to 'let the oppressed go free,' in the land that gave them birth, and where their kindred dwell.

It is proper to use the terms slavery, slaveholder, and slave, as expressive of something wrong, as much so as theft, thief, and stolen goods.

If a man is a slaveholder, it is *prima facie* evidence of guilt; and it belongs to him, and not to others, to show his innocence by his actions, as much as he who is in possession of the property of another, when he has found the rightful owner.

To compare the subjection of children and minors to their parents and guardians, to that of slaves to their masters, and to talk of slavery as not *malum in se*, but *malum in consequentia*, is to blind rather than to enlighten the public mind. It is not proper to call children and minors slaves, and their parents and guardians slaveholders, and their service slavery.

By immediate emancipation, I mean the immediate removal of this power given to individuals to hold men, women, and children, as property, and placing them at once, under a wise and humane system of laws, such as intelligent and virtuous legislators would deem best for such an ignorant and degraded population, were they their own descendants, whom it was their duty to elevate to the rank of enlightened and useful citizens. Let such a heart exist in the bosom

of the majority of the slaveholders of any state or nation, and I venture to assert slavery would be abolished as soon as they could meet to perform the deed. When such a spirit shall animate the breasts of southern freemen, all fears arising from the danger of immediate emancipation will vanish. Those who should talk of its being more safe to deprive two millions and a half of their fellow-men of their unalienable rights, in such a country and such an age as this, than to treat them as brethren, entitled to the same privileges with themselves, would be frowned upon as interested hypocrites, or pitied as weak-minded cowards. Such a notion is contrary to the philosophy of the human mind. As a general rule, love begets love, kindness produces kindness, and injustice produces a spirit of anger and revenge.

In asserting that slaveholders have no right to hold slaves as property, I would not be understood to say they may not have some claim, on principles of equity, upon those from whom they have purchased them, or from the state or nation, in case of immediate emancipation. That is a matter which I would leave to be settled by politicians. What I would contend for is, that God has not given to one man the right to hold the body and soul of his fellow-man as property, to be bought and sold at his pleasure; that it is the highest act of injustice; and that all the laws which uphold such a system are a violation of the royal law of doing to others as we would that they should do unto us. It is the duty of every man, therefore, to be willing that such a system of injustice should at once be abolished, although he should receive no indemnification for the loss he might sustain. The rightful owner claims his own property, and his first duty is to acknowledge the claim, and restore to him what is his own, *pre-eminently, his body and soul*. This doctrine is of great moment. It is a barbed arrow in the conscience of the slaveholder. So long as it is acknowledged that he has as equitable a title to his slave, as to his cattle and horses, he may condemn slavery as on the whole a great evil, but will justify himself in holding him as property until he is paid. 'Honor among thieves,' is a proverb to which I do not object. But if they would evince the genuineness of their repentance, let them restore to the rightful owner their ill-gotten goods, and then if

they can find all the partners in the concern, let them settle among themselves upon equitable terms, if they can, the gain or loss of the partnership. But let it not be forgotten that the slave has the first and highest claim to the use of his own body and mind, and to a full remuneration for all his past unrequited services from those to whom he has rendered them.

REMARKS OF REV. MR. BLAIN.

Rev. Mr. Blain of Pawtucket, R. I. next addressed the meeting. He said:

Without offering any definite resolution, Mr. President, I propose to consider the following proposition, viz: that Slavery is contrary to natural right.

Not only does our own Declaration of Independence affirm that all men are born free and equal, but God himself has declared that he has made of one blood all nations to dwell on the face of the earth. In the charter of our own rights as the people of these United States, we maintain that among the inalienable rights of all men, are life, *liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness. The heart of every man responds to this truth, and it is the very basis of all our political and social institutions. Now it is evident that a condition of slavery takes away all these inalienable rights. It will not be denied that the negro is a man; and there are twelve of the United States, who have adopted this solemn recognition of the inalienable right of liberty in all men, and yet they hold men in abject bondage. In twelve of these United States, men, women and children, are bought and sold and driven away like cattle. In different parts of the United States are found establishments which are markets for the purchase and sale of human beings. Even in the city of Washington, under the eye and the sole control of Congress, these slave markets are suffered to carry on their business in human blood and sinews. The newspapers of the country are filled with advertisements for the purchase and sale of men, women and children. A Mr. Collier published in a newspaper in Richmond, Va. that he will at all times pay a fair price for likely young negroes; that he has a house fitted for the purpose, with a *prison* to keep them secure. And he adds, 'I keep constantly on hand a large number of likely

young negroes, and now have one hundred boys, young men and girls, which I will sell in lots to suit purchasers!'

Suppose we were to see such an advertisement in New-England, and a man should keep in prison and sell boys, young men and girls, at auction or otherwise, what should we think of such a business, and how long would it be permitted? But would it be any more of an infringement on the inalienable rights of man, to sell boys and girls in New-England, than it is to sell them in Virginia? Where is the difference as to the abstract right between selling white boys and girls, or colored boys and girls?

There are three jails in the city of Washington, and when they are full, the United States prison, which cost ten thousand dollars of the money of the people of this whole nation, is prostituted for a prison to confine innocent men and women, who are kept there, until they can be sold or driven off to another market. The traveller may go to the Capitol of this free republic, and there see the splendid pile, with its majestic dome, erected for the legislature of the country. He may hear the members discourse eloquently of *liberty*, and the *inalienable rights of man*; and within sight of that building over which waves the American eagle, he may see the flag that is put out to signify that human beings are to be sold to the highest bidder, and hear the cry of 'negroes for sale by action.' What! men and women and children, to be sold like cattle, in the very spot where the American eagle waves triumphant over the heads of the Legislators of ten millions of *freemen*? Yes, Sir; slaves are bought and sold there, men and women, boys and girls, horses and cattle, goods and chattels, all put up and knocked off under the same hammer, which falls, as regardless of the ties it severs between parent and child, husband and wife, as though it were merely dividing a quantity of goods into different lots to suit purchasers! The frantic mother may cling to her child, the helpless sister to her brother, the distracted wife to her husband, but all in vain; at the snap of the whip they are driven off in different directions, by different purchasers, never to meet again. It is estimated that about 60,000 human beings are sold annually in this manner from the Northern slaveholding States, and sent off to Louisiana and the

new States. This traffic will be increased, as the demand for slave labor increases with the increase of population in the new States, and at least 100,000 souls are to be annually sold into hopeless slavery, in this domestic traffic in the slave trade, and driven off to the South and West.

We are not talking, Sir, of things beyond the moon, but of *facts*, here within our own knowledge. At this moment, while I am talking, men and women are imprisoned in the District of Columbia, to be taken out and sold, and driven to the New Orleans market. And yet we boast of *liberty*, though not a man is found who dares to raise his voice in the Congress of the nation, against this abominable traffic, over which, within that District, the laws of the United States have entire control. There is no Wilberforce there, no fearless friend of the rights of man, who will come forward boldly, to abolish this traffic. It is only the negro who suffers, say they, and the negro cannot feel. Besides, we can keep him better as a slave, than he could keep himself as a freeman. This is the sophistry that soothes conscience to sleep.

What was the oppression of our fathers, which drove them to seek their freedom at the cost of life and fortune? They were not bought and sold, but they were taxed without their consent; and what did they do? They armed themselves, and went forth to the battle. They fought for seven years, because they would not be taxed against their consent. For this they were called patriots, brave men, noble spirited, who would not be oppressed. Now here are two millions of our fellow men, a thousand times more oppressed than our fathers were. We come forward and pray to have them delivered from oppression, and restored to freedom. Do we appeal to the sword? No! To resistance and force? No. We wish to have it all done by *moral suasion alone*. We deprecate violence; we exhort those who are in bondage to be kind and submissive to their masters, to yield obedience in patience and long suffering, till the day of their deliverance shall come, by the force of truth alone operating upon the hearts of men. We wish to present the sin of slavery in its odious colors, and we wish, in the spirit of the gospel, to persuade the slaveholders of the United States, that it is their duty as

well as lasting interest, to give up slavery. We wish not to have the slaves turned loose without restraint, or driven away out of the country, but that they shall have the liberty of the law, and the protection of the law, as men and human beings.

This is all the friends of Anti-Slavery are striving to bring about, by peaceable and lawful means—but while we are meekly pleading for the freedom of the slave, on the pure doctrines of the gospel and the immutable and constitutional principles of eternal right and justice between man and man, what are we called for so doing? Our fathers were called brave men and patriots for vindicating liberty and the rights of man, at the point of the sword. We ask the oppressor to let the oppressed go free, and approach him only with argument and appeals to his heart, his understanding, and his interest—and we are denounced for it as cut-throats, villains, traitors and mad fanatics. Well, let them call us so. Such reproaches reach not a conscience void of offence before God and man; and let it be our endeavor always to remember and follow the example of Him who went about doing good, and who, when reviled, reviled not again. We must expect to encounter this feeling of opposition, when we encounter slavery; for such is the nature of that odious vice, and such its long continued and indurating influence upon the heart of man, that it stifles humanity and calls up all the malignant passions of our nature. I could tell facts that would show in glaring colors, the terrific influence of slavery, in hardening the heart, and corrupting all moral sensibility. The very nature of the punishments inflicted by the laws of enlightened States, upon their slaves, is sufficient proof of the tendency of slavery to harden the heart. In vain does your Constitution declare that no cruel or unusual punishment shall be inflicted. This too, is a mockery to the slave, as well as the declaration that all men are born free and equal.

There are fifteen kinds of cruel punishments provided for the slave. Among these is whipping, in a variety of forms. Persons are employed at the jails or other places, who are paid so much a dozen or hundred for lashing slaves. They are tied by their thumbs, and raised with a cord so as just to touch the ground, and in that condition, entirely naked, the lash is applied to their

whole bodies. At other times they are thrown on the ground, and lacerated, every blow of the whip being followed by blood. Sometimes they are tied up by the head, and a rail passed through the legs to extend the body in a situation to receive the lash with the most excruciating pain. The slave who commits a crime, is not punished in the forms provided by law for the white man, but is often burnt at the stake, or beheaded, or seared with hot irons. They are not only thrown into the public jails, but are shut up in private dungeons, and life barely sustained by the scantiest food. In a recent case in New-Orleans, where a house took fire, the people found numbers of slaves, imprisoned in one of the rooms, in a most wretched condition, with gashes cut to the bone, by the ropes with which they had been tied. One poor wretch was found so lacerated, that living creatures were feeding on him. And all this horrid cruelty upon human beings, was inflicted by a fiend in the shape of a woman, who was the owner of the slaves, and who insisted upon her right to punish her slaves as she pleased, and claimed the protection of the laws of Louisiana, for what she had done. I rejoice to add, Mr. President, that a feeling of indignation was raised among the people of New-Orleans, at the discovery of this abominable iniquity, which shows that though the laws sanction such cruelty to the slave, the public sentiment even at the South condemns it, and thereby proves that the laws are more cruel and unjust than the slave masters.

This case at New-Orleans is by no means a solitary instance of cruelty to slaves. Take a few cases in other states, of the truth of which there can be no doubt. A female slave was sent on an errand, and was gone longer than her master wished. She was ordered to be flogged, and was tied up and nearly beaten to death. While the overseer was whipping her, in the presence of her master, she said that she had been prevented returning sooner by sickness on the way. Her enraged master ordered her to be whipped again for daring to speak, and the lash was again applied, until she expired under the operation. Nor was her life alone sacrificed. An unborn infant died with her, which had been the cause of her delay on her master's errand.

Another case occurred, where a black boy

was whipped for stealing a piece of leather, and because he persisted in denying it, he was whipped till he died. After he was dead, his master's son acknowledged that he took the piece of leather.

A Georgian bought five slaves and set them a task in the field, which they could not or would not do. The next day he added another task, with orders that they should do that and the work of the preceding day, or be whipped until they accomplished it. The third day more work was added and additional whipping ordered. The work was now beyond the strength of the slaves. They tried in vain to accomplish it, and at last left it in despair, and went into the woods. They were missed, and pursuit made after them, and were all found hanging dead. They had committed suicide to escape the cruelty of their master. A hole was dug, and they were thrown into it, amidst the curses of their owner at the loss he had met with in his property.

Mr. President, I do not relate these facts to reproach any man, or to harrow up the feelings unnecessarily. I know there are many exceptions to this sort of cruelty to slaves, and that many of them are treated with kindness; but the facts I have related are the legitimate consequences of slavery, which are every day flowing from that corrupt fountain in every part of our land, where this sin exists. And shall the christian and the philanthropist be silent, while such abominations are tolerated among us? We are pleading for the Indian of our own country, for the heathen of Burmah, for Sunday schools and for the Bible cause, and shall we not plead the cause of two millions of our fellow men, who are not only the victims of barbarous laws, but are deprived of the light of instruction, and the teachings of the gospel? Can it be possible, Sir, that in this land of light there are laws against teaching men, women and children to read? It is even so. In Louisiana, fine and imprisonment is the punishment, by law, for the first offence, if any one is detected in teaching a slave to read the Bible! and for the second offence, the person so convicted is hung!! Fined and imprisoned in this land of knowledge and liberty, and for what, Sir? For the crime of *teaching men to read!* Nay, more; hung up like pirates and murderers, and for what? For trying a second

time, to open the way of life and salvation to the benighted slave, by teaching him to read the Bible!

We appeal to christian men and to citizens of a free country, if this is not a stain upon us as a nation that ought to be removed? We appeal to men who are themselves free, to make the slave also free, that our whole country may enjoy what our Declaration of Independence declares all ought to enjoy, life, *liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness. We are too near the judgment-day, not to fear lest the cries of the oppressed should go up to the judgment-seat before us, and prepare an awful retribution for our sins! the sin of slavery! the sin of this whole nation. The command of God is growing louder and stronger, and is every day enforced more and more on the conscience of the slaveholder—**BREAK THE YOKE OF THE OPPRESSOR, AND LET THE OPPRESSED GO FREE!**

[MR. JAMES THOME, of Kentucky, a student of the Lane Seminary, Ohio, and the heir of a slave property in his native State, closed the discussion of this evening, with an eloquent address, delivered with the grace of oratory and all the force of truth. He described the demoralizing and debasing influences of slavery, particularly upon the families and children of slaveholders, and gave his testimony, the result of residence from his infancy in a slave State, in favor of the principles of Anti-Slavery, as the only mode in which the consciences of the slaveholders could be reached, and slavery be finally abolished. This address was delivered by Mr. Thome, substantially, before the Anti-Slavery Society in New-York, and has been published in a pamphlet. It is therefore omitted here. It was listened to by the numerous audience, with deep attention.

After Mr. Thome had concluded his remarks, the whole congregation sang with an impressive effect, in the tune of Old Hundred, that sublime hymn—

'Be thou O God, exalted high;
And as thy glory fills the sky,
So let it be on earth displayed,
Till thou art here as there obeyed.'

The Choir of colored children then sung a hymn, and the Convention was dissolved, all its meetings, though fully attended, having been conducted with the utmost propriety and good order.]

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

With all the deference which is due from individuals to society, to the great union of free and intelligent beings on whose sympathy, respect and protection they depend; with all the confidence inspired by the defence of a cause which requires for its complete success, nothing but an impartial hearing; with all the fervent hope, all the fearful solicitude for the destinies of mankind, wrapt up in the fate of this country, we, the humble and devoted advocates of the oppressed, address you, our fellow-citizens, in behalf of more than two millions of men, our countrymen, whom we, the people of these United States, have doomed to absolute and perpetual bondage.

What is the burthen of our address,—the object of our petition? Is it to provoke or offend—is it to wrong, or to desire to wrong our neighbor—is it to slander—is it to set ourselves up above others, as if we were better than they—is it to disturb the peace, or to loosen or to dissolve the Union—is it to promote divisions and to stimulate our different classes to discord—the North against the South—the East against the West—the enslaved American against the free American—or the colored man against the white? No—It is none of these.

It is our object, in the first place, to set before you the nature and consequences of slavery; not in order to convince you that slavery is an immeasurable evil, for this would be as useless as to attempt to persuade you that liberty is an inestimable good. But we wish to impress you with the idea that we cannot hold this simple and incontestable truth with impunity, that we drink the cup of freedom to our own condemnation, unless we are willing to confess and repair our wrongs—unless we resolve to *act* in obedience to the law of liberty which we have proclaimed, and by which we must be judged.

Every Fourth of July is to us a day of exultation for what we have done, and a day of humiliation for what we have left undone. The Declaration of Independence which is read throughout our land, bears record to our glory, our shame, our inconsistency. It proves the unlawfulness of the government established over the slave, in the same terms in which it justifies the self-government of

the free. For it asserts that all government among men derives its just powers from the *consent of the governed*; that it is instituted to secure the *inalienable rights* of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, with which all men are endowed *equally* by their *Creator*.

These self-evident truths, set forth in that document of philanthropic wisdom and heroism, are borne out by the testimony of inspiration. Let us place side by side the law of the white man, concerning his colored fellow-man, and the law of God, concerning all his children.

God said, 'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.' Negro slavery denies God in man; the children do not recognise their Father's likeness, because it has pleased Him to set it in a dark frame.

The Son of God says, 'Be not ye called masters; for one is your master; one is your Father; and all ye are brethren.' This universal brotherhood, established by the God of nature, the Father of spirits, has it induced the white man, the professed Christian, to see in his colored fellow-man, a child of God, to be respected and loved by him as he respects and loves himself? Look at the history of negro slavery. All its authentic records, all its unpublished volumes may be summed up in one sentence. The white man, the professed Christian, has treated his brother, the colored man, first, as a beast of prey, and then as a beast of burthen and of draught.

The Son of man farther says, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' And, 'with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.' To do unto others as we would have them do unto us—if this be the great law of justice by which we shall be judged—what must we think, we do not say of the *men*, for we would not interfere between them and their own consciences—but what must we think of the *laws* of our slaveholding states and territories, which the white inhabitants have made, and which the whole country has sanctioned? The law secures to the white man, the poorest as well as the richest, whatever property he inherits, or gains by his own industry, or by exchange with others. The earnings of the slave, the fruits of his life-wasting industry, are not

his own; he inherits nothing but slavery, he bequeaths nothing but slavery; he himself is the product of slave-breeding industry, a marketable and hereditary commodity. Is this doing unto others as we would have them do unto us? The ties of domestic affection, the covenant of nature which binds to each other husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, are acknowledged by public opinion, by the enlightened sentiment of mankind, as the highest incentives to individual industry, the richest source of social enjoyment, the main support of order, mutual good will, and improvement in society. The voice of nature and of reason has sanctioned the privacy of domestic life, and has placed the law of the land like a cherub with a flaming sword before the garden of life. But the law of the land which declares the house of the white man his 'castle,' and guards it against the threats of intruders by imprisonment and death—the same law, like a faithless sentinel, admits to the unguarded dwelling of the colored man, every selfish and brutal passion, if it bears the color of legalized oppression; it licenses the profanation of all that is sacred and dear to the wretched victim of avarice and prejudice. Though conjugal fidelity, parental and filial affection and brotherly love be all placed in one scale, yet the market price in the other, seldom, if ever, fails to kick the beam. Is this doing unto others as we would have them do unto us? All civil and political power is in the hands of the white man,—the colored man has none. He is compelled to live under rulers in whose election he has no voice—under laws in whose enactment he is permitted to take no part—and under the verdict and judgment of courts which are constituted wholly by others, and where he is not allowed to defend himself by his own oath, or that of those of his own color. Is this doing unto others as we would have them do unto us?

The foundation of all rights, the right of personal independence and self-ownership, by which every human being is invested with the free use and disposal of his own body and his own soul, is denied to the slave. Resistance against violence, the natural right of self-defence, the right of the husband, and the father to protect the virtue of his wife and child—if it be exercised by the colored man against the white, is deemed wor-

thy of death. The right and duty of every human being to improve his mind, for which schools and associations for the advancement and diffusion of knowledge are established throughout our land, the cultivation of the intellectual nature of man, is secured only to the free man. The simple art of reading, which enables every one to appropriate to himself what other men have done for the elevation and happiness of mankind, is withheld from the slave. The law in some parts of our country threatens death, even to the master himself, who should persist in teaching his slave to read. The safety of the slave State is thought to require this prohibition; the knowledge of the alphabet might enable the slave to find out from the Declaration of American Independence, and from the word of God, that, by Divine right, and by the fundamental law of this country, every man is a freeman. If, indeed, the master should give his consent, which he may refuse or retract at any time, that christianity should be taught to the slave, it is only *such* christianity, rather such a religion, as is consistent with slavery. Is this doing unto others as we would have them do unto us? The only case of importance in which the law acknowledges a crime committed against a slave as a crime, and threatens punishment to the offender, the case of murder, affords but feeble protection to the life of the slave. The law enables the master to free himself from punishment by shewing that the slave came to his death in consequence of moderate castigation. Nay, the law secures impunity to the offender in almost every case of offence committed by a white against a colored man, by *rejecting black testimony against white crime*.

If doing unto others as we would be done by, is indeed the eternal standard of natural justice between man and man, what right have we, the freemen of this country, to our property, our families, our political privileges, to the possession of our own bodies and souls, while we persevere in denying the same privileges and blessings to our colored fellow-men? In strict justice, he who strips his unoffending fellow-man of his natural and civil rights, forfeits his own.

Enough has been said on the simple truth that slavery is in itself unjust, that it is a crime against human nature, a moral impossibility. That the effects of slavery are no

better than the cause, would be readily believed on supposition, even if experience and history did not supersede all speculation on this subject.

The evil consequences of slavery have been most deeply felt and forcibly set forth by slaveholders themselves. Its influence on the various branches of industry, particularly on agriculture and manufactures, is plainly delineated on the face of our country. The condition of our slaveholding states compared with that of the free, the contrast between the two great states on the banks of the Ohio, and between the western and eastern portion of Virginia—are facts too obvious and conclusive to require an elaborate treatise on the comparative advantages of free and slave labor.

And what are the natural effects of slavery on the mind and disposition of the master and the slave? A restless dissatisfaction, or a brutal contentment with his lot, aversion to all labor, because he labors not from the hope of a just reward, but from the dread of punishment at the hand of arbitrary power, addictedness to low and sensual enjoyments because others are withheld, these are some of the natural effects of slavery on the slave. On the other hand, constant fear of insurrection, disdain of useful labor as associated with the condition of slavery, love of power nourished in the master from infancy, with freedom to gratify all his passions and whims in relation to his unprotected slaves—is it probable that these circumstances should be favorable to the growth of private virtue, or of true republicanism? For, true republicanism does not consist in maintaining equality of rights among oppressors, but in honoring all men as equals in all their natural and inalienable rights.

When we say that freedom has a salutary, and slavery a hurtful influence on the mind and disposition both of the master and the slave, we mean that this is the natural result of that unnatural relation. Among the innumerable cases which have been brought forward in confirmation of this truth, there are undoubtedly some which have been exaggerated, if not invented, by those who have published them. But if we confine ourselves only to the official and authentic accounts of slavery, and its offspring the foreign and domestic slave trade, there is enough to rouse every dormant feeling of humanity, and in-

spire the most timid and indifferent to active and enterprising benevolence. It is true there are virtues, such as frankness and generosity, which are found among slaveholders as well as among consistent freemen; and we rejoice to acknowledge them in our southern brethren, without entering into an invidious inquiry concerning the comparative difficulty of practising the virtue of generosity in different portions of our country. It is upon the belief in the existence of those generous sentiments, that the friends of abolition rest much of their confident hope that the slaveholders of the South will take this great work into their own hands, and force an acknowledgment of their magnanimous love of liberty not only from their rivals at the North, but from the forsaken slave. On the other hand, we rejoice that there are many instances to prove that the state of degradation imposed upon the slave has not obliterated every feature of the divine image. That the spirit of man, however darkened, is not extinct in the slave, is evident from the occasional wild eruptions of the smothered fire of indignation and resentment, as well as from the striking instances of that fidelity, which is the moral support of an immoral power, and which has often saved the unsuspecting master from the fury of the revolting slaves. The same truth is confirmed by numerous instances of voluntary death preferred to a life of bondage, and by the still more cheering and elevating example of those who after having worked out their own freedom, have not ceased to toil and to starve until they have redeemed their friends from servitude.

Whether the slaves are treated well or ill, whether they are contented or not, these are circumstances which do not affect the duty of emancipation. The very existence of laws against runaway slaves would be sufficient to prove that many of them, surely, are not contented. We have no right to assert that the slave is happy, in a condition the least particle of which, if it were imposed upon us, would be resisted unto blood, until we have offered to him freedom. We mean freedom in good faith; not the pitiful and precarious allowance of human rights that is settled upon the unenslaved man of color in most parts of our country; but liberty such as we have it, other than which we ought to be ashamed to offer. The state of ignorance

in which we have placed him may indeed render it inexpedient to call the slave to an immediate and unlimited exercise of every privilege. Yet we certainly are not justified in asserting that the slave is content with his present lot, until we have offered to him the immediate enjoyment of all those rights for the possession of which he is now qualified, together with the means to fit himself as soon as possible, for the exercise of every privilege enjoyed by the white freeman.

But suppose it true what has been asserted, that the vast majority are contented and happy—*this* contentment and happiness should be considered not as the best, but as the very worst and most deplorable effect of slavery. If human beings, stripped of all the rights and attributes of humanity, are contented and happy, it is a proof that the hierarchy of nature which has placed man, the moral agent, at the head of all living creatures, is broken, that the animal has survived his spiritual nature. If it be true then, that the slave is fallen so low as to rest satisfied with his own degradation, and forget that he is a man, then slavery has indeed done its worst on him, and it becomes our most sacred duty to break the spell that has converted human beings into brutes.

Many objections to the immediate abolition of slavery have been brought forward, which, like the one already mentioned, the alleged contentment of the slaves, only require a fair and thorough examination, to be defeated or converted into auxiliary arguments for emancipation. It has been said, the slaves are not prepared for liberty. But it is clear that the first step toward civilizing and christianizing the negro is to acknowledge that he is a man, whose confidence we have to gain by confessing that we have wronged him, and endeavoring to repair the injury by abandoning forever the inhuman principle that man can hold property in man. It has been said that the slaves, if suddenly emancipated, would use their liberty for avenging their past sufferings upon the masters. But it would be strange indeed, if the standing army and the militia, the whole power of this country which has hitherto secured the unrighteous authority of the master over the slave, should not be able to uphold the rightful dominion of the law over the freeman. It seems stranger still to suppose that by an unaccountable perversion of

the most natural feelings, the colored man who has no cause for hatred and desire of revenge against the white man, except the fact that he holds him in slavery, should hate, and desire to revenge himself upon him, for restoring him to liberty. Whatever strange kind of speculation may lead men to expect that love should beget hatred, this surely is not the logic of the human heart.

The history of the past as well as the experience of our days, does not record one instance in which the immediate abolition of slavery has stirred up the freed man to violence, outrage, and war. Within the remembrance of this generation, slavery has been abolished in St. Domingo, in the republics of South America, and recently throughout the vast empire of Great Britain. Different modes and forms of emancipation have been tried. In some cases the enjoyment of perfect liberty on the part of the slaves has been preceded by an apprenticeship, in others full liberty has been granted at once; in some instances portions of land have been allotted to the negroes; in others they have been left without any means of support but their personal liberty; in others a part of the produce, or certain days in the week, have been secured to the free laborers remaining on the plantations. In all these instances, in which a whole state has abolished slavery, and in many others in which the comparative value of free and of slave labor has been tried on a smaller scale, the safety and superior advantages of immediate abolition have been fully established. Great light has been shed on this subject by the Report of the Committee appointed by the House of Commons, on the extinction of Slavery in Great Britain. The confident anticipations of many of the witnesses who were examined by the Committee as to the safety and desirableness of that great national measure, for both masters and slaves, have already been verified so far as the short time that has elapsed since the actual enfranchisement of the British West Indies has enabled us to judge of the results of this great measure. Already several islands have petitioned the government and have obtained permission to substitute full and immediate abolition, for the system of apprenticeship, which had been devised as an intermediate step from servitude to freedom, because it soon became evident that the full advantages of a free labor system cannot be realized by any scheme of demi-servitude.

A thorough investigation of the much disguised history of St. Domingo, which has been so often held out as a fearful warning against all attempts at immediate abolition, bears the most decided testimony to the safety of this philanthropic measure. Indeed, the history of Hayti speaks more strongly in favor of this cause, than the most sanguine abolitionist could have expected. For it is proved by competent eye witnesses,* that after the fearful contest which raged in that island from 1791 to 1793, and which from a civil soon became a servile war, and ended in a complete abolition of slavery, the slaves as soon as they were declared freemen, instead of trying to avenge the cruelties they had suffered, quietly returned to their plantations. There they continued to work as free laborers for a fourth part of the produce, besides having two days in the week entirely to themselves. And this cultivation of the land on shares proved so successful that the island was fast advancing toward its former prosperity, when in 1801, Buonaparte conceived the inhuman and insane plan of reducing the enfranchised islands again to slavery.

In Guadeloupe, which had been quiet and prosperous in her freedom as St. Domingo was, the ruthless conqueror succeeded in restoring slavery after the most fearful and bloody resistance. But he failed in St. Domingo. And if we would rightly estimate the result of this great struggle from servitude, discord, and anarchy, to liberty, law, and union, we must consider that during the continued warfare which did not wholly cease until ~~1802~~, the whole island became one republic, the arts and habits of peace were almost entirely abandoned, and the expensive works for cultivating the land on which the amount of exportable property greatly depends, were destroyed. We must consider also that the natural disposition of the people inclines them to secure by moderate labor the necessaries and comforts which the cultivation of a rich soil easily affords, rather than to strive and toil for wealth, and commercial eminence. Again we must consider that the industry of that island is kept down by the support of a large standing army to prevent invasion, and by an enormous nation-

* See particularly the French works of La Croix and Malenfant.

al debt to France. Under all these circumstances which have necessarily reduced the produce, the exports and imports of St. Domingo, and affected the character of its inhabitants, if we consider that the population which in 1804 amounted to about 400,000, had increased, according to the official census in 1824, to 935,335, and if we look upon the amount of freedom, security, and prosperity enjoyed in that island—we cannot help seeing in the whole unprecedented history of St. Domingo, a most satisfactory evidence of the safety and expediency of immediate abolition, even under the most unfavorable circumstances.

That the Africans will not work from any better impulse than the cart-whip, is an assertion so often refuted, that it is not worth while to dwell upon it. It is indeed not improbable that the long continuance of slavery, has degraded many so deeply as to require some impulses besides those of self-interest, honor, and family attachment, to stimulate them to honest industry; some legal restraints to prevent those who by a sudden act of abolition are made masters of their time, from abusing it to the injury of others as well as themselves. Laws may be necessary like those existing in Hayti, which compel idlers and vagabonds, all those who cannot show that they possess the means of an honest subsistence, to cultivate the earth for their living; as in many parts of our country also, paupers are compelled to labor for the sustenance provided for them by the community. But the practical importance of these laws will continually decrease, as the natural effects of freedom supplant the artificial resorts of slavery.

The loss of property growing out of immediate emancipation, has been urged as another objection to this measure. The general ground of this question, the comparative advantages of free and slave labor, have been so clearly demonstrated by scientific and experimental investigation, that few, if any, remarks are required on this subject. It would seem superfluous to prove in detail, that the master, the planter in particular, must be benefitted by the exchange of a slave-labor for a free-labor system. It frees him from the necessity of purchasing cultivators for his land, the price of which must rise in proportion to what he saves by not being obliged to buy *men*, in addition; he is

not at the risk of losing part of his capital by the sickness, or death, or escape of his slaves; he has not to provide for the sick, the children, the aged, except so far they may have to be taken care of by the community. Instead of depending on laborers, whose interest it is to do no more work than the fear of the whip can induce them to perform, and to pass themselves off for being as unprofitable as possible, the employer of free labor has the choice of laborers, whose interest, whose heart and will are in their business, and whose reputation for efficient usefulness is at stake. Instead of finding it for his advantage to debar his slave from all knowledge, save what concerns him as a domesticated animal; instead of doing violence to his own nature by degrading that of his slave, the master or employer will be prompted both by his earthly and his spiritual interests, to promote the intelligence, the self-respect, the love of truth and justice, the religious principle in the free laborer.

These considerations are sufficient to show that universal and immediate emancipation must, in general, prove eminently beneficial, both to the slaveholder and the slave. Cases of individual suffering which are incidental to every general plan of reform will be easily remedied. But although the economical advantages of this reform are evident, it should never be overlooked that Justice demands the immediate abolition of slavery, whether it be for the advantage or disadvantage of the slaveholder. Instant and persevering exertion to remove from the present, and to avert from every future generation, the crime and the misery of oppression, is all that we can do to atone for the past, and to wipe off a part of that fearful reckoning, which awaits us all at the bar of eternal justice.

There is one more objection to the promotion of anti-slavery principles, which operates as a powerful check upon many of our fellow-citizens; although we confidently believe that if they would subject it to a thorough examination, they would see in this very objection the strongest argument for promoting the abolition of slavery in our country. It is said that the Constitution and the Laws of the Union acknowledge and secure the existence of slavery in every State in which it is not prohibited by the State itself, as well as in the District of Co-

lumbia, and in several of the Territories. Hence, it is argued, that the agitation of this question in the free States, is an improper and dangerous interference.

It is true indeed, that the constitution as it is generally understood, though it nowhere speaks of slavery, is made to read so as to secure a power which, according to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, cannot be rendered just, by any decree or act of government. It is true, that the slave escaping from bondage in one State, finds in every other, even in those States in which slavery is by law prohibited, a powerful coadjutor of his master, in every judge or competent magistrate of the Union, who is obliged to deliver him up to the pursuing owner, however his own conscience may revolt against this official support of legal tyranny. It is true, moreover, that a standing army is kept and paid by these United States, chiefly for the protection of that special branch of industry in one part of our country which is proscribed in every other. It is true, that in case the slaves should assert and insist upon the rights solemnly ascribed to them, in common with all other men, by the Declaration of our Independence, not only the army, but, in case the army should prove insufficient, the militia, the whole people of these United States, are bound by law to assemble under the very banners under which they once achieved liberty for themselves, to put to the sword men who dare to claim the same inalienable rights. It is true, that a bargain, agreed to by the free states, entitles the slaveholders to send, in addition to the representatives to which their own number entitles them, twenty-five others to represent a portion of their population, which by their own laws are accounted a part of the *live stock*, together with horses and cattle. It is true, that in some of the Territories as well as in the District of Columbia, over which Congress has an absolute and exclusive right of legislation, slavery has a legal national existence and support. It is true, in fine, that Congress, being invested with constitutional power 'to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states,' although it has branded as piracy the foreign slave trade, still tolerates the domestic traffic in human beings, which is characterized by the essential attributes of the middle passage. By means of this traffic, the produce of the

slave-breeding is conveyed to the slave-consuming states, and the various wants of the slaveholding community are continually supplied. Nay, the seat of Congress, the capital of the United States, is the centre, the very heart of this traffic, drawing fresh supplies from different quarters, and sending them to every part, to nourish and support the system.

The fact then on which the forementioned objection to anti-slavery movements is grounded, is incontestable. It is true that slavery, as it exists in our country, is supported by law, and by the constitution as it is generally understood. But can this be considered as a reasonable objection? Ought it not to be to us the most powerful inducement, to use every means which the constitution has left us, to remove this fatal inconsistency with the vital principle of our social institutions?

It is not our object now to enquire whether a law can be deemed valid, if it is contrary to the first principles of natural justice, contrary to the inalienable rights of man, particularly when these principles and rights are solemnly acknowledged by the sovereign will of the people as the supreme standard and test of the validity of any law. We only ask the people of the United States to consider what bearing that clause in the constitution which authorizes slavery, has upon the Declaration of Independence. The words of the only article which is understood as securing the claims of the slave-owner (Art. IV. Sec. III. 3.) are these: 'No person held to service or labor in one state under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.' Now it is evident that these words of the Constitution are not inconsistent with the acknowledgment of the inalienable rights of man, in the Declaration of Independence, if they are understood as having reference to such service or labor as may be due from one person to another, on any sufficient legal ground, except slavery. They are inconsistent with the Declaration of Independence only, if they be understood as applying to slave labor and involuntary servitude, as well as to free labor and hired services.—Suppose we had no other knowledge of the actual

intention of the framers of the Constitution, than the words of the law itself, would it not become a subject of grave consideration, whether the common understanding of that article in the Constitution, according to which, a slave escaping into a state whose laws do not acknowledge slavery, is delivered up to the pursuing master, is not inconsistent with *correct* principles of legal interpretation? Even if we do not look upon the Declaration of Independence as the acknowledged standard and test of the validity of any law; even if we consider the Constitution simply in the light of a more recent law, which, on this account, ought to take precedence of the Declaration of Independence in any point in which they are decidedly at variance; yet it is an undoubted principle of legal interpretation, that whenever there is an apparent collision between two laws, the later of the two ought to be interpreted *strictly*; that is, if the words admit of a wider and of a stricter acceptation, they should be taken in that sense in which they are not at all, or in which they are least inconsistent, with the principles contained in a previous law. Now it is certain that the words of the Constitution in the article alluded to, have and always will have an exact practical meaning, whether slavery is continued or abolished in this country, since in their widest acceptation, they secure the claims both of the slaveholder, and of the employer of a freeman, or master of an apprentice. It is evident, moreover, that if taken in their widest sense, they are opposed to the Declaration of Independence, inasmuch as they are understood to secure the right of property in man. It seems, therefore, more conformable to correct principles of legal interpretation, to understand them in that stricter sense, in which they do now and always will secure the right of the employer to the *hired* services of the laborer, and particularly that of the master to the services of the apprentice. When thus understood, there is a propriety in using the words 'to whom such service or labor is *due*.' But to whom else is service or labor '*due*,' but the man who in some way *pays* for it? We, in fact, see no other alternative than either to adopt this stricter interpretation of the forementioned article of the Constitution, or to admit that the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence, which acknowledges the inalienable rights of man,

as the only just foundation of government, have been repealed by a single clause of the Constitution of the United States—a repeal which would amount to an abrogation of justice itself.

It may be said that these principles of legal interpretation, however just in other cases, are not applicable in this, as the forementioned article of the Constitution was certainly intended by its framers to secure, under terms of a more general import, the legal claim of the slaveholder; and that this has been acknowledged and acted upon as the true and practical sense of the law by all the courts and magistrates of the Union.—We would not interfere with the application of the law thus interpreted. We would rather forego any advantage that our cause might derive from a different interpretation, than in any way lessen the binding power of that solemn compact which binds together the several branches of this great family of republics. We would adopt ourselves, and urge others to adopt the sentiment of the Farewell Address of the Father of his country:—'The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and alter their Constitution of government. But the Constitution which at any time exists, until changed by the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all.'

We acknowledge that there is sufficient reason to believe that the forementioned Article of the Constitution was designed to secure the legal claims of the slaveholder, as well as the master of an apprentice. But it seems as if its framers had couched their intention in such general terms, in order that the Article might remain applicable in case that slavery should be abolished in the different states. They seemed to be looking forward to a time, when the principles of the Declaration of Independence should have removed every species of government that is not derived from the consent of the governed, and has not for its object the establishment of the inalienable rights of man. To carry these principles into effect, the authors of the Declaration had pledged their 'sacred honor,'—a pledge which yet remains to be redeemed by their descendants.

The same spirit and prospective policy are manifest in the early history of congressional legislation; particularly in the ordinance for

the government of the great territory northwest of the Ohio, from which three states, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, have taken their origin. This Ordinance was passed in 1787, by the unanimous voice of all the States present at its passage, viz. Massachusetts, New-York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. The six fundamental articles of this Ordinance, which still form the basis of the Territorial governments of the United States, were intended, according to the Preamble, 'for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in said territory.' The sixth article declares, 'that there shall neither be slavery, nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall become convicted.'

But unfortunately in some later acts of Congress, this great principle was lost sight of; and the slaveholding states have promoted opposite principles, in order to open new slave markets in the territories, and support their own system of policy by similar constitutions of the neighboring states.

But our belief does not rest on human legislation, or on the interpretation of any document of human device, however venerable. It is enough for our purpose that the constitution and the laws have left to us means to spread and to carry into effect the doctrine of human rights, of universal liberty. The law, at least in the free states, allows the use of all means, except those which our own conscience would forbid; the constitution of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society permits no others than such as are sanctioned by *law, humanity* and *religion*. It is enough that we have freedom to speak and to print; freedom peacefully to assemble, and associate, to consult, and to petition the government of the Union as well as the legislature of every state, and thus by individual and united exertion, to act upon the public mind. Thus armed with all the legitimate weapons of truth, we feel bound in conscience never to lay them down until the principle that man can hold property in man is effaced from our statute books, and held in abhorrence by public opinion. After the most careful examination, we are convinced

that slavery is unjust in itself, and cannot be justified by any laws or circumstances; that it wars against christianity, and is condemned by the Declaration of our Independence. We are convinced that it is injurious to every branch of industry, and more injurious still to the mind and character both of the master and the slave. Its existence is the chief cause of all our political dissensions; it tends to unsettle the groundwork of our government, so that every institution, founded on the common ground of our Union, is like an edifice on a volcanic soil, ever liable to have its foundation shaken, and the whole structure consumed by subterraneous fire. The danger of a servile and a civil war is gaining every year, every day; for the annual increase of the slave population is more than sixty thousand; and every day about two hundred children are born into slavery. As the more northern of the slave states, seeing the advantages of free labor, dispose of their slaves in a more southern market, and by degrees abolish servitude, the whole slave population, and with it the danger of a terrible revolution, are crowded together in the more southern states. Under all these threatening circumstances, what have the southern states, what has congress done, to avert the impending calamity from the Union? Congress, which has full and exclusive power to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia and in the Territories, and to abolish the domestic as well as the foreign slave trade shrinks from touching the subject. The fear of instant difficulties to be encountered overcomes the more patriotic fear of the ever increasing evils engendered by provident delay, which reserves to our descendants, if we should escape them, the inevitable consequences of our own culpable neglect.

And what has been done in the slaveholding states to prepare the great change from a corrupt to a sound and vigorous state of society? There are indeed, benevolent individuals endeavoring to elevate their slaves by oral instruction, and by allowing them to cultivate portions of land for the joint profit of the master and the laborers. But the law and the general practice, so far from endeavoring to diminish, are calculated rather to increase the evil in order to render it more secure, to imbrute the slave more and more, and extinguish in him every aspiration

and pretension to be a man. Hence the laws against teaching a slave have become more numerous, and the penalties more severe, particularly in those states in which the colored population is continually gaining upon the white.* They refuse to free the slaves on the ground of their not being fitted for the proper use of freedom; and they refuse to prepare them for it, because the preparatory course would induce them to throw off the yoke instantly.

In this hopeless state of things, a few individuals, deeply impressed with the great and increasing evil of slavery, have thought it their duty to unite their efforts to undeceive the public mind, to rouse the fortunate heirs of freedom to a sense of their own obligation to extend and secure the blessings they possess. They saw that the most powerful men in the nation were inactive, either because the magnitude of the evil led them to doubt the possibility of finding an adequate remedy, or because they feared to disturb the political or commercial connections between the north and the south, or because they were prejudiced themselves, or thought it a hopeless attempt to conquer the prejudice of others. The disinterested devotion of the few who went forth to prepare the way for the gospel of universal freedom by teaching that slavery is a sin of which all the people of this country are more or less guilty, and ought immediately to repent and to reform—the generous efforts of a few ardent minds have kindled the philanthropic sympathies of many.

The hostility, and still more the indifference with which the sentiments of the first champions of immediate abolition were received by the majority of influential men in this country, may have betrayed some of them occasionally into unguarded and intemperate expressions. Still, the people at large begin to feel that the object as well as the motives of the friends of the oppressed are right; and as soon as the conviction of a good cause has once unsealed the deep fountains of the heart, and has engaged the energies of a free people, it is as vain to attempt to check or divert their onward course, as to coax or force Niagara to roll back its mighty waters from lake Ontario to Erie.

But the dissemination of Anti-Slavery sentiments, it is said, will be productive of a servile and civil war, and terminate in the dissolution of the Union. Now if there is anything in the theory of government that can be considered as an unquestionable truth, it is the principle that *free discussion* of every thing that concerns the constitution and government, is the indispensable condition, the conservative principle of every republic. The Constitution of our country has fully recognized this conservative principle, in ordaining that no law shall be enacted '*abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.*' And what more have abolitionists done, what else do they aim at, than *free discussion* of a part of our social system? To collect and to disseminate correct information, to argue, to answer objections, and to advise—these, and no other means, are authorised by the constitution of any Anti-Slavery Society in the United States. However strongly and urgently the sin and misery of servitude have been set forth in the writings that have appeared with the sanction of these Societies, yet they have never countenanced, but always most earnestly disapproved the use of force, and the desperate recourse to insurrection. They have appealed to the conscience and the self-interest both of the slaveholder and the slave; and on the ground of religion as well as worldly prudence, they have urged the masters to give up, of their own accord, their despotic power, and the slaves to be subject to their masters, with a religious trust that the voice of reason and christianity will ere long overcome the partiality of the law which makes the enjoyment of the rights of man to depend on the color of his skin. From the mouth of an abolitionist, the doctrine of subjection to his master is a solemn truth to the injured slave; and the words, Peace! Be still! when coming from the friend of freedom, are sufficient to assuage the wildest storm of revolutionary passion. From the mouth of an advocate or apologist of slavery, christianity itself, the gospel of eternal freedom and universal love, appears to the defrauded slave, only as a solemn pretext for oppression. Slavery is the true and lasting source of insurrection; it is the avowed or secret cause of all the serious differences between the members of this Union. Those, therefore, who directly or indirectly strive to secure the existence

* Let it be remembered that those laws were enacted many years ago and before the Anti-Slavery Societies were thought of.

of slavery in this country, are nourishing the seeds of a servile and civil war; and their efforts to avert it from themselves, only serve to insure its breaking in upon our descendants, with increased violence. The fact that in those States which depend most especially on slave labor, the colored population is continually gaining upon the white, is too obvious an indication of the future to require any explanation.

Some, indeed, have attempted to prove the security of our slave States, by quoting the experience of the States of antiquity, in some of which one fourth or fifth part of the population were able, for a considerable time, to keep the rest in bondage. But those who thus quote the example of the ancient world in order to quiet the apprehensions of the present, overlook the fact that in antiquity, slavery was a part of the law of nations, in the enforcement of which, each State was supported by the practice and political sympathy of every other. Not one of the ancient republics was founded, as ours is, on the solemn acknowledgment of the inalienable rights of man, with which the existence of slavery is absolutely inconsistent. All the nations around us, particularly those with whom we are most closely connected, our republican neighbors in South America, and England, from which we draw a constant supply of new ideas as well as articles of merchandize, have abolished slavery. Our own example, which has stirred up the nations to a determined search after liberty, reacts upon us; the reproachful feeling of our inconsistency is growing continually more general and intense, both abroad and at home. Thus all the circumstances and unavoidable influences under which we are placed, the spirit of our time manifested by its history, the growing conviction of the injustice and impolicy of this part of our social system, aggravated by the reproach of moral and political inconsistency, serve to impress us with the fallacy of every remedy for the evils and danger of slavery, except universal and immediate emancipation. There are dangers connected with any scheme of partial or gradual emancipation. For if you emancipate only a certain number, or declare that all shall be free after a certain time, the partial justice which you show to some, is an acknowledgment of the justice due to all, which cannot fail to rouse the in-

dignation of those whose rights have been set aside by this arbitrary arrangement. As soon, therefore, as the personal antipathies and prejudices which have arisen from a passionate and unsparing attack and defence of Anti-Slavery principles shall have given way before the power of free and calm inquiry, we feel confident that this great cause will unite all the friends of order, peace and union in our country.

Fellow-citizens! The subject of our appeal, if rightly understood, is not calculated to rouse the jealousies of one part of our country against the other. We have all sinned together. We entered into the crime together, when tempted by the British government in our infancy. At years of discretion, when we became free, we deliberately preferred power to righteousness, and *made the crime our own*. In our vigor we have continued to cherish it. The South has said, 'Let slavery alone;' and the North has, till recently, replied, 'We will let slavery alone.' Nay, all the freemen of this country are pledged by laws of their own enacting, to support the slaveholder in trampling upon all the native rights of man, which we recognize as the foundation of our social institutions.

The fact that in almost every part of our country, the mere difference of color is sufficient to exclude the unenslaved colored man from public hotels, stage-coaches and steam-boats, from profitable and honorable professions, from public schools and colleges, from the elevating and refining influences of society,—these facts are strong indications that the confinement of slavery to a certain part of our country, is owing to a difference of circumstances rather than principles. We all have sinned against the *spirit*, if not against the letter, of the law of liberty; for every social system bearing the name of a republic, unless it is founded on a profound and impartial respect of human nature, and the essential equality of human rights, is but a more or less successful counterfeit of true republicanism. It may pass for sterling coin among those who have given it currency, but the world at large will not fail to detect the base alloy mixed up with the pure metal.

What is the duty of the freemen, and more particularly the duty of the citizens of the free states, with regard to the existence of slavery

in our country? It is our duty to use all our power and influence, individually and by association, directly and indirectly, to abolish a system that is absolutely inconsistent with the fundamental principle of our 'government, and must, sooner or later, if not removed, prove destructive of our Union. Congress has power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and the Territories, as well as the domestic slave trade. We, the citizens of this country, have a right to petition Congress to use this power; we, the constituents of Congress, have power to direct our agents to execute what the sovereign will of the people shall deem conducive to the permanent welfare, the true glory of these United States. Every session of Congress, every opportunity of exercising our political privileges for the extinction of slavery, so far as its existence depends on our own will, is a trial of our love of justice, our patriotism, our philanthropy; every neglect is a proof of our unworthiness of the privileges we possess. The direct political power of the citizens of the free States over the existence of slavery in this country, is confined to the constitutional rights of Congress; but their moral influence, their duty as men, as patriots, as christians, have no limits but the free power of their fellow-citizens to listen or to turn a deaf ear to the conscientious fears, the well meant advice of those, who are pledged with them for the welfare of our common country. We feel bound in duty to plead the cause of the oppressed with our brethren at the South, who have authority to abrogate the State laws, on which the existence of slavery depends. We have no legal or constitutional authority to support our plea; but we have a draft upon their hearts, which will not be protested. Much as we wish that the words of the constitution might be so defined as to preclude the possibility of slavery in this country, yet we believe that the means which the constitution has left, are sufficient to accomplish this purpose. We believe that the moral action of truth and love, on the hearts and consciences of slaveholders, are fully adequate to the complete and speedy overthrow of our nation's crying sin. We would speak to the minds and the hearts of our southern friends, to their earthly interests and their patriotic virtues. We would speak to them, not in the tone of vain self-

complacency, which ill befits those whose prejudices against the people of color are a strong offset to the fact that they are not actually slaveholders. Nor do we address them as interested, political rivals; for it is evident that, if the slaves were invested with all their social as well as personal rights, their interests being essentially the same as those of the rest of the inhabitants of that region, their emancipation would not diminish, but greatly increase the political influence of the South.* We would improve our more fortunate condition, to judge deliberately and calmly of the cause of the slaveholder and the slave. We acknowledge that among the slaveholders, there are many, who are prevented from immediately liberating their slaves, not by base and sordid motives, but some, by the state of the laws which discountenance emancipation; others, are kept back by inadequate or mistaken views of duty, or conscientious though groundless fears. On the other hand, we look upon the slave as a man, having all the rights of a man, which no one has any right to withhold from him, either from bad or good motives. It is urged in vindication of the present owners of slaves, that they are not the authors, but the innocent heirs of a great evil, superinduced upon their ancestors by the influence of a foreign government. But even if it could be shown, that the present generation were forced to accept the unhallowed inheritance, the origin can in no way justify the continuation of the evil. For it is in the power of the people of each slaveholding state, at any time, to abolish slavery—and no hereditary claim, though approved by all the sovereign powers on earth, and confirmed by long immemorial practice, holds good against the certificate of freedom which every human being brings with him into this world, from the hand of the living God.

Fellow-citizens! The Anti-Slavery Society, which is now growing so rapidly in every part of our country, although its seeds

* Some Northern opposers of our cause have raised a serious objection from the fact, that if slavery were abolished, the representation of the South in Congress would be increased, inasmuch as the enfranchised colored man would be counted as a whole man, whereas the slave is accounted only *three fifths* of a man. But what has the North to fear from such increase of representation in the South, when, in order to it, slavery, the chief cause of jealousy, will be done away?

were sown among the weeds and thorns of popular prejudice, the Anti-Slavery Society is not a new sect or party coming forward to mingle in the strife of politics, or the controversies of religion. It is intended to engage the friends of justice in every party; and it is actually composed of men of almost all the different religious and political denominations in our country. Its sole object is, to bring about by all lawful and moral means the immediate abolition of slavery in our land; to raise the colored man to that equality of rights with the white man, which the Declaration of Independence secures to all. Without objecting to any transient legal restraints and encouragements, which the influence of past servitude may render necessary, we claim for the colored man the immediate possession of personal independence and safety, the right to hold property, to be protected in all his family connections, to choose his own employment, to give valid testimony in any court of justice; we claim for him the free exercise of religion, the free expression of his sentiments, the use of every means of education by which he may fit himself as soon as possible for the exercise of every right enjoyed by the white man. This is what we mean by *immediate abolition*.

It may have become necessary, on account of misrepresentation, to disclaim as a sentiment utterly foreign to abolitionists, any desire for the intermarriage of the whites and blacks. Neither we nor they wish it. The report of such a sentiment being cherished by us, originated with our opponents, *not with us*. On the contrary, as the past and continual amalgamation, of which the mulatto race is the offspring, must be imputed to the criminal bonds of slavery, so we are confident that abolition, as it leaves the two races free to form their domestic relations according to their natural inclination and taste, will tend to prevent amalgamation.

We have laid before you, our countrymen, the object of our Society; we invite every friend of justice, every patriot, every philanthropist, to engage with us in an enterprise, which, considering all the physical and spiritual wants of the slave, *will be found to comprise the essence of every benevolent society in our country*. If the manner in which our Society has pursued its great object has

been worthy of it, we have a right to expect the sympathy and co-operation of every wise and benevolent man. If our measures seem to you ill calculated to accomplish the object of our Society; this great and holy object itself should induce the wisest and best men of our country, if they recognize our good intentions, and approve our principles, to join our ranks, in order to guide our steps in the right way.

You who believe in the gospel of redemption, you who believe that the day will come when we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, how will you stand before Him, who tries and judges the heart? — 'Then shall he say unto ~~them~~ on the left hand, I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me not in: naked, and ye clothed me not: sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not.' And when a band of those, who in your day and generation were kept in slavery, shall rise on the right hand of the Judge, to witness against you, do you think that the testimony of the colored man, rejected here, will be rejected also, in the court of eternal justice? Or do you believe you may evade the sentence of the Judge, by pleading that you attended to all the bodily wants and comforts of the slave—when you refused food and clothing, freedom, respect, and love to the immortal soul? Or, do you think yourselves safe under the plea that you yourselves were not slaveholders—when in any degree it depended on your exertions to put an end to the very existence of slavery in this world?

You who discern the signs of the time, and are guided by them—do you remember how your forefathers left their father-land, to seek liberty among strangers and savages? Do you remember how the sons of the pilgrims rather ventured their lives and their all in desperate fight, than consent to pay a paltry tax, because imposed by unlawful authority? Did not your fathers sign the Declaration of American Independence and human liberty? And did not the same spirit that gave you strength to overcome the bands of oppressors and mercenaries in your devoted land—follow the fugitives to their own homes, and wake the nations of the old world? France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Poland, England, have felt the touch of the redeeming angel. A spirit of keen inquiry is

going through the world, to examine every creed and every charter; it does not believe in the 'divine right of kings;' it will not pass over the flaw, the fatal defect in the title of a State, that under the specious name of a republic uses the authority of the law and the sword of justice, to seal and secure the oppression of more than one sixth of its inhabitants. The world has heard the tocsin of truth, and is awaking. Man is felt to be man, whether European prejudice frown upon him on account of his station, or American prejudice because of his color. Europe, which had rekindled the extinguished lamp of liberty at the altar of our revolution, still nourishes the holy fire; England goes before us as a torch-bearer, leading the way to the liberation of mankind. The despotism which our forefathers could not bear in their native country, is expiring, and the sword of justice in her reformed hands, has applied its exterminating edge to slavery. Shall the United States, the free United States, which could not bear the bonds of a King, cradle the bondage

which a King is abolishing? Shall a republic be less free than a monarchy? Shall we, in the vigor and buoyancy of our manhood, be less energetic in righteousness than a kingdom in its age?

You to whom the destinies of this country are committed, Americans, patriots in public and private life, on you it depends to prove, whether your liberty is the fruit of your determined choice or of a fortunate accident. If you are republicans, not by birth only, but from principle, then let the avenues, all the avenues of light and liberty, of truth and love, be opened wide to every soul within the nation,—that the bitterest curse of millions may no longer be, that they were born and bred in 'the land of the free and the home of the brave.'

CHARLES FOLLEN,
CYRUS PITT GROSVENOR,
JOHN G. WHITTIER,
D. PHELPS,
JOSHUA V. HIMES.

} Committee.

AN

ADDRESS

DELIVERED IN THE

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, IN MIDDLEBURY,

BY REQUEST OF THE

VERMONT ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

ON

WEDNESDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 18, 1835.

BY OLIVER JOHNSON.

MONTPELIER:

KNAPP AND JEWETT, PRINTERS.

1835.

At the Annual Meeting of the VERMONT ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
holden in Middlebury, February 18, 1835, it was unanimously

'Voted, That the thanks of this Society be presented to Mr. OLIVER
JOHNSON for his Address, delivered on the present occasion, and that
he be requested to furnish a copy for the press.'

Attest,

CHAUNCEY L. KNAPP,

Recording Secretary.

ADDRESS.

MANKIND in general love to be praised for their good deeds, rather than to be censured for their bad ones; to be lauded on account of their virtues, rather than to be plainly told of their vices.

Hence arises the prevailing opposition to associations for moral reform. It is the avowed object of such associations to expose and condemn public and prevailing sins; to bring to light the hidden corruptions of the times; and to shame them out of existence by a righteous public sentiment. Foreseeing the effect of such measures upon their reputation in society, the guilty will generally make a desperate effort to arrest their progress, by misrepresenting the objects and impugning the motives of those concerned in urging them forward. This is done to divert public attention from the main point—the question of their own guilt or innocence—and with the hope of dividing the friends of reform upon some consideration of minor importance; thus enfeebling their efforts, by inducing them to quarrel among themselves.

It is believed that no society for moral reform has ever encountered more violent opposition than the associations which have been formed in this country, within the last three years, for the abolition of slavery. The primitive Christians were not more universally reviled, or malignantly misrepresented than are the prominent members of these associations. They are stigmatized as mad-men and fanatics, and reviled as incendiaries; they are accused of holding principles the most corrupt and of advocating measures the most revolting and dangerous. These accusations and these epithets are uttered by men of every grade, and of every complexion of moral character, from the minister of the gospel down to the most degraded tenant of the grog-shop. They are uttered in places high and

low—in the pulpit, the legislative hall, and from the press*—and industriously circulated in social and private circles.

Much of this opposition is doubtless the fruit of ignorance and misapprehension. Multitudes join in the general 'hue and cry' against abolitionists, who know nothing of their principles and purposes. They have heard it confidently affirmed, by men who *ought* to be good authority in such matters, that they contemplate a dissolution of the Union and an amalgamation of the whites and blacks; and without stopping to inquire into the truth of these grave charges, they have thrown themselves into the ranks of the opposition.

There are others, whose fear of excitement and want of moral courage keep them in an attitude of hostility to the measures of the abolitionists. They are alarmed at the threats of slaveholders, and tremble lest, somehow or other, if the question is agitated, the Union will be sundered. They do not so much doubt the correctness of our principles as call in question the *expediency* of our measures.

There are others whose love of popularity prevents them from joining our ranks. They are convinced, in their own minds, that our principles are correct; but their love of popular applause induces them to remain silent while they are accounted our opponents.

Again, there are many whose pride of opinion prevents them from joining us. They have thought themselves wise, and are unwilling to confess that they have been mistaken.

The two classes last mentioned are chiefly composed of men in public life, who prefer to lead rather than follow the multitude in any important enterprise; and who are envious of the distinction which must be awarded to others, if the cause succeeds. Exclusive of these, there are large numbers of almost every class in the community, who need only to be accurately informed in relation to the principles and designs of Anti-Slave-

* Among the numerous slanders which have been put in circulation by a pro-slavery press, designed to bring odium upon abolitionists and their cause, no one appears to have been uttered with a more reckless disregard of truth, than the assertion of the Vermont Chronicle, that they hold the corrupt and disorganizing principles of the French Jacobins. It was uttered not only without evidence, but *against* evidence. It is owing, in a great measure, to this misrepresentation, so generally circulated among the religious portion of community, that so many of the pulpits in this State are closed against our Agents, and the minds of multitudes filled with the most bitter and unrelenting prejudices against our cause. The Chronicle must be regarded as wholly unworthy of confidence on any subject connected with Abolition, while its editors continue to hold this 'lie' in their right hand.

One of the gentlemen who conducted the Chronicle at the time this slander was first promulgated, is now the editor of the Boston Recorder, and appears to be the presiding genius in the newly-formed 'American Union.' He has said much of what, with affected contempt, he is pleased to call the *Garrisonism* of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Query—Is the above slander to be regarded as a specimen of the *Tracyism* of the 'American Union'?

ry Societies, to become their firm and unwavering supporters. Indeed it is believed, that a vast majority of those in the free States, who are at present either opposed to our efforts or indifferent concerning them, might be induced to join us, if we could reach their minds and hearts by our arguments and appeals. The truth is, we have been condemned without a hearing. The pulpits have been extensively closed against us; editors of newspapers, both religious and political, have, for the most part, refused to open their columns, or opened them only to revile us: and being thus extensively shut out from all the ordinary avenues to the public mind, it is no wonder that our principles have been misunderstood, and our objects misrepresented.

In view of these circumstances, I have thought that I could not do the cause a better service on the present occasion, than by endeavoring to answer the most prominent objections to our principles and measures. I shall therefore speak,

I. OF OBJECTIONS TO THE PRINCIPLES OF ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES; and

II. OF OBJECTIONS TO THEIR MEASURES.

It will be necessary, however, in the first place, to state, concisely, what are the fundamental principles of these societies. And

1. They maintain, that slavery, which consists in holding and treating human beings as property, is, in all circumstances, altogether sinful; that it is a heinous and aggravated crime, for which there is and can be no more excuse than for robbery or murder. Hence,

2. They maintain, that the masters are solemnly bound instantly to emancipate their slaves; to afford them the protection of law; and to treat them, not as *merchandize*, but as *men*.

3. They maintain, that the people of color have a right to a home in this country; that such of them as 'possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same prerogatives, as others; that the paths of preferment, of wealth, and of intelligence, should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion;' and that to make the color of their skin a pretext for excluding them from these privileges, is a violation of the law of love.*

There are but few persons—at least in New England—who will withhold their assent from the general statement, that slavery is wrong and ought to be abolished; but multitudes contend, that there are insuperable difficulties in the way of

* See the 'Declaration of Sentiments,' adopted by the Convention which formed the American Anti-Slavery Society.

immediate emancipation—difficulties which justify the retention of the slaves in bondage for a limited period. As

1. *Their ignorance disqualifies them for freedom.*—What then becomes of the principle asserted in our Declaration of Independence, ‘that all men are *created* equal;’ and that the right to ‘life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness’ is *inalienable*? Is ignorance a crime on the part of the slave? Or is it the fault of the master? If it be a sin, let punishment fall upon the guilty and not upon the innocent. Let not the lacerated and bleeding slave suffer for that which is not his fault.

It is dangerous to adopt principles which we cannot define. Let those who say, that one man may innocently enslave another on account of his ignorance, tell us how much knowledge a man must possess to entitle him to his liberty. Shall he simply be required to understand the letters of the English alphabet? Or must he be able to read intelligibly? Or must he understand Latin and Greek, and have a perfect knowledge of the various branches of English literature? These are questions, which those who make the objection under consideration are bound to answer. The principle, too, when defined, they must apply to men of all complexions—the whites as well as blacks. Alas! how many men, whom the God of nature has clothed with a white skin, would never again taste the sweets of liberty, if their *ignorance* were to be admitted as a valid excuse for enslaving them!

If it is right to retain the slaves in bondage on account of their ignorance; would it not also be right, on the same principle, to enslave all, of every complexion, who are as ignorant as they? Where is the difference?

But this objection to immediate emancipation will appear still more absurd, when it is considered, that the ignorance of the slaves is the natural and inevitable consequence of slavery. How can you prevent the effect without annihilating the cause? Are the slaves to be educated by the same process which has made them ignorant?

Ever since the organization of our government, the doctrine has been maintained by slaveholders, and echoed by their apologists, that the slaves ought not to be emancipated until they are prepared by education. Now I ask, what has been done within this period by way of instructing them? Are they any better prepared for freedom now, than they were fifty years ago? And what reason have we to hope, that they will be any better prepared fifty years hence than they now are?

The ignorance of the slaves, so far from excusing the masters for retaining them in servitude, is one of the strongest reasons which can be urged in favor of their emancipation. The

system of slavery, which shrouds its victims in the grossest darkness—putting out as it were the eyes of the soul—which denies them the privilege of reading the Word of Life, and makes it a crime to teach them the lowest rudiments of knowledge—must be annihilated, before it will be possible to enlighten their minds. How long, think you, the slaves would remain in bondage, if they were taught to read, and allowed free access to books? Slaveholders know, that their safety depends entirely upon the ignorance of their victims; that if they were instructed, they would not wait for the tardy process of voluntary emancipation, but would seek their liberty at the expense of blood: hence they never will allow them to be instructed while they continue to hold them as property. The history of the world does not furnish a single instance of a race of men who have been educated while in a state of slavery, and it never will. Speculate about it as we may—the thing is impossible. The light of knowledge will never illumine the mind of the slave until his fetters are broken.

The wisdom of the objection under consideration was admirably illustrated by the father who told his son that he should never go into the water until he had learned to swim! for it is not more necessary for a man to go into the water to learn the art of swimming, than it is that he should be free in order to be educated.

2. *It is said, that the slaves are in a better condition now than they would be if they were immediately emancipated.* Let us see. We will first look at their present condition; and then at what it probably would be, if they were allowed the peaceable enjoyment of their rights.

Now they are regarded as property—as mere goods and chattels;*—

Now the masters have unlimited control over their bodies, and may starve or torture them at pleasure;†—

Now they have no means of redress against any white man who may choose to invade their rights; for the law deprives them of the privilege of being witnesses in any case where a white man is the accused;‡—

* 'Slaves shall be deemed, sold, taken, reputed and adjudged in law to be *chattels personal* in the hands of their owners and possessors, and their executors, administrators and assigns, *to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever.*'—Civil Code of S. C.—See Stroud's 'Sketch of the Laws relating to Slavery,' p. 23.

† A law in North Carolina, which prescribes the punishment for killing a slave, contains the following proviso: 'Provided always, this act shall not extend to the person killing a slave outlawed by any act of Assembly of this State, or to any slave in the act of resistance to his lawful owner or master, or to any slave DYING under MODERATE CORRECTION!'—See Mrs. Child's Appeal, p. 48.

How 'moderate' must be that 'correction' under which a slave should DIE!

‡ 'A white man may, with impunity, if no other white be present, torture, maim, and even murder his slave, in the midst of any number of negroes and mulattoes'—Stroud, p. 66.

Now they can hold no property, real or personal ;*—

Now they are compelled to toil solely for their masters, without compensation ;—

Now they may be sold separately, or in lots to suit purchasers ; the husband and wife, the parent and child, and lover and friend, may be separated at the pleasure of their owners ;†—

Now they are unprotected in their domestic relations ; the virtue of more than a million females is at the mercy of licentious masters and overseers ;‡—and

Now they are kept in brutal ignorance both of their relations to God and to their fellow men. ||

In lieu of this complicated system of oppression—this combination of all that is odious and corrupt in principle and cruel in practice, we propose—

That they shall be treated as men, and not as property ;—

That the masters shall be deprived of the power to punish them at discretion—to exact their labor without compensation—to sell them, the husband from the wife, the wife from the husband, and parents from their children ;—

That they shall be placed under the protection of wise and equitable laws, which shall secure to them the enjoyment of all their rights on the one hand, and restrain them from the commission of crime on the other ;—

That they shall be employed as free laborers, and paid justly for their labor ; or if they should refuse to be thus employed, and become disorderly or turbulent, that the law shall punish them in the same way that it now does white people of the same character ;—

That the law shall regard the virtue of colored females as sacred as that of their white sisters ;—and

That, all, both old and young, male and female, shall be taught the rudiments of knowledge—allowed to read the Bible, and be instructed in its heavenly truths.

Who can doubt that a transformation like this would add to

* ‘ All that a slave possesses belongs to his master—he possesses nothing of his own.’—Civil Code of Louisiana—Stroud, p. 48.

† In the winter of 1833, an auction flag was hoisted in Richmond, Virginia, with the following curious advertisement : ‘ On Monday the 11th inst., will be sold in front of the High Constable’s office, one bright mulatto woman, about twenty-six years of age ; also, some *empty barrels*, and *sundry old candle boxes* !’—Mrs. Child’s Appeal, p. 11.

‡ James A. Thome of Kentucky, in his speech at the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, said—‘ I have facts ; but I forbear to state them—facts which have fallen under my own observation, startling enough to arouse the moral indignation of the community.’ ‘ Let it be felt in the North and rolled back upon the South, that the slave States are Sodoms, and almost every village family a brothel !’

|| In Georgia, the teaching of a colored person to read or write is punished by fine not exceeding one hundred dollars, and imprisonment at the discretion of the court. The laws of the other slaveholding States are similar.

their happiness? I know we are often told, that the *free* colored people at the South are in a worse condition than the slaves; and from this it is inferred, that the slaves ought not to be emancipated. Admitting the premises to be correct, the inference is false. What right have I to lay my hand upon my brother-man and say, 'You will be happier in a state of slavery, than if you were allowed to be free; therefore I claim you as my property'?

Suppose the free blacks at the South to be as wretched as it is pretended they are; I ask, what is the cause? Is it because they are free? I answer, no. It is because they are cruelly and wickedly oppressed. The same despotic power, which keeps the slaves in bondage, is felt, in a thousand ways, by those who are nominally free. The masters know well, that if they were to permit a free and intelligent class of colored people to live quietly and happily in their midst; the slaves, seeing their condition, would desire liberty, and in all probability would fight to obtain it. As a southern gentleman has expressed it, 'The free blacks are walking mirrors, which reflect the light of liberty into the dark bosoms of the slaves.' Hence the masters enact the most oppressive laws in relation to them—laws which abridge their liberty, and, of course, render them unhappy. They are kept as ignorant as the slaves—it being regarded as a crime to teach them to read; and slaveholders will never employ them when slave labor can be obtained.

But notwithstanding their sufferings, the free blacks set a high value upon their personal freedom. The thought, that they are not liable to be sold like the slaves, is consoling to them under all their trials. If it were otherwise, they might, without the least difficulty, sell their birthright.

There is a principle in man—it was implanted in his bosom by the Creator—which leads him to set a high value upon personal liberty—to prize it even above life itself. This principle exists in the bosom of the slave—subdued, it may be, by oppression—but still it exists, and can never be obliterated. Does any one ask, if this be so, why slaves have sometimes refused to receive their liberty? I answer, because the offer has been accompanied by the assurance, expressed or implied, that if it is accepted, they must consequently become more miserable. They are taught to associate the idea of liberty, in regard to persons of their complexion, with poverty and disgrace.

We have the most indubitable evidence that slaveholders themselves, notwithstanding all they say to the contrary, do in fact regard liberty as the greatest blessing which can be

bestowed upon the slaves. This evidence is found in the fact, that when they wish to reward a slave for some noble and disinterested act, *they break his fetters!* For example, the legislature of Georgia recently bought of his master, for \$1,800, a slave who had saved a valuable public building from destruction by fire, and gave him his liberty! Did they mean to inflict a curse, or to bestow a blessing? What is this act but a confession, on the part of the masters, that emancipation would be happy for the slave?

If there is a class of persons in the world whom I could endure to see made slaves, it is those who maintain that liberty would be a curse to the colored man. Mayhap a year's service under a southern task-master—a few sales at auction with '*other live stock*'—and a few floggings with a slave-driver's whip, might restore them to their reason, and convince them that, after all, liberty is better than slavery. A trial of a single month might be sufficient, perhaps, to induce them to say with full sincerity—

'O! massa, he is fool or knave,
And his heart is sealed to me,
Who says de poor afflicted slave
Is happier dan de free.

But if he be not fool or knave,
If he speak de truth of me,
Den let *him* come and be de slave,
And *I* will be de free.'

3. *It is said that an immediate emancipation of all the slaves would be dangerous—an evil of greater magnitude than slavery itself—and that of two evils we must choose the least.* But we have not the *right* of choice between *moral* evils. The principle of choosing the least of two evils is applicable only to those evils which are merely *physical*. Take a familiar illustration: Suppose there is a rock in the highway, so that the traveler cannot pass without great difficulty. Now it is proper to say of this rock that it is an evil, and ought to be removed. But we can easily conceive of circumstances in which its immediate removal would produce a still greater evil. Now we have a right to exercise our judgment in choosing the best time to remove that rock from the highway; because it is a *physical* evil, which does not involve the violation of God's law. But slavery is a *moral* evil—a *SIN*—and cannot be continued a moment without guilt.

That immediate emancipation would be attended with perfect safety, may be argued from the nature of the human mind, and from historical facts.

Man is made to be governed by motive and not by force ; and whoever overlooks this essential principle of human nature, in his dealings with mankind, will become involved in difficulty and danger. The system of slavery may be compared to a volcanic fire : every stroke of the whip, every tear which flows at the separation of friends, and every hour of unrequited toil, adds fuel to the flame ! What motive has the slave to labor, but to avoid the lash ? Alas ! he knows, that however industriously he may toil, his hire will be ‘ kept back by fraud ;’ therefore, in the language of Adam Smith, he ‘ can have no other interest than to eat and waste as much, and work as little as he can.’ But emancipate him—place him under the protection of wise and equitable laws—allow him to possess his wife and children, and labor for his own and their benefit ; and with what alacrity and cheerfulness would he go forth to his daily task !

Look in yonder field ! See that human being, on whose countenance is depicted sullenness and despair. He has dropped the implement of labor by his side, and stands in idle indifference. Now see the lash flourishing over his head and falling upon his naked body, while he bleeds afresh at every stroke ! He begins to work, but every motion betrays an agitated and despairing mind. The whip at length ceases its strokes, and again the implement of labor falls to the ground ! Need I tell you that man is a *slave* ?

Look again ! See how industriously that man applies himself to his task. His countenance is the picture of health and contentment. Although you see no whip wielded over him, he does not relax from his toil. Need I tell you, that man is a *freeman*—toiling hard, it may be, but cheerfully, for his wife and children ?

The slaves, in their present condition, are surrounded with every motive to insurrection. Deprived of all their rights, liable to be torn asunder from their relatives and friends, and sold like beasts in the market ! and goaded to desperation by the lash ! would it be strange, if they should make an effort to shake off their fetters ? Do not slaveholders live in constant fear of insurrection ? Why does the slaveholding mother, when she hears an alarm of fire, press her infant closer to her bosom ? Why is it, that, in many instances, the master dare not retire to rest without the implements of war by his bedside ? Why, but because he is conscious that the slaves are surrounded with motives to fight—motives more powerful far than those which urged our fathers to the field of battle and of blood ?

Emancipation would not only remove the causes which now

operate to induce the slaves to fight, but furnish them with the strongest motives for gratitude and contentment. After having been so long treated as merchandize, how would it console and comfort them to think, that they were at last to be regarded as men ! no longer to be bought and sold—no longer to be compelled to toil without compensation, or kept in ignorance of their relations to God and their fellow-men. O, it would bind around their hearts a ‘cord of love’ stronger than death, by which they might be led in the paths of virtue and peace !

I have said, that the safety of emancipation might be argued from historical facts ; and I now challenge the advocates of gradual emancipation to produce from the history of the world a single instance in which the liberation of slaves has caused the evils which their imagination has depicted. I challenge them to point to a single drop of human blood, which has been shed by slaves in consequence of their emancipation.

Do they point to St. Domingo ? Let them know, that the horrible scenes enacted there were the bitter fruits of oppression. For eight years, more than half a million of emancipated slaves continued to labor peaceably and quietly for their former masters ; and ‘the colony,’ to use the language of an accredited historian,* ‘marched, as by enchantment, towards its ancient splendor ; cultivation prospered ; every day produced perceptible proofs of its progress.’ It was when Bonaparte attempted to restore slavery—to fasten again the iron yoke of bondage upon five hundred thousand freemen, that those scenes occurred, which struck the whole civilized world with horror.

In July, 1828, thirty thousand Hottentots were emancipated in Cape Colony, in South Africa, by the British Parliament ; and admitted by law to all the rights and privileges of the white colonists. Although the masters protested that there would be no security to life or property, yet were their flocks not pillaged nor their throats cut.†

Passing by a score of facts of the same nature, which we might mention, if time would permit, we refer to the experiment now going on in the British West Indies for evidence of the most decisive character of the entire safety of immediate emancipation. While the people of Great Britain were discussing the subject of slavery in their Colonies, and while a vast majority of the philanthropists of that country were urging Parliament to abolish it at once and forever ; the same predictions of ruin and massacre were uttered by the planters, which are now uttered by the friends of gradual reform in this country. It was said there, as it now is here, that the emancipated slaves would pillage and burn the houses of their former masters, and fill the land with mourning and woe !

* General Lacroix.

† See the ‘Oasis,’ by Mrs. Child, p. 163.

It was on account of these alarming predictions, so loudly uttered and so strenuously persisted in, that Parliament was induced to leave each colony to choose for itself, whether to make emancipation immediate and complete, or to hold their slaves in the relation of apprentices for a term of years. Two of the colonies, Antigua and Bermuda, in the face of their former predictions, *preferred the system of immediate emancipation!* They no sooner saw that Parliament was determined that the slaves should eventually be free, and that their auguries of danger could not avail to prevent this result, than they gave their fears to the winds! The other colonies adopted the system of apprenticeship.

Now mark the result. In Antigua and Bermuda, where the system of immediate and unconditional emancipation was adopted, there has been no disorder—no difficulty. No houses have been pillaged or burned, and no throats have been cut. Those who were formerly slaves now labor peaceably and quietly for wages; and the latest accounts encourage the hope, that no serious difficulties will ensue. In the other colonies, where the system of apprenticeship was preferred, although the slaves have not fulfilled the predictions of their masters by resorting to violence, they have still shown much dissatisfaction, and in some instances have refused to work. They cannot see the justice of being compelled to serve an apprenticeship with those whom they have heretofore served as slaves. Hence they are disappointed and dissatisfied. This is just the result which the friends of emancipation predicted. How much better would it have been, had the example of Antigua and Bermuda been followed by the other colonies. Then there would have been no discordant note to mar the song of joy and rejoicing at the freedom of eight hundred thousand human beings from the galling fetters of slavery.*

How plainly do these facts demonstrate the perfect safety of doing justice at once. And why should they surprise us? Might we not expect that obedience to the law of God would be productive of the happiest consequences? There are some who talk as if they supposed God had made some mistake in framing his law—that he did not make due allowance for all the circumstances of human existence—and that therefore they have a right to remedy the defect. But let them recollect, that God saw the end from the beginning—that when he commanded mankind to love their neighbors as themselves, he did it for their good, and with a perfect knowledge of all the circumstances in which every individual of the human family would be placed.

* See Appendix A.

4. *It is said by way of objection, that the laws deprive the masters of the power of emancipating.* This reminds me of a story, very simple indeed, but yet illustrating the fallacy of this excuse so well that I cannot forbear to relate it. A lady once left home, and commanded her daughter to perform a certain piece of labor in her absence. Finding on her return, that the work had not been done, she interrogated the daughter as to the cause. 'Mother,' said she, 'I was tied.' 'Who tied you?' 'O, I tied myself!' And this is just what the slaveholders do—they make laws prohibiting emancipation, and then gravely plead those laws as an excuse for their oppression!

I was conversing, not long since, with a student, in a Theological Seminary in New-England, from Virginia. He declared positively, that the masters in that State were generally very anxious to emancipate—mourning over their unfortunate condition, and the difficulties which prevented the accomplishment of their benevolent desires. I asked him to tell me what were the difficulties which rendered it necessary for slaveholders to oppress their sable victims, and disregard the plain demands of the law of love. And what do you suppose was the first difficulty which he brought forward by way of palliation for their heaven-daring crimes? Why, that the *laws* deprived them of the power to 'undo the heavy burdens!' But have you not told me that there exists among them a strong public sentiment in favor of emancipation? 'Yes.' And they would generally be glad to emancipate, if the laws were repealed? 'Yes.' Why then do they not repeal the laws? 'Because,' added he, with as much gravity as if he supposed this hypocritical subterfuge would effectually silence all further argument—'because they regard the laws as essential to their safety!' Truly has it been said, 'error is fated to run crooked'!

But it is asked, what shall those individuals do, who would be glad to emancipate, if the laws did not exist? I reply, let them obey God rather than men. God says, 'break every yoke—let the oppressed go free,' and they can no more be excused for refusing to comply, on account of the laws in question, than Daniel could have been excused for neglecting to pray on account of the law of his king. But it is said, that if they do this, those who are set at liberty will be again enslaved by the public authorities. And what of that? Must they continue in crime to prevent its perpetration by others? Let them fearlessly obey God, and do all in their power to protect the emancipated; and then if the State reduces them to bondage, on the State be the responsibility.

5. *It is objected that immediate emancipation is not the doctrine of the Bible.* In support of this objection it is said,

that slavery existed under the ancient dispensation, and in the time of Christ and the Apostles, who did not inculcate the duty of letting the slaves go free at once. I shall not go into an extended examination of these points. It is a subject for an elaborate treatise. In regard to the children of Israel I will only say, that allowing that their servants were slaves, in the proper sense of the word, they were held by express authority from God. It would be just as reasonable to say, that we have a right to make war upon surrounding nations with a view to exterminate them, because God authorized the Israelites to do it, as it would be to plead their example in justification of slavery.

Although the slavery which existed in the time of Christ and the Apostles was very different from that which exists at the present day, the New Testament is far from justifying it. Much stress has been laid upon the fact, that Paul commanded servants to be obedient to their masters; but this no more proves that the masters had a right to retain them in bondage, than the command, 'Love your enemies,' implies that men may innocently be enemies to one another. Our Savior has said, 'If a man smite thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other also;' but does this justify him who smites? Neither does the exhortation to servants to be obedient to their masters imply that the relation was an innocent one.

But what did Paul say to the masters? Did he tell them that their servants were their property—mere goods and chattels, which they might starve or sell at pleasure? Did he say that they might be kept in brutal ignorance as the slaves are kept at the south? Listen to his words: 'Masters,' said he, 'give unto your servants that which is *just and equal*.*' When it can be shown that the holding of men in slavery, selling them at auction with horses and cattle, and compelling them to labor without hire, is '*just and equal*,' then it will be time enough to assert that Paul justified it.

The case of Onesimus, whom Paul sent back to Philemon, is so often referred to in justification of slavery, that I need make no apology for quoting what follows from a lecture delivered in England, by that noble champion of the slave, GEORGE THOMPSON, who is now in this country.

Yes! resumed Mr. Thompson, this is all very beautiful: but then, St. Paul sent Onesimus back to Philemon! Well, then, about this Onesimus. In the first place, does the gentleman know that this Onesimus was a slave in the sense that the negroes in the West Indies [United States] are slaves? Second. Did Philemon possess a property in his life and limbs, as the West India [American] slave owners say they have in the life and limbs of the negroes? He should have prov-

* Colossians, iv. 1.

ed this before he justified slavery, because St. Paul sent Onesimus back to Philemon. We find in the 18th chapter of Matthew, that a certain king would take account of his servants. Now the word *doulos*, translated servant there, is the same which is translated servant in the epistle to Philemon; and we find there that one unfaithful *doulos* owed his master ten thousand talents. How could an abject slave owe ten thousand talents? But mark the conduct of his master. He orders the slave and his family to be sold, that he may be repaid. He sells his own property to pay himself! I may perhaps illustrate the folly of this conduct, supposing *doulos* to mean slave, by a homely simile. A horse in a stable slips his halter, and eats some beans out of a sack, and the master says, 'Oh thou wicked and ungrateful horse! did I not give thee hay enough? and yet thou hast broken loose and eaten up this sack of beans! Though thou art mine, and though thou hast cost me fifty pounds, I will punish thee for this. I will sell thee to-morrow, though I should lose by thee, that I may repay myself for the beans thou hast eaten.'

Suppose this *doulos*—this slave according to West Indian translation, runs away and becomes a convert to principles that he knew not before—that he is recognized and sheltered, as St. Paul kept Onesimus—and that he is sent back with a message, 'I send you back your runaway.' In such a case, no doubt the slave owner would say, 'Ay, to be sure, let me have him.' But what does St. Paul say? Does he bid Philemon take Onesimus, and treat him as the poor boy was treated for running away with his own naked body? No! Does he say, 'Take him and hang him?' No! Does he say, 'Flog him?' No! Does he say, 'Chain him?' No! Does he say, 'Put a collar on him?' No! He says, 'Receive him *not as a servant, BUT AS A BROTHER.*' He bids him esteem him as more than a servant—as a *brother beloved*.

One thing is certain; the Bible does not say a word about gradual emancipation, or the duty of preparing the slaves for freedom by educating them: consequently, if the argument attempted to be drawn from Scripture in support of slavery proves any thing, it proves that the system may be perpetual! The objector can take which horn of the dilemma he chooses: he may say the Bible justifies slavery, and therefore all attempts to promote emancipation are unscriptural: or else candidly admit, that he perverts the sacred volume and slanders the character of those who 'spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.'

Those who resort to the Bible to find apologies for slavery consider themselves slandered when *they* are spoken of as the friends of the system. They can talk very calmly of Abraham, as a *pious* slaveholder—and of Paul as vindicating the just claims of the masters, &c. But ask them whether *they* support the system, and they will reply, 'O no, we are as much opposed to slavery as the abolitionists:' as if they were more holy than Paul! more benevolent than God! and as if their morality were purer than that of the Bible! O, shame! that men—that *Christians* should thus 'wrest the Scriptures,' and give occasion for the enemy to blaspheme!

I have spoken thus far of objections to PRINCIPLES: I will now proceed to answer, as was proposed,

II. OBJECTIONS TO THE MEASURES OF ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES. And

1. *It is said they are exciting the free States on a subject which does not concern them.* And is it true, that the people of the free States have no concern with slavery? Suppose the slaves should universally rebel against their masters, and seek revenge for the wrongs which they have suffered; would the South be willing then that we should have nothing to do with the matter? Do we flatter ourselves that such a crisis will never come? that the slaves will always remain peaceable, and submit to their fate? Let us not delude ourselves with such a hope. Unless they are voluntarily emancipated, the day of retribution will come! In all the anguish of hope deferred, they will make such an effort to secure their rights as will baffle the skill of their oppressors and fill the land with mourning and wo! And where would the South look for succor in such a crisis, but to the people of the free States? Would she not point to the constitution—‘the sacred national compact’—and *demand* our assistance under its solemn stipulations? And have we then no concern with slavery? no right to utter a note of warning and expostulation? To whom, moreover, does the South look for assistance in recovering her ‘fugitives,’ but to the officers of justice in the free States? Must we stain our hands with the guilt of oppression, and become partners with them in perpetrating the highest of all crimes? and have we no right to remonstrate? Are we slaves ourselves, having no right to utter a word, when we are required to assist in fastening the yoke of bondage on those who fly to us for protection?

I maintain, that so far from having nothing to do with slavery, the free States are under the most solemn obligations to seek its removal by united and persevering exertion. The groans of the oppressed, wafted to us on every breeze—the guilt of the oppressor rising up to Heaven and calling for vengeance—our solemn Declaration of Independence, disregarded in the persons of more than two millions of manacled and bleeding slaves—the bleeding reputation of our country, and the solemn injunction of Holy Writ, to ‘remember them that are in bonds as bound with them’—lay us under an obligation, as weighty as any which was ever pressed on the conscience of man, to seek the removal of this mighty evil.

I know it is said, that the free States are already opposed to slavery. There is a sense, doubtless, in which this is true;

but there is another sense, far more important, in which it is false. The free States opposed to slavery! Why then are the mouths of the people filled with apologies for the sin? Why do we hear one crying out, that it is a necessary evil? another, that its removal would be a curse both to the master and slave? and another, that the Bible sanctions it? Why do they tolerate the domestic slave-trade—a traffic, fraught with misery as great, and with guilt as enormous, as that which marks the steps of the kidnapper on the coast of Africa? But above all, why do they permit the existence of slavery in the District of Columbia?† Why do they allow human beings to be bought and sold in the very place where stands the Temple of Liberty? Why are our Representatives in Congress silent, when they hear the clanking of the prisoner's chains, and the hammer of the auctioneer, as he knocks off to the highest bidder the bodies and souls of men, women and children, within a stone's throw of that very building where talent and eloquence are exhausted in lofty speeches concerning 'inalienable rights'?‡ The free States opposed to slavery? Their practice gives the lie to their professions. Their hands are stained with innocent blood, and on them rests the deepest guilt!

Slavery at this very moment is supported at the South, in no small degree, by northern excuses and apologies, and more than all by the national example.‖ How can we reasonably expect that the South will wash out her deep-stained guilt, while we are crying, 'Peace, peace;' and while the nation itself lends the sanction of its high example to encourage them in their course? Let us annihilate slavery in the District of Columbia, elevate the people of color in our midst, and bear a faithful testimony against the sin of the South; and then the mighty fabric of oppression, which renders us the reproach and scorn of the whole civilized world, will speedily crumble and fall. We cannot neglect to do this and be innocent. If we fail to use the moral power which God has placed in our hands—a power amply sufficient to accomplish this glorious result—the same judgments which will, we have reason to fear, be visited upon the South, will be visited also upon us; and our glorious institutions, the envy of the world, will be swallowed up in the mighty ruin! The same God who brought Israel out of the

* Appendix B.

† Appendix C.

‖ Appendix D.

‡ Since this Address was written, the long and guilty silence has been broken! Let the friends of humanity thank God and take courage! Let petitions be sent to Congress from every city, town and village in the free States! Let a voice of remonstrance be heard from every pulpit, from every hall of legislation, and from every human dwelling! Let not the press keep silence—but let it speak out in tones of thunder, until this iniquity be put away, and our country no longer suffer the reproach of tolerating a traffic in human flesh within sight of her temples of justice!

house of bondage, and overthrew their guilty oppressors, will visit us in anger, and destroy us in his hot displeasure.

I know it is said, that we should withhold our advice and leave the South to seek a remedy for this mighty evil in her own time and in her own way. But we might as well talk of leaving the sleeping inmates of a house on fire to extinguish the flames and effect their escape without our assistance! As well might the friends of temperance dissolve their associations and leave distillers, rum merchants and drunkards to reform in their own time and in their own way! As well might the church of Christ throw down her banners, and leave a guilty world to grope its way in darkness to the pit!

2. *It is said that Anti-Slavery Societies are interfering with the rights of slaveholders—rights guaranteed by the constitution.* But we deny that the framers of the constitution could confer the right of holding slaves. What authority had the framers of that instrument to nullify the laws of Jehovah? Hath God said, 'Whoso stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death;' and have men the right to enter into a compact which binds them to protect each other in stealing men, women and children? We say with PITT, 'A legislative contract for the continuance of slavery must have been void, even from the beginning; for it is an outrage upon justice, and only another name for fraud, robbery and murder. As well might an individual think himself bound by a promise to commit an assassination.' Others may talk of the *right* of slaveholders to their victims; but with the eloquent BROUGHAM, '*I deny the right—I acknowledge not the property.*' The principles, the feelings of our common nature, rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or to the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it. In vain you tell me of the laws that sanction such a claim! There is a law above all the enactments of human codes—the same throughout the world, the same in all times—such as it was before the daring genius of Columbus pierced the night of ages, and opened to one world the sources of power, wealth and knowledge; to another, all unutterable woes;—such it is at this day: it is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty fantasy, that man can hold property in man!' We say with RICE, 'The owners of slaves are licensed robbers, and not the just proprietors of what they claim: freeing them is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to the right owner; it is suffering the unlawful captive to escape. It is not wrong-

ing the master, but doing justice to the slave, restoring him to himself. Emancipation would only take away property that is its own property, and not ours; property that has the same right to possess us, as we have to possess it; property that has the same right to convert our children into dogs and calves and colts, as we have to convert theirs into these beasts; property that may transfer our children to strangers, by the same right that we transfer theirs.

But what are Anti-Slavery Societies doing, which the constitution prohibits? They have done nothing, and propose to do nothing, but discuss the true doctrine of human rights—to operate upon public sentiment by arguments and facts—and touch the public conscience by appeals to the understanding. We do not alarm our opponents by the exhibition of physical power. The influence which we wield is a moral influence. And does not the constitution guarantee to us the liberty of speech and the press? May we write and print what we please on every subject but that of slavery? May we talk of the tyranny of European despots, and give utterance to our sympathies for the Greeks and Poles; and must we seal our lips in silence concerning the oppression which is done in our own country? No; we will not. We will lift up the warning voice; we will ‘cry aloud and spare not;’ we will show the people their sins; we will unfold to public view the enormities of slavery—that system of lust and blood, which remains like a plague-spot upon our country’s fair escutcheon. We will not be deterred by threats, or suspend our exertions at the bidding of a lawless mob. We will suffer martyrdom, if need be, in defence of our principles. Never, till death lays his icy hand upon us, and we are summoned to our last account, will we cease to bear testimony against the crying sin of our country; and our last prayer shall be uttered in behalf of the manacled slave!

3. *It is said that Anti-Slavery Societies are endangering the Union.* It should rather be said that they are taking the only course which can save the Union from crumbling to pieces. What but slavery is the cause of all the heart-burnings and dissensions between the North and South? Remove this single evil, and the Union might be indissolubly cemented in the bonds of fraternal affection; but while this evil continues, it will be disturbed by animosities and jealousies innumerable.

How often have we been told, that the liberty of speech and the freedom of the press are the very pillars of our political fabric—our only safeguard from tyranny and despotism! But now, forsooth, our sagacious patriots have discovered, that the

safety of the Union depends upon the suppression of free inquiry ; and so the abolitionists must be silenced—peaceably if possible, *forcibly* if necessary. At all events, their mouths must be stopped, or the Union will fly to pieces! What, I ask, is our Union worth, if it be such a rope of sand as this declaration implies? If, indeed, it cannot stand, except on the necks of two millions of slaves ; if the law of God must be trampled under foot to sustain it ; if its foundation is so frail, that free discussion must be inhibited to preserve it ; then I say, let it fall. Yes, let it fall ; for much as I value it, I esteem it as nothing worth compared with God's holy law.

4. *It is made a serious objection to Anti-Slavery Societies that they oppose the Colonization Society.* Time will not permit me to enter at length upon a discussion of this topic. Candor seems to require, however, that I should not pass it in silence. I say then that we oppose the Colonization Society,

Because, in its official publications, and through its agents, it has ever manifested the most confirmed and deadly hostility to our fundamental principles ;—

Because it has declared itself the enemy of immediate emancipation ;*—

Because it has maintained that no slave ought to be emancipated, except on condition of leaving the country ; thus admitting that the masters may innocently retain their victims in servitude ;†—

Because it denies the power of the gospel to annihilate prejudice, and blasphemously attributes those feelings of hostility to the people of color, which are the sin and disgrace of this country, to 'AN ORDINATION OF PROVIDENCE' ;‡—

Because it tends to increase the prejudice against the colored people, by gratifying it ;—

Because it has slandered the people of color, and declared that they are a vile and worthless class, who can never be cle-

* ' Were the very spirit of angelic charity to pervade and fill the hearts of all the slaveholders in our land, it would by no means require that all the slaves should be instantaneously liberated.'—*African Repository*, vol. v. p. 329.

† ' All emancipation, to however small an extent, which permits the persons emancipated to remain in this country, is an evil which must increase with the increase of the operation.'—*First Annual Report of the Am. Col. Society.*

' Emancipation, with the liberty to remain on this side of the Atlantic, is but an act of dreamy madness !'—*Thirteenth Annual Report.*

One of the speakers at the last annual meeting of the society, (B. B. Thatcher of Boston) has declared in the *North American Review* for July, 1833, (and the declaration has been endorsed by the *African Repository*.) that ' The society maintains that no slave ought to receive his liberty, except on condition of being excluded, not merely from the State which sets him loose, but from the whole country ; that is, of being colonized.'

‡ ' Christianity cannot do for them here what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the colored man, nor of the white man, nor of Christianity, but AN ORDINATION OF PROVIDENCE.'—*Fifteenth Annual Report.*

vated in this country, and 'of whom it were a blessing to society to be rid';*—

Because the people of color themselves, wherever they have the liberty of speech, declare its influence to be prejudicial to their interests;†—

Because many of those whom the Society colonizes are *made willing* to be exported, by oppressive laws, which are enacted through the agency of the members and friends of the Society;‡—

Because it denounces abolitionists as enemies of their country—as mad-men and fanatics;||—

Because its friends, in their efforts to secure for it the patronage of different portions of the country, have practised the grossest deception;¶—

Because it justifies those laws which keep the slaves in ignorance;§—

* 'They constitute a large mass of human beings, who hang as a vile excrescence upon society.'—*African Repository*, vol. vii. p. 230.

† The people of color, in the principal cities and villages in the free States, have published resolutions declaring their confirmed hostility to the society.

‡ 'And yet they sent out two ship-loads of VAGABONDS not fit to go to such a place, and that were COERCED away as truly as if it had been done with a CART-WHIP!'—Speech of R. J. Breckenridge before the Am. Col. Soc. in 1834.

|| 'The scope of the society is large enough, but it is in no wise mingled or confounded with the broad sweeping views of a few fanatics in America, who would urge us on to the sudden and total abolition of slavery.'—*African Repository*, vol. iii. p. 197.

¶ In proof of this, we refer to the gross falsehood concerning Clarkson's letter, which was published in the *African Repository* by the *Rev. R. R. Gurley*. Clarkson, the modern apostle of emancipation, wrote a letter to Elliott Cresson, the agent of the Colonization Society in England, expressing his views of the society and the reasons why he supported it. In that letter, he says that he understands the 'FIRST' object of the society to be, 'to assist in the emancipation of all the slaves in the United States;' and with this understanding he approved of it. The letter found its way to this country—to Washington. Mr. Gurley wished to add the name of Clarkson to the long catalogue of distinguished men who supported the society; but he dared not let it be known, that that worthy man supported it from a belief that its object was, to '*emancipate all the slaves*'; first, because he knew he had been grossly deceived by Cresson—and secondly, because he knew that the people of the South would be indignant at such an annunciation. He therefore omits Clarkson's introduction, and inserts an editorial paragraph in place of it, misrepresenting entirely the reasons which induced that good man to support the scheme. That the people of Vermont may see this deception, and no longer be gulled into a support of this ungodly conspiracy against an oppressed and down-trodden people, we insert in parallel columns the paragraphs to which we refer.

LOOK ON THIS PICTURE,

Extract from Clarkson's Letter.

'This society seems to me to have two objects in view—first, TO ASSIST IN THE EMANCIPATION OF ALL THE SLAVES NOW IN THE UNITED STATES; and secondly, by sending *these* to Africa, to do away the slave trade, and promote civilization among the natives there.'

AND ON THIS!

Mr. Gurley's False Substitute.

'He [Clarkson] considers the object of the society two-fold; first, TO PROMOTE THE VOLUNTARY EMIGRATION TO AFRICA OF THE COLORED POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES; and secondly, the suppression of the slave-trade, and the civilization of the African tribes.'

The author of this base forgery is still Secretary of the American Colonization Society! Will the people of Vermont support that society?

§ 'It is a well established point, that the public safety forbids either the emancipation or the general instruction of the slaves.'—Seventh Annual Report.

Because it is managed chiefly by slaveholders, who do not repent of their sin, but continue to trade in human flesh ;*—

Because its colony is no benefit to Africa, and multitudes of the emigrants wish to return to this country ;†—and finally,

Because its principles are such that it receives the support and countenance of many of the vilest men in the land, even of those who contrive and execute plans for mobbing the abolitionists.||

These are the reasons why we oppose the Colonization Society. For the truth of our charges against it we appeal to its official documents. We ask no man to take our assertions instead of proof. We invite discussion ; we challenge investigation ; and we will not shrink from the issue.

This Society, like Popery, has endeavored to silence our objections by pointing us to its long calender of saints. But the question is not, whether good men have supported it ? but whether its principles are in accordance with religion and humanity ? And this question we shall continue to press upon the public mind, uninfluenced by flattery and unawed by threats.

5. *Finally, it is objected to Anti-Slavery Societies, that their measures tend to exasperate slaveholders, and confirm them in sin.* This objection has been made to reformers in every age of the world, from the time that Noah preached repentance to the antediluvians down to the present period. It was made against the Apostles—against Luther—and it has been made against the friends of temperance in our day. Why have such multitudes of Christian ministers fallen martyrs to the cause of their blessed Lord ? Simply because they were faithful in declaring the truth ; because they told men that they

* ‘ About twelve years ago, some of the wisest men of the nation, *mostly slaveholders*, formed in the city of Washington, the present American Colonization Society.’—*Af. Rep.* vol. iv. p. 274.

· Bushrod Washington, first President of the Society, while he held his office, sold 60 of his slaves to be driven off to the southern market ! And Charles Carroll, who was President of the Society at the time of his death, left, if we mistake not, nearly 1000 slaves, which he ‘ entailed ’ on his relatives !

‡ ‘ Of all misery and poverty, and all repining that my imagination had ever conceived, it had never reached what my eyes now saw, and my ears heard. Hundreds of poor creatures, squallid, ragged, hungry, without employment—some actually starving to death, and all praying most fervently that they might get home to America once more. Even the emancipated slave craved the boon of returning again to bondage that he might once more have the pains of hunger satisfied. There are hundreds there who say they would rather come back and be slaves, than stay in Liberia. They would sit down and tell us their tale of suffering and of sorrow, with such a dejected and wo-begone aspect, that it would almost break our hearts. They would weep as they would talk of their sorrows here, and their joys in America ; and we mingled our tears freely with theirs. This part of the population included, as near as we could judge, *two thirds* of the inhabitants of Monrovia.’—*Samuel Jones’ Journal of a visit to Liberia—Birney’s Letter.*

|| The nobocracy of New York passed resolutions the last year in favor of the society, after having broken up a meeting of abolitionists in Chatham Street Chapel.

were sinners, and must repent or perish. Why were Baxter and his associates forbidden to preach the gospel, and persecuted from city to city? Simply because they attempted to reform the vices of their times—because they told men plainly and fearlessly that they were sinners—rebels against God and exposed to utter destruction. There was one condition on which they might all have escaped persecution—*by ceasing to preach against sin so as to exasperate sinners.*

How was Pharaoh exasperated, when Moses, in the name of the Lord, commanded him to let Israel go? If Moses had only urged him on the ground of *expediency*—if he had only told him it was very *unfortunate* that the people of Israel were his slaves—if he had failed to urge upon him the duty of *immediate repentance*, and told him that he ought to let them go free as soon as existing *difficulties* were removed; Pharaoh would doubtless have been ready to assent to it all. It was an exhibition of his awful guilt in rebelling against God that so exasperated him and made him tremble with rage!

TRUTH is the grand instrument by which to prosecute every kind of moral reformation. If truth is yielded up, out of regard to the feelings of those whom it offends, the reformation will stop, and we shall ‘labor in vain and spend our strength for nought.’ The question then is, whether Anti-Slavery Societies in the prosecution of their object, do any thing more than wield this mighty weapon. If they do not, then the fact that they offend slaveholders is no objection to their measures.

On this question we are ready to join issue. We assert that we say nothing of slaveholders which is not strictly true. We call them men-stealers; and this we are told is abusive and slanderous. But why? If a man steals a horse, is he not at once branded as a *horse-thief*? If he steals a sheep, what do men call him but a *sheep-stealer*? And why should not those who steal *men* be called *men-stealers*? We maintain, that every person who retains in his possession as *property*, a human being, is guilty of the highest kind of theft. We care not what may be his station in society; whether he be rich or poor; a minister or layman; a magistrate or a private citizen; we charge him with the guilt of man-stealing. And we do it not for the purpose of offending him, but to make him sensible of the enormity of his guilt.

But, asks the objector, do you really mean to say, that ministers and church members who hold slaves at the South are men-stealers? Yes; and we say that their guilt is enhanced by their high professions. The churches at the South are stained with blood! They are corrupt, both ministers and people! With the word of God in their hands, which says,

'Thou shalt not steal,' they commit the highest kind of theft! With high professions of attachment to Christ and his cause, and of love to their fellow men, they oppress the poor and needy, and rob the fatherless and the widow!*

I know it is said, these men are ignorant. But how is it possible, that, with the Bible in their hands, they should not know it is a heinous crime to deprive a human being of liberty and 'use his service without wages'? And then there is the Declaration of Independence staring them in the face, with its solemn attestation of human rights! Ignorant! Touch them and see! Enter their dwellings at midnight, seize their helpless children and carry them into exile. Will they not inquire for the *thief*? Will they not appeal to the Bible to show your inhumanity and wickedness? Where is now their ignorance? But I forget: you have stolen *their* children; and their children have *white skins*!

Our answer then to those who accuse us of harsh language is, that we utter NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH. Our design is, to represent slavery and the guilt of those who uphold it in such terms as will not fail to carry conviction to the conscience, and convey an adequate impression of their enormity. We do this because we believe it to be the only way to effect our object, and not because we take pleasure in offending the people of the South.

We could pay more respect to the objections of those who find fault with us for our harsh language, if they would deign to set us an example of the proper mode of discussing the subject. But this they neglect to do. They stand aloof and complain. They talk and write twice as much about our 'imprudent zeal' and 'harsh language' as they do about the enormities of slavery; and to crown the whole, they call us 'visionary enthusiasts,' 'mad-men' and 'fanatics'!

What, I ask, has given the cause of temperance such a mighty impulse in this land? I answer, the constant and fearless reiteration of the TRUTH—the unceasing declaration, from the pulpit and the press, that the manufacturers, venders and consumers of intoxicating liquor are awfully GUILTY in the sight of God, and bound INSTANTLY TO REPENT. It is the pressure of this truth upon the conscience, which has led such multitudes in our country to abandon the manufacture and sale of the drunkard's drink. The friends of temperance were slow in coming up to this point. They were at first disposed to say nothing that should offend—nothing that should exasperate those *pious* men who were so *unfortunate* as to have invested all their property in distilleries, and who were under the *neces-*

* Appendix E.

sity of continuing their guilty business in order to support their families !

When the doctrine of total abstinence was first broached, it was generally regarded as a wild chimera ; but experience has proved it to be the grand lever of the temperance reform. It is asked of us why we insist upon the doctrine of entire and immediate emancipation. We answer, for the same reason that Temperance Societies insist upon the doctrine of total abstinence—because it is the only principle that can reach the conscience and effect the object ;—for the same reason that ministers of the gospel preach the duty of immediate repentance—because to preach any other doctrine would be to admit that men might innocently continue to sin.

We have several examples of the power of our principles to awaken the dormant conscience of the slaveholder. There is the noble BIRNEY, a living witness to their efficacy. But two years ago he was an agent of the Colonization Society, and a slaveholder. There was nothing in the principles of that institution which touched his conscience. But when the principles of abolition were presented to his mind, they reached his heart—he was convinced—he has repented—he is no longer an oppressor, but is exerting all the powers of his noble mind in extending to others a knowledge of the principles which led him to repentance.

The testimony of Mr. THOME of Kentucky to the power of anti-slavery principles is encouraging and valuable. In his eloquent and impressive address at the first annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society he said :

That abolition principles do commend themselves to the consciences and interest of slaveholders, I have the honor to stand before you a living witness. I breathed my first breath in the atmosphere of slavery. The sympathies of nature were dried up, even in their spring-tide ; compassion was deadened, and the heart steeled by repeated scenes of cruelty, and oft-taught lessons of the colored man's inferiority. But though I am at this moment heir to a slave inheritance—one of those *unfortunate* beings upon whom slavery is by force *entailed*,—I am bold to denounce the whole system as an outrage, a complication of crimes, and wrongs, and cruelties, that make angels weep.

This is the spirit which anti-slavery principles inspire. Indeed I know of no subject that takes such strong hold of the man as does abolition. All the sympathies are its advocates, and every susceptibility to compassionate outraged humanity stands pledged to do its work.

For several years I contributed to the funds of the Colonization Society, and eulogized its measures ; and though I would not now leave my path to attack this institution, yet duty bids me state, solemnly and deliberately, that its direct influence upon my mind was to lessen my conviction of the evil of slavery, and to deepen and sanctify my prejudice against the colored race.

My apology for speaking thus, is, that I *know* its evils. I *know* the individual slaves, who are now in bondage by its influence *alone*. I

know the masters, whose *only* plea for continuing in the sin is drawn from the doctrines of the Colonization Society. But Kentucky is rising above this influence. Conscientious citizens are forming themselves into other associations. The spirit of inquiry is abroad. The Legislature have taken up the subject. The great object of my presence in the free States is to urge abolitionists to renewed efforts in behalf of the slave. The question has been asked here, and repeated at the South, 'What has the North to do with slavery?' At present she has every thing to do with it—every thing. We have no abolition periodicals in the West and South; and your principles are grossly misrepresented and misunderstood. Yet, under all these disadvantages, you have done much already. The very little leaven you have been able to introduce is working with tremendous power. One of my acquaintances, heir to slave-property, a young man of growing influence, became a whole-hearted abolitionist, in consequence of reading a single number of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, sent to him by some unknown hand. A family of slaves in Arkansas Territory, another in Tennessee, and a third, consisting of eighty-eight, in Virginia, have been emancipated through the influence of one abolition periodical.

Then do not hesitate as to duty. We have been lulled to sleep by the guilty apologist. We appeal to you for light. Send us facts—send us kind remonstrance and manly reasoning. We are perishing for lack of truth.

Friends of the oppressed! let us be encouraged by these cheering examples, to go forward in our work of philanthropy and love. With GOD and TRUTH on our side, what have we to fear? Ignorance and misrepresentation may for a while triumph over knowledge and truth; but the cause is of God and must prevail.

It is but little more than three years, since, with eleven others, I assisted in forming the New England Anti-Slavery Society, in Boston. We met in what was called an African school house. We were poor and feeble of ourselves, but God gave us strength and courage. The agent of the Colonization Society, in its official organ, called us 'ardent young men, with more *blood* than *brains*'! The wise and great—the rich and noble, laughed at our folly and ridiculed us for our presumption. The nation was asleep. We knew of scarcely twenty individuals in the whole land who were ready to co-operate with us. In the name of God we set up the banner of IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION, and around it have gathered thousands of the noblest men in the land, with vigorous minds and warm hearts.

Brethren: All that has been done thus far in this noble cause, has been done through the influence of light and truth; and it can be urged forward to final and complete success only by the same means. The enormities of the system of slavery must be spread out to the public view. Our principles must be explained and enforced by warm appeals to the understandings and consciences of our fellow citizens. There are two

ways in which this can be done ; by the employment of agents and the distribution of tracts, pamphlets and periodicals. In these two ways, the public sentiment of Vermont might soon be changed, and brought to bear in all its force against the mountain of oppression which we seek to remove.

Let us then show our faith by our works. Let the sympathy which exists in our *hearts* extend also to our *pockets*. Let us give liberally of that which God has placed in our hands, that the cause may be carried forward vigorously, successfully, triumphantly.

Thanks be to God for past success. 'If the Lord had not been our side, then had our enemies swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us.' The same Almighty Power which has delivered us from the rage and fury of mobs, will still go with us and protect us from all the assaults of our enemies. He will cause the wrath of man to praise him, and the remainder of the wrath he will restrain. Whatever may befall us as individuals—whether we live long, or die by the murderous hand of the assassin, our cause will be victorious. Yes! 'Glory to God in the highest,' slavery must speedily fall; the day is coming when every fetter shall be broken and the oppressed shall go free!

'Speed, speed the hour, O Lord!
 Speak, and at thy dread word
 Fetters shall fall
 From every limb—the strong
 No more the weak shall wrong,
 But liberty's sweet song,
 Be sung by all.'

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—Page 13.

We commend the following facts, derived from authentic sources, to all who are in doubt respecting the probable consequences of emancipation.

STRIKING INSTANCE OF THE CAPACITY OF EMANCIPATED SLAVES TO
TAKE CARE OF THEMSELVES.

‘It happened that several slaves took refuge from Martinique, where the slave-trade is avowedly carried on, to St. Lucia, in 1829. This caused a discussion, the effect of which was to make it generally known, that, on a foreign slave’s reaching a British colony, he, by Dr. Lushington’s Bill, becomes free; and in consequence of this discussion, several, exceeding 100 in number, came over in the year 1830.

Here were persons leaving a country of unmitigated slavery; persons precisely in the condition in which our whole slave population may be supposed to have been some thirty years ago, by those who maintain that the condition of the slave has improved; here were persons described by their government as *incendiaries, idlers, and poisoners*.

When I left the colony in April last, some were employed for wages in the business they were best acquainted with:—some as masons and carpenters; some as domestics; others in clearing land, or as laborers on estates; while about twenty-six had clubbed together and placed themselves under the direction of a free colored man, an African, one of the persons deported from Martinique in 1824. These last had erected a pottery at a short distance from Castries. They took a piece of land: three or four cleared it; others fished up coral and burned lime; five or six quarried and got the stones, and performed the mason’s work; the remainder felled the timber and worked it in; and the little money that was requisite, was supplied in advance by the contractor for the church, on the tiles to be furnished for the building. This pottery was completed—a plain structure, but of great solidity and surprising neatness. Thus had they actually introduced a new manufacture into the country, for which it was previously indebted to our foreign neighbors or to the home market.’—JEREMIE’S *Essays*.

EMANCIPATION AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

‘We speak advisedly: *Three thousand* prize negroes have received their freedom, *four hundred in one day*; but not the least difficulty or disorder occurred: servants found masters—masters hired servants; all gained homes, and at night scarcely an idler was to be seen. In the last month, one hundred and fifty were liberated under precisely similar circumstances, and with the same result. These facts are within our own observation; and to state that sudden and abrupt emancipation would create disorder and distress to those you mean to serve, is not reason; but the plea of any and all men who are adverse to emancipation.’—*South African Commercial Advertiser* of Feb. 9, 1831.

NOTE B.—Page 18.

THE DOMESTIC SLAVE TRADE.

A very extensive internal slave-trade is carried on in this country. The breeding of negro cattle for the foreign markets (of Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, and Missouri,) is a very lucrative branch of business. Whole coffles of them, chained and manacled, are driven through our capital on their way to auction. Foreigners, particularly those who come here with enthusiastic ideas of American freedom, are amazed and disgusted at the sight. A troop of slaves once passed through Washington on the fourth of July, while drums were beating and standards flying. One of the captive negroes raised his hand, loaded with irons, and waving it toward the starry flag, sung with a smile of bitter irony, 'Hail Columbia! happy land!'—*Mrs. Child's Appeal*, p. 30.

Curiosity, says a gentleman in Charleston, S. C. in a letter to his friend in New York, sometimes leads me to the auction sales of the negroes. A few days since, I attended one which exhibited the beauties of slavery in all their sickening deformity. The bodies of these wretched beings were placed upright on a table—their physical proportions examined, their defects and beauties noted. 'A prime lot, here they go!' exclaimed the auctioneer. There I saw the father looking with sullen contempt upon the crowd, and expressing an indignation in his countenance that he dare not speak; and the mother, pressing her infant closer to her bosom, with an involuntary grasp, and exclaiming, in wild and simple earnestness, while the tears chased down her cheeks in quick succession, 'I can't leff my children! I won't leff my children!' But on the hammer went, reckless alike whether it united or sundered forever.—*Stuart's Three Years in North America*, vol. ii. p. 74.

NOTE C.—Page 18.

SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Extract from Mr. Dickson's Speech in the House of Representatives.

Sir, the foreign slave-trade with Africa is condemned by the laws of this country, of England, of France, and by those of almost every nation of the civilized world, as piracy; and those who carry it on are denounced as outlaws and the common enemies of the human race. And yet we tolerate in this District, and at our seat of government, a traffic productive of as much pain, anguish, and despair, of as deep atrocity, and as many accumulated horrors, as the slave-trade with Africa.

Private cells and prisons have been erected by the slave-traders in the District, in which the negro is incarcerated until a cargo of slaves, of 'human chattels' can be completed. The public prisons of the District, *built with the money of the whole people of the United States*, have been used for the benefit of the slave-traders, and the victims of this odious traffic have been confined within their walls. The keepers of those prisons, *paid out of the monies of the whole people*, have been the gaolers of the slave-traders, until their drove, their cargo of human beings, could be completed.

The petitioners complain that a traffic so abhorrent to the feelings of the philanthropist, so replete with suffering and woe, is approved and licensed by the corporation of the city of Washington, which receives \$400 a year for each licence, thus increasing her treasures by the express sanction of so odious a trade. Finally, the petitioners complain of the existence of slavery in the District of Columbia, as the source of all the before mentioned evils, and others too numerous now to detail. They consider it as unchristian, unholy, and unjust, not war-

ranted by the laws of God, and contrary to the assertion in our Declaration of Independence, that 'all men are created equal.'

NOTE D.—Page 18.

The following extract of a letter from JAMES G. BIRNEY, to a friend in Ohio, shows how the South is affected by the state of public sentiment in the free States. We find it in the Anti-Slavery Record.

I do trust, my dear sir, the Lord will make you eminently successful in raising up in *Ohio* a spirit among the people favorable to *immediate emancipation*. That, indeed, *must* be done before any large operations can be carried on in this State, (Ky.) One of the most formidable obstacles I meet with here is the pro-slavery spirit that as yet exists in Ohio, and the other free States. You can easily picture to yourselves with what exultation the slaveholder will quote against me the opinions of Dr. A., and Dr. B., and Dr. C., who he will say are eminent for learning and piety, and whose minds are free from the bias of interest, who live in a free State, &c. It is my firm conviction, that, if Ohio would rise as one man in the dignity of her great moral and intellectual power, and declare to the slaveholders of Kentucky—'You are wrong—your oppression is condemned by God, and shall meet with no favor from us,' that the death blow would be given to slavery, not only in Kentucky, but through the whole South. No chains could withstand the concentrated radiance of such virtuous action.

In another letter, addressed to Mr. Lewis Tappan, of New-York, Mr. BIRNEY thus rebukes those temporising reformers at the North, who dare not call slavery a *sin*:

They tell us that the 'system of slavery in this country is *wrong*.' O, notable discovery! O, wonderful stretch of Jack the Giant-killer, equipped in his seven-league boots! They are going to convince us that the system is wrong. We would be rapt in equal amazement if they would come to convince us that the sun shines. This has been acknowledged time out of mind. You may go through the gates of slavery into Kentucky, and pass through its thickening horrors till you reach its *ultima Thule*, the sugar-plantations of Louisiana; and with one acclaim from all, except the most *besotted minds*, the acknowledgement will be heard, the 'system' is wrong. But the system is made up of the reported cruelties of *others*—our *own* enter not into it as a component part. It enters not into our hearts to conceive that *our* course is not some how or another, an exception to the great rule by which all injustice and oppression is condemned.

And will our Christian friends thus mock us? If they had begun one hundred years ago, with the very rudiment with which they now propose to begin, it might have been well. But, sir, *now*, slavery has attained its giant-growth—it is impoverishing our country, breaking up our schools—effeminating our men, converting female amiableness into ungovernable fury, and bringing the judgments of God upon our churches, whose members and whose ministers live, and are supported in their ministry, by the fruits of unrighteous exaction. Truly, sir, has it been said—if the churches destroy not slavery, slavery will destroy them. Do these, our friends, think that slavery is a stationary disease—one in which a bread-pill may be harmlessly given, or in which experiments can be innocently tried? If they do, how greatly have they mistaken. * * * Sir, sir, my soul is moved within me when I see such quacks as 'Desire-to-conciliate' and 'Fear-of-prejudice' ministering to a patient when life is fast ebbing, and death stands ready at the

door. Believe me, the *truth* is a weapon too heavy for them to wield—a remedy, whose operation they have not the courage to behold. At the same time it is nothing but the truth, the naked, unvarnished *truth* that will do.

Let the following passage from the same letter be pondered by northern churches. Their duty is here plainly set before them.

I am more and more convinced, from many of the proceedings at the North, that they are, in the main, ignorant of the slaveholder's *tenacity*, and of the moral obliquities that slavery has produced in him. Of this I feel confident, that nothing but the most tremendous mental shock—nothing short of the fears of hell will make him resign his hold. Let me explain by a supposed case: All the Protestant churches in the free States, say, are anti-slavery—viewing slavery as inconsistent with Christianity. A slaveholding minister from the South is among you on a visit. You do not invite him to preach in your pulpits, and you prohibit him from partaking with you the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The reason to be assigned to him calmly and kindly. The same course to be pursued with a lay-member. Here, sir, is the kind of *shock* I mean. Where could he go? What could he do? You have '*power (moral power) on your side*'—and he like his poor slave at home '*has no comforter.*' I do verily believe that *union* like this among the northern churches would be the strongest lever that could be used, for the peaceable and happy termination of slavery. It would compel men to '*consider their ways,*' confess their faults to their brethren, and if they are Christ's, to repent and humble themselves before God.

NOTE E.—Page 25.

SLAVEHOLDING PREACHERS.

The Rev. GEORGE BOURNE of New York thus pours the living coals of truth upon the kidnapping *preachers* of the South:

If the most guilty and daring transgressor be sought, he is a Gospel Minister, who solemnly avows his belief of the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, or the Methodist Discipline, and notwithstanding himself is a Negro Pedler, who steals, buys, sells, and keeps his brethren in slavery, or supports by his taciturnity, or his smooth prophesying, or his direct defence, the Christian professor who unites in the kidnapping trade. Truth forces the declaration, that every church officer, or member, who is a slaveholder, records himself, by his own creed, a hypocrite! * * * To pray and kidnap! to commune and rob men's all! to preach justice, and steal the laborer with his recompense! to recommend mercy to others, and exhibit cruelty in our own conduct! to explain religious duties, and ever impede the performance of them! to propound the example of Christ and his Apostles, and declare that a slaveholder imitates them! to enjoin an observance of the Lord's day, and drive the slaves from the temple of God! to inculcate every social affection, and instantly exterminate them! to expatiate upon bliss eternal, and preclude sinners from obtaining it! to unfold the woes of Tophet, and not drag men from its fire! are the most preposterous delusion, and the most consummate mockery! * * * The Church of God groans. It is the utmost Satanic delusion to talk of religion and slavery. Be not deceived: to affirm that a slaveholder is a genuine disciple of Jesus Christ, is most intelligible contradiction. A brother of Him who went about doing good, and steal, enslave, torment, starve and scourge a man because his skin is of a different tinge! Such Christianity is the Devil's manufacture to delude souls to the regions of wo.

6
ANALYSIS

OF

THE REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS

ON THE

EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY.

WITH NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

LONDON :

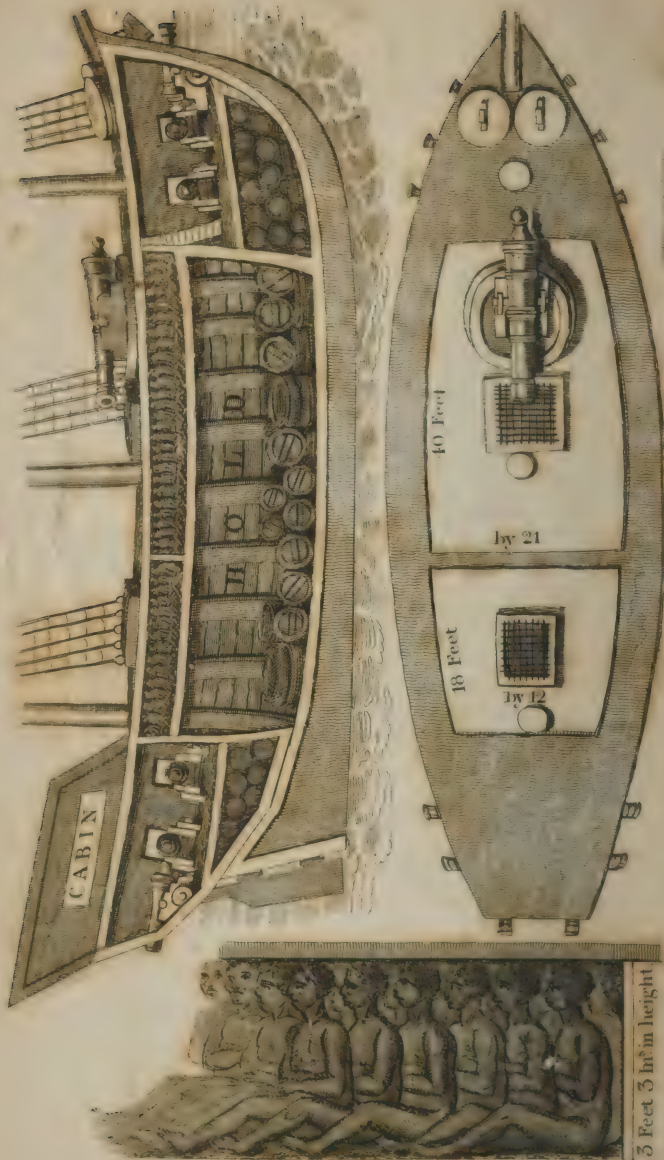
*PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY THROUGHOUT
THE BRITISH DOMINIONS.*

SOLD BY J. HATCHARD AND SON, PICCADILLY ; BY J. AND A. ARCH, CORNHILL ;
AND AT THE DEPÔT FOR ANTI-SLAVERY PUBLICATIONS,
15, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1833.



SECTIONS OF A SLAVE SHIP.



3 Feet 3 in height

ANALYSIS, &c.

ON the 24th of May, 1832, a select Committee of the House of Commons was “appointed to consider and report upon the measures which it might be expedient to adopt for the purpose of effecting the extinction of slavery throughout the British Dominions at the earliest period compatible with the safety of all classes in the colonies, *and in conformity with the resolutions of this House of the 15th of May, 1823;*” the words in italics being superadded to Mr. Buxton’s resolution, on the motion of Viscount Althorp—162 voting for them, and 90 against them.

The following members were thereupon selected for this Committee, on the proposition of the noble Viscount:—Mr. Buxton, Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, Sir George Murray, Mr. Goulburn, Mr. Burge, Mr. Evans, Viscount Sandon, Viscount Howick, Marquis of Chandos, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Marryat, Mr. Vernon, Mr. Holmes, Dr. Lushington, Mr. Baring, Mr. Frankland Lewis, Viscount Ebrington, Mr. Littleton, Mr. Carter, Mr. Hodges, Mr. Ord, Mr. Fazakerley, and Mr. Alderman Thompson.

The Committee commenced its sittings on the 6th of June, and closed them on the 11th of August. The following is its report made to the House on that day:—

“Your Committee, in pursuance of the instructions by which they were appointed, having assembled to consider the ‘measures most expedient to be adopted for the extinction of slavery throughout the British Dominions at the earliest period compatible with the safety of all classes in the colonies,’ adverted in the first instance to the condition contained in the terms of reference, which provides that such extinction shall be ‘in con-

formity with the resolutions of the House of the 15th of May, 1823,'—that this House at that time looked forward to such a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population as might prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects. The House also then declared 'that it was anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose at the earliest period compatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, with the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property.'

"In the consideration of a question involving so many difficulties of a conflicting nature, and branching into subjects so various and complicated, it appeared necessary to your Committee, by agreement, to limit their direct enquiries to certain heads.

"It was therefore settled that two main points arising out of the terms of reference should be first investigated, and these were embraced in the two following propositions:—

"1st. That the slaves, if emancipated, would maintain themselves, would be industrious, and disposed to acquire property by labour.

"2nd. That the dangers of convulsion are greater from freedom withheld, than from freedom granted to the slaves.

"Evidence was first called to prove the affirmative of these propositions, and had been carried on, in this direction, to a considerable extent; and was not exhausted, when it was evident the session was drawing to a close; and that this most important and extensive enquiry could not be satisfactorily finished. At the same time your Committee was unwilling to take an *ex parte* view of the case. It was therefore decided to let in evidence of an opposite nature, intended to disprove the two propositions, and to rebut the testimony adduced in their support. Even this limited examination has not been fully accomplished, and your Committee is compelled to close its labours in an abrupt and unfinished state.

"With some few exceptions the enquiry has been confined to

the island of Jamaica ; and the important question of what is due to 'the fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property,' as connected with emancipation, has not been investigated by your Committee.

"Many incidental topics which your Committee could not leave unnoticed, have presented themselves in the course of this enquiry ; and some opinions have been pronounced, and some expressions used by witnesses, which may seem to be injurious to the character of persons in high stations in the colonies.

"Unwilling to present the evidence in a garbled state, your Committee have resolved not to exclude from their minutes testimony thus implicating the conduct of public functionaries ; but they are bound to impress on the House the consideration which it is just constantly to remember, that no opportunity of contradicting, or explaining, those statements has been afforded to the parties accused ; and evidence of this description must be received with peculiar caution.

"Your Committee, however, are unwilling that the fruits of their enquiry should be altogether lost ; and they present the evidence taken before them to the House, which, although incomplete, embraces a wide range of important information, and discloses a state of affairs demanding the earliest and most serious attention of the legislature."

The minutes of evidence extend to 655 closely printed folio pages, and are contained in a volume ordered to be printed on the 11th of August, 1832, and distinguished by the number 721. Of this immense mass it shall now be our endeavour to convey to the public, and to our readers, a clear and faithful analysis. It may be convenient, however, to preface that analysis by a brief account of the witnesses examined on this occasion, and of their opportunities of acquiring a competent knowledge of the subject on which they were called to give their testimony.

ON the AFFIRMATIVE side of the question, as to the EXPEDIENCY of an immediate or early extinction of slavery, the following witnesses were produced, viz.

1. WILLIAM TAYLOR, Esq. (p. 7—64), who went to Jamaica in 1816, and left it in 1823. He returned in 1824, left it again in 1825, returned to it in 1826, and quitted it finally in 1831. Of these 15 years he resided during 13 in Jamaica. For the chief part of that time he was engaged in commercial pursuits in Kingston, intermixed with occasional visits to plantations in various parts of the island, viz.—St. Thomas in the East, Trelawny, St. Elizabeth, Manchester, and St. George; but, for the last two or three years of his stay, he was wholly occupied in the management of three sugar estates belonging to J. B. Wildman, Esq., cultivated by about six or seven hundred Negroes, lying in Vere, Clarendon, and St. Andrew's, on the last of which, Papine, he chiefly resided.

2. The Rev. JOHN BARRY (p. 64—106), a Wesleyan Missionary, who went to Jamaica early in 1825, and quitted it early in 1832, but whose actual residence there, having been absent about a year, did not exceed six years. These were passed chiefly in Kingston and Spanish Town, but partly also in the parishes of St. Thomas in the Vale, St. Dorothy, St. Mary, Trelawny, St. James, St. David, and St. Thomas in the East.

3. The Rev. PETER DUNCAN (p. 106—134, and p. 140—158) a Wesleyan Missionary, who arrived in Jamaica in January, 1821, and quitted it in March, 1832, after an uninterrupted residence of upwards of eleven years in the parishes of Kingston, St. Thomas in the East, St. Thomas in the Vale, and St. James.

4. The Rev. THOMAS COOPER (p. 134—140), a Unitarian Missionary, who, for three years and three months, between 1818 and 1821, resided on a plantation in Hanover parish, Jamaica, belonging to R. Hibbert, Esq.

5. Mr. HENRY LOVING (p. 150—167), a coloured gentleman, a native of Antigua, in which island he resided from his birth, till he paid a visit a few months ago to this country. He was born a slave, but was emancipated when about nine years of age, and has been for some time, and now is, the proprietor and editor of a newspaper published in Antigua, called the Weekly Register.

6. The Rev. JOHN THORP (p. 167—178), a clergyman of the church of England, who resided in Jamaica two years and three months in 1827, 1828, and 1829, as curate to the Rev. Mr. Trew, of St. Thomas in the East.

7. The Rev. WILTSHIRE STANTON AUSTIN (p. 178—195), a clergyman of the church of England, and a native of the West Indies, who resided in Barbadoes, Demerara, Berbice, and Surinam, and occasionally visited some of the other colonies. He quitted the West Indies last in 1824, having resided there for about 14 years after he had attained his 18th year. His father is a proprietor of slaves, whom he is destined to inherit, and whom he was engaged in managing for some years before he entered into the church.

8. Vice-Admiral the Hon. CHARLES FLEMING (p. 195—223, and p. 238—243), who has known the West Indies for 35 years, and has visited them all, with the exception of St. Kitts and Tortola, his residence in the West Indies amounting on the whole to five or six years, more than half of that time, namely, three years, between 1827 and 1830, having been passed at Jamaica, on which station he was Admiral. He has also visited Cuba, the Caraccas, and Hayti.

9. ROBERT SUTHERLAND, Esq. (p. 223—229), a gentleman who had been in the island of Hayti in 1815, and had also resided there during 1819, 1820, and 1821. He passed a few days there in 1823 and 1824, and was there for a few weeks in 1827; and he moreover resided for three years in the Caraccas as a British Consul.

10. The Rev. NATHANIEL PAUL (p. 229—233), a gentleman of colour, a native of the United States, who resided as a Baptist Missionary in various slave states until 1830, when he visited England.

11. The Rev. THOMAS MORGAN (p. 233—242), a Wesleyan Missionary, who had resided in different West India colonies, namely St. Kitts, Nevis, Antigua, St. Vincent, and Jamaica, from 1812 to 1831, 18 years in all, which, deducting an absence of two years in England, makes his residence there 16 years.

12. The Rev. WILLIAM KNIBB (p. 243—284, and 317—322), a Baptist Missionary, who resided upwards of seven years in Jamaica, namely from 1825 to April 1832, chiefly in the parishes of St. James, Trelawny, Hanover, and Westmoreland.

To prove the INEXPEDIENCY of an early or immediate emancipation of the slaves the following witnesses were produced chiefly by the Colonial party :—

1. Captain C. H. WILLIAMS, of the Royal Navy (p. 390—307), who

passed a few months of the present year in St. Kitts, Nevis, Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, during which time he was on shore three days on the estate of Mr. Huggins,* of Nevis, and two days on an estate of Mr. Hibbert's, in Hanover, Jamaica.†

2. WILLIAM ALERS HANKEY, Esq., a banker of London (p. 307—317), and late treasurer of the London Missionary Society, who is a proprietor of 300 slaves in the island of Jamaica, but who has never visited the West Indies.

3. JAMES DE PEYSTER OGDEN, a native of New York, in the United States (p. 322—330), who now resides in Liverpool.

4. ROBERT SCOTT, Esq. (p. 330—358), who resided in Jamaica *about* five years between 1802 and 1809, and who, during that time, had either owned as proprietor, or managed as attorney, 4000 slaves in Hanover, Trelawny, St. James, and St. Ann, the latest period of his stay there being 23 years ago.

5. JAMES SIMPSON, Esq. (359—366, and 369—405), who resided in Jamaica nearly 24 years, quitting it finally in 1828. In that time he had been a merchant of Kingston, and the representative of some noblemen and gentlemen, absentee proprietors of plantations situated in Vere, Clarendon, St. Mary, St. George, St. Andrew, St. David, Port Royal, St. Thomas in the East, St. Elizabeth, and Hanover, in that island. It was of his house that Mr. William Taylor, whose evidence is analysed in the following pages, was for a time a partner.

6. WILLIAM MIER, Esq. (p. 366—369), a native of the United States, who was the proprietor in Georgia of 500 slaves, whom he has since sold.

7. The Rev. JOHN SHIPMAN (405—416), a Wesleyan Missionary who resided in Jamaica for ten years, from 1813 to 1824, at Kingston, Spanish Town, Falmouth, and Montego Bay, and at Grateful Hill, in St. Thomas in the Vale.

8. The Rev. ROBERT YOUNG (p. 416—428), a Wesleyan Missionary,

* Of this gentleman, an ample and horrific record will be found in the following parliamentary papers of 1812: viz. No. 204, and No. 225.

† Of this estate a very full account will be found in the pamphlet entitled "Negro Slavery, especially in Jamaica," published by Hatchard in 1824. 4th edition, p. 36—55.

who resided in Jamaica for five years, from 1820 to 1826, chiefly in Kingston and Spanish Town, and at Stony Hill, in St. Andrew's.

9. WILLIAM SHAND, Esq. (p. 428—434; p. 459—484; and p. 542) who was a proprietor and attorney of estates in Jamaica from 1791 to 1826; having resided there 34 years. During that time he had under his charge 18 or 20,000 slaves, residing occasionally in almost every parish in the island. He was also a magistrate, and member of Assembly.

10. BRYAN ADAMS, Esq. (p. 443—452), who had resided in the Caraccas.

11. Mr. JOHN FORD PYKE (p. 452), who had resided in Cuba.

12. WILLIAM WATSON, Esq. (p. 452—459), who had resided in the Caraccas for four years.

13. H. TOWNSEND BOWEN, Esq. (p. 457—459), who had resided 11 years in Trinidad, and returned thence last year.

14. R. G. AMYOT, Esq. (p. 484 and 519), chief clerk in the Registry of Colonial Slaves' Office, in London.

15. SAMUEL BAKER, Esq. (p. 485—498), who had visited Jamaica in 1816 and 1817, and afterwards in 1832.

16. ANDREW GRAHAM DIGNUM (p. 498—501), who is a practising solicitor in Jamaica, where he has neither land nor slaves, but where he has resided for 14 years, namely, from 1818 to 1832.

17. Vice-Admiral Sir CHARLES ROWLEY (p. 501—508), who is acquainted with the West Indies generally, and commanded as Admiral on the Jamaica station from 1820 to 1823.

18. JAMES BECKFORD WILDMAN, Esq. (p. 509—542), who is a West India proprietor possessing 640 slaves in Jamaica, on three estates, one in St. Andrew, another in Vere, and a third in Clarendon, of which Mr. Taylor (mentioned above) had for a time the charge. Mr. Wildman resided there from 1825 to 1829, being about four years.

19. Rev. J. TYERS BARRETT, D.D. (p. 544—549), who is secretary to the Society for the Conversion of Negro Slaves.

20. WILLIAM BURGE, Esq. (p. 549), the late Attorney-General of Jamaica, and now the Agent of that island.

21. JOHN M'GREGOR, Esq. (p. 549), a gentleman who has resided in British America.

The Appendix moreover contains the following evidence :—

A. General Returns of Twelve Sugar Estates in Jamaica from 1817 to 1829 (p. 566—577).

B. Extracts of Reports of the Society for the Conversion of Negro Slaves (p. 588, 589).

C. Extracts from the examination of Annasamy, a native of Madras residing in the Mauritius (p. 590).

D. Remarks of Captain Elliott, Protector of slaves in Demerara (p. 590).

E. Answers of the same to Questions of Lord Goderich (p. 598).

It has appeared from the report of the Committee that the main points of their enquiry were embraced by the two following propositions, including, in fact, all that Mr. Buxton, in moving for that Committee, had pledged himself, or even thought it necessary to attempt, to prove, viz:—

1. THAT THE SLAVES, IF EMANCIPATED, WILL ADEQUATELY MAINTAIN THEMSELVES BY THEIR OWN LABOUR; and 2nd. THAT THE DANGER OF WITHHOLDING FREEDOM FROM THE SLAVES IS GREATER THAN THAT OF GRANTING IT.

These two propositions, we conceive, the evidence before us has most irrefragably and triumphantly established; and the controversy, therefore, as respects the expediency of an early emancipation, may be considered as decided.* The justice and humanity of such a measure has long ceased to be a question.

We will abstract the whole of the evidence on these two points in the order in which it is given, omitting however, for the present, all merely

* At Manchester and at Liverpool, a Mr. Borthwick, in delivering lectures *in favour* of Slavery, took occasion to state that the evidence before the House of Commons was highly favourable to the planters. It was affirmed that it was some proof to the contrary that Mr. Burge, the Agent of Jamaica, had resisted, in the House of Commons, the motion of Sir James Graham, for printing that evidence. On this Mr. Borthwick produced, or pretended to produce, a strong denial of this fact under the hand of Mr. Burge himself, falsifying the statement which had appeared to that effect in the Times of the 7th of August, 1832. The Jamaica Courant however (the oracle of Mr. Burge, and of his constituents, the corresponding committee of the Jamaica Assembly) completely falsifies Mr. Borthwick's statement, and that of Mr. Burge too, if truly represented by Mr. Borthwick; for on the 26th of September, 1832, there appeared in that paper the following paragraph, probably communicated by Mr. Burge himself:—

collateral questions until this first and most important part of our task shall have been completed. We have already introduced the witnesses, who are successively to appear before them, to the notice of our readers, accompanied by a brief view of their respective opportunities of information.

I.—WILLIAM TAYLOR, Esq.

MR. TAYLOR stated that the six or seven hundred slaves placed under his management by Mr. Wildman belonged to three sugar estates on the south side of the island: one of which was in the parish of St. Andrew, named Papine; another in the parish of Clarendon, named Low Ground; and the third in the parish of Vere, named Salt Savannah. On the two first-mentioned estates the slaves wholly maintained themselves by provisions raised on land allotted for their use, to which was added the usual allowance of pickled fish, being about one salt herring a day for each adult, and half that quantity for each child. The slaves on the estate in Vere were fed chiefly by an allowance of Guinea corn, issued from the granary of the estate. They had grounds besides which they cultivated; but the seasons being adverse in Vere they were chiefly fed by corn grown by the master and issued to them from his stores.* The ground provisions, which the slaves

“ House of Commons, August 6, 1832.

“ Sir J. Graham moved that the Report of the Committee on West India Slavery be laid on the table of the House.

“ Mr. Burge objected to the motion because the evidence of the planters had not yet been taken, and that of the other party might therefore prejudice the public mind.

“ Sir J. Graham replied that the motion was a matter of course, and that the hon. member had been overruled in every case before the Committee.

“ The motion was then agreed to.”—*Jamaica Courant*, Sept. 26, 1832.

Now even the reason here given for postponing the printing of the evidence is untrue. The *number* of witnesses on the part of the West Indian body is greater than that of the witnesses brought before the Committee by the Anti-Slavery party, and the space occupied by the evidence of the former is not inferior in extent to the space occupied by that of their opponents, being about 290 folio pages to each.

* This parish, as we shall have occasion to show, is more favourably situated in respect to the circumstances of its slave population than any other parish in

raise for themselves in the other parishes, are chiefly yams, plantains, cocoes or eddoes, potatoes, &c. The slaves are not forbidden by law, as Mr. Taylor thinks, to cultivate the sugar cane, but they incur a penalty by having sugar in their possession.*

Besides the allowance of herrings given to the slaves, clothes are annually given to them; but the quantity of clothing Mr. Taylor cannot specify. The time allowed them by law, for raising the food by which they and their families are supported, is twenty-six days in the year, besides three holidays at Christmas. This arrangement, Mr. Taylor says, has existed since 1816; but he cannot tell what time, for this purpose, the law previously gave to the slaves.†

the island of Jamaica. And yet, will it be believed that there is even here no increase of the slave population, even if we take no account of the number imported into it from neighbouring parishes; the population in 1821 being 7,887, and in 1831, after a lapse of ten years, being only 7,908?

* Throughout the whole of this examination there is a wonderful ignorance manifested, especially by the planters, of the state of the law by which they and the slaves are governed. If the reader will turn to the latest Jamaica Slave Code, that of the 19th of Feb. 1831,—and in this respect it is only a transcript of preceding codes,—he will find that by the 91st Section of that Act it is enacted, “That, to prevent and punish depredations on produce,” “if any slave shall have in his possession any quantity of sugar, coffee, or pimento, in quantity *not exceeding five pounds*, or of rum *not exceeding one gallon*, unknown to his owner, overseer, or manager, without giving a satisfactory account of how he became possessed of them, such slave, on conviction thereof before *any* magistrate, shall suffer punishment, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes; and, if there shall be found in his possession a larger quantity than twenty pounds of sugar, coffee, or pimento, or five gallons of rum, then such slave, upon conviction thereof at a slave court, shall suffer such punishment as the court shall think proper to inflict or direct, not extending to life, transportation, or imprisonment for life.” Well, therefore, may West Indians gravely testify to the unwillingness of the slaves to grow sugar, and well may Mr. Taylor testify to the infrequency of the culture of sugar by slaves. He had never heard of its being cultivated but in Manchester, where alone he has seen it voluntarily cultivated by slaves, and where also he has seen small sugar-mills in the Negroes’ gardens—“but that,” he adds, “is to be accounted for, because there they are at a distance from a sugar district.” Report, p. 7, 8. See this matter further illustrated in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, vol. v., No. 101, p. 269.

† Before 1816 the law was as follows (See Privy Council Report of 1789,

The younger Negroes on Mr. Wildman's estates had never received any instruction prior to his visiting Jamaica for the first time in 1825. This was done in consequence of the express injunctions of Mr. Wildman himself. The adults now receive no education whatever. As to the capacity of the slaves for receiving instruction, they were much like other human beings ; some were apt, and others very stupid, and some remarkably acute. He could not say they were equally apt with the Scottish peasantry ; but their circumstances were disadvantageous in a peculiar degree, and in spite of these he had seen, in a multitude of instances, a wonderful aptness for instruction. There appeared in them no natural incapacity whatever for instruction. He had been struck with the retentiveness and minuteness of their memories, and especially in the children.

With respect to the provident or improvident use of money, he thought them pretty much like the peasantry of other countries, but considerably less given to intoxication than the peasantry of Scotland, and infinitely less than the soldiery who go out to the colonies, the mortality among whom is attributed to their fondness for spirits. There were on the estates some Negroes who would not touch spirits, while others were incorrigible drunkards. Any money he paid the Negroes at any time for wages was generally expended in the purchase of food (page 9, 10).

Part iii. ; Laws of Jamaica, Act of 1788, section 17) :—" And whereas it hath been usual and customary with the planters in this island to allow their slaves one day in every fortnight to cultivate their own provision grounds (exclusive of Sundays), *except* during the time of crop, but the same *not* being compulsory, be it further enacted, that the slaves belonging to or employed in every plantation or settlement, shall, over and above the usual holidays, be allowed one day in every fortnight (exclusive of Sundays) *except* during the time of crop, under the penalty of £10." This grant of time, crop lasting from four to six months, could not have been more than from thirteen to seventeen days. The dreadful mortality from hunger at that period, as shown by a memorial of the Jamaica Assembly printed in the same Privy Council Report, sufficiently proves how necessary it was to make even this scanty allowance of time compulsory. Fifteen thousand slaves are stated by the Assembly to have perished from hunger, and the diseases consequent on hunger, in a very short time, simply because the little time allowed the slave obliged him to limit his growth of provisions to plantains, which the first hurricane was sure to sweep from the face of the earth.

Mr. Taylor had known many free blacks and people of colour : they form a numerous body. There are among them many, especially mulattoes and quadroons, the children of white book-keepers and overseers, who have been emancipated ; but the great mass of them have been born free, being the children of emancipated slaves. The great increase of their number arises from births in a state of freedom. In the neighbourhood of Papine, some of these free people who had been emancipated, unable to find adequate employment as mechanics in the town of Kingston, had fixed themselves at a place called Cavaliers, belonging to Mr. Wildman, which was parcelled out to them in small patches of one, two, or three acres, for which, with a house upon it, they undertook to pay thirty shillings an acre. The run of land called Cavaliers was let by Mr. Wildman to one tenant, and by him sub-let in smaller portions, Mr. Wildman finding it difficult and troublesome to collect the rents. The tenant-in-chief cultivated a part of the land by means of free Negroes, to whom he paid wages, and the rest he sub-let. The number thus located might be from 200 to 300, men, women, and children. The cultivation consisted generally of provisions, as corn and yams, with some coffee. He had never seen any sugar cultivation there; though there were sugar estates in the district, and sugar would grow any where. Of the settlers he knew nothing personally. Some he believed were orderly, and some disorderly ; and it was the haunt of many bad characters and runaways. The settlement he believed was in a bad state, both morally and religiously, for they had no religious instruction, and no education. A school was latterly established among them by the Church Missionary Society, which was readily supported by some of the settlers ; but others scoffed at it, and would have nothing to do with it. It might be the duty of the incumbent of the parish to afford them instruction, but he lived sixteen miles off. Mr. Taylor had further known free blacks employ themselves in working on wharfs, and at cranes, and as domestics. He had one servant himself as a slave for ten years, who continued with him after he had manumitted him. Others were employed as mechanics on estates, and others as sailors in coasting vessels, and as stewards of ships. He had met with a great number of them who were very industrious, and who gladly availed themselves of any opportunity of being employed in any way. On the other hand he had met

with free blacks who would not work at all, just as in other communities. He had only known one case of an emancipated slave working on a sugar estate in making sugar. Mr. Wildman discovered that one of his slaves had been born in England; and, conceiving that he could have no right to hold him in slavery, he very honourably, in spite of the protestations of his colonial friends, when he first went out to Jamaica, determined on making him amends for the services unjustly exacted from him for thirty years. He gave him, though he was addicted to drinking, a right of residence on his estate, hired him as a carpenter, and appointed 2s. 6d. a day to be paid him, whether he worked or not. When Mr. Taylor entered on the management of the estate he thought it wrong, as it respected the man himself, to let him go on in this manner. He therefore let him understand that when he got drunk his pay should be stopped for that day. The consequence was he gradually left off drinking, and he worked and made up money. Sometimes he would have a drunken fit, and at other times, for weeks and months together, would remain steadily at labour. Under this system he worked very well as a carpenter, and even took his turn of duty in the boiling house.

He had never known an instance of a free black taking the hoe, and working in the field with the gang, or in the boiling house; but he had known slaves to work for wages in their extra time on sugar estates. Soon after he took charge of Papine, a long line of fence was to be made between that and the Duke of Buckingham's estate, formed by a trench of four feet deep, with a mound thrown up. It is usual to do such labour by task work, at so many feet a day. The labourers complained that they could not perform it in the usual hours of labour. The overseer on the other hand affirmed that they were imposing upon Mr. T., and it was solely owing to sloth that they did not easily get through their task. The overseer wished of course to get as much work as he could, and *they* had naturally an indisposition to do more than they could help. They were told to resume their work the following morning, and, if they performed it within the time, they should be paid for every minute's or hour's additional work they might perform. They began the task at five in the morning, and had finished it by half-past one, and the very slaves who had before complained, received pay for four hours' extra labour. At present all the negroes in the field perform their labour under the fear

or impulse of the lash. Physical coercion is employed on every estate in the island to obtain labour from slaves. By banishing the use of the whip, Mr. Taylor found that discipline was necessarily relaxed. This coercion is necessary with slaves in all kinds of labour. The carpenter or cooper knows that if he does not go to his shop and do his work he will be flogged. In short it was necessary, in order to induce the Negroes to work, either to pay them or to flog them. It was possible, however, to conduct the business of an estate without much flogging. Still it was the terror of the lash which produced the labour. On the estate next to Papine (Hope Estate, belonging to the Duke of Buckingham), the driver certainly carried the whip into the field, but for many months it has not been used, the negroes going on, nevertheless, most diligently with their work. But this disuse of the whip had been produced by the previous use of it. The overseer, when he first took charge of that estate, found the Negroes disposed to resist him, and the whip for a time was "most freely and strongly used," and this, Mr. Taylor thinks, not from any motive of cruelty, but from a belief that "it was the only way to establish his authority." He used the whip most freely, and this free use it was that produced the subsequent disuse* (pages 11 and 12).

With the exception of labouring in the workhouse chain, and cleaning the streets of towns, field labour is viewed by slaves as the most degrading occupation. It is considered, for example, a degrading punishment to send a household servant to the field. Many humane persons prefer doing so to flogging them. The labour of cultivating sugar is not more degrading than other field labour, but it is much more severe. "Cane-hole digging is fearfully severe," especially in certain soils. There are other field occupations that are light. Comparing the West Indian slave with the Scotch labourer, he thought cane-hole digging more exhausting than digging potatoes, or reaping corn, or following the plough. If the Scotchman had been digging, and the Negro had been cleaning young canes, the Scotchman would have done the hardest work; but if the Scotchman had been reaping or mowing, and the Negro had been digging cane-holes, then the Negro would have done

* The stimulus was still the brutal one of either the infliction or the fear of the lash.

the hardest work. Taking the labour of the whole year through, certainly the labour of the Jamaica slave was infinitely harder than that of the Scotch peasant, because the former has the night work in crop time, when for at least four months of the year he has only six hours' rest; whereas the Scotchman goes to bed every night throughout the year in good time. Besides this, the Negro works each day a greater length of time than the Scotchman, but the Scotchman puts more work out of hand. The proportion of time consumed in cane-hole digging varies very much in different parts of the island, according to the comparative fertility of the soil; on less fertile soils a third of the cane land requiring to be re-dug every year, and, on very fertile soils, not more than a tenth, or fifteenth, or twentieth part (p. 12, 13). The labour of the slaves is often so exhausting that the overseer is obliged to give them a week's rest to recruit their strength, by setting them to clean pastures, and other light work.

Mr. Taylor, being asked whether the stimulus of the whip, at present the only stimulus, being withdrawn, and the Negro made free, he thought he would be likely to work industriously for adequate wages, replied that, if the Negro was placed in a situation where he must starve or work, he would work. If in the present state of things he were to be told, Keep your provision ground, and keep your house, and come and work for a shilling or other sum a day, he would say, I will not do it; for I can make more by working my grounds. But if the grounds were taken away, and he must understand that he must starve or work, he would work. The consideration by which in the case of freemen the matter would be governed would be this, whether it were most profitable to receive wages, or to rent land and raise produce upon it. If put into a situation where the fear of want would bear upon him, and the inducement to work was plain, then he would work. He drew this opinion partly from his knowledge of emancipated slaves, but chiefly from his knowledge of the slaves under his own care, among whom the good preponderated far above the bad. He found them like the Scottish peasantry, fulfilling all the relations of life. He found them revering the ordinance of marriage. He found them, particularly on the Vere estate, an orderly and industrious people; and he was strongly impressed with the opinion that, if placed in the circumstances of the English or Scottish peasantry, they would act similarly. They

were, generally speaking, very industrious in labouring on their provision grounds. It was a frequent practice to work for one another for hire, the hire being 20*d.* currency a day (14*d.* sterling), and a breakfast. Mr. Wildman indulged his Negroes with fifty-two Saturdays in the year, instead of twenty-six, the number allowed them by law, that they might be able to attend divine service, and have no excuse for continuing to work on Sunday. This gave them additional time; and as Mr. T. had a large garden, and was very unwilling to draw from the labour of the estate to keep it in order, he was frequently in the habit of hiring them to work there. Some would come and offer their services, for which he gave them their breakfast and 2*s.* 11*d.* a day currency, being 2*s.* 1*d.* sterling. He was decidedly of opinion that, when an offer was made to pay Negroes for their labour, they were always ready to work. He had known them, even when digging cane-holes, perform the task of 120 cane-holes, and, on being offered pay, dig 20 and 40 cane-holes, after having finished their task. But, by the ordinary method, the same quantity would not have been dug except by tremendous whipping. Ninety cane-holes indeed on unploughed land was the general task; but 120 if the land had previously been loosened by the plough. The farther exertion, however, produced by the stimulus of wages was such that the driver said it was too much for them, and begged Mr. Taylor to interdict their doing so much. At the end of the week almost every slave had done so much extra work as to receive 3*s.* 4*d.*, which he paid them, according to agreement. If they had worked in the usual way under the whip they might have finished 120 holes in the course of the day, barely completing it at the end of the day; but if told that, if they did the same work, they might as soon as it was done go away, they would, by abridging their intervals of rest, finish it before three o'clock in the afternoon, beginning at five in the morning" (p. 14, 15).

Much the same quantity of labour, Mr. Taylor further remarked, was usually required from all in the great gang. They all usually worked in one line, and where the land was uniform produced the same number of holes, and the women the same as the men. By giving them, however, task work, and wages for extra work, he got the greatest quantity of work their physical strength was equal to. He got much more work, and it was cheerfully done. In general he found them willing to work in their extra time, for hire; he spoke only of Mr. Wild-

man's slaves. Task work indeed was very generally resorted to, planters thinking that in that way the Negro did his work in a much shorter time. At the same time he was convinced that a mixed system of slavery with its unavoidable expences, and free labour with its wages, would not answer in the long run. He conscientiously believed that if slavery were put an end to, and the slaves emancipated, it would answer to the proprietor. So entirely was he convinced of this that he offered to embark his whole property in purchasing Mr. Wildman's estates, making the slaves free, and adopting the system of free labour, and undertaking the expense of maintaining the schools established by Mr. Wildman, provided he could prevail on a few others to join him. He was now, however, of opinion, from further reflection, that it would have been disadvantageous to have had freedom on one estate and slavery on the next,—to have had freedom on Mr. Wildman's estates, and slavery on the adjoining estates of Mr. Goulburn, in Vere, and the Duke of Buckingham's in St. Andrew, and Mr. Mitchell's in Clarendon. This chequered system would not answer; though he firmly believed that if the plan were supported by due authority, and the slaves were to receive adequate remuneration for their labour, the majority of them would work, and the plan would succeed. He admitted that if a herald were at once to proclaim freedom in Spanish Town, in unqualified terms, to all slaves, anarchy and confusion might be the result. But, by proceeding cautiously, and previously providing the means of restraint, and, above all, by making it known to the slave that it was the King's pleasure that he should still labour when he became free, and if the planters concurred in using this language, so as to remove all idea that the King and his master were at variance, the freedom of the slaves might be safely, and easily, and even profitably accomplished. He wished to draw a broad line of distinction between freedom indefinitely conferred, and freedom accompanied by effective contemporaneous arrangements, even stronger laws than are now in force, but laws equally affecting all;—strong regulations of police, which should punish vagrancy, and secure to the slave an adequate return for his labour. The police of the agricultural districts in Jamaica now consists of the attorney and the overseer of the estate, the book-keepers under him, and lastly, the drivers, who are usually slaves: the attorney and the overseer corresponding to the justice of the peace in England, and the drivers

to constables. On each estate there is now its prison-house: there are also bilboes and other instruments of correction, which are employed by the overseer, &c., for restraint and punishment. Now, in removing this system, a stipendiary magistracy and a constabulary force must be instituted. In this way, by dividing the island into small districts, with a stipendiary magistrate well instructed in the law, not an ignorant planter unacquainted with the law, and a constabulary force under his orders, tranquillity, it appeared to him, would be maintained. The *only* difficulty would be the expense. As to the facility of obtaining labour in these circumstances, the well disposed and industrious would be guided entirely by the profit to be derived from it in choosing their employment; it would be a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence. If the men are paid they will work. Evil doers indeed might not submit to the regular industry of a sugar plantation, especially if they could acquire land of their own. Throughout the island there are little colonies of free labourers. How they got their land he did not know, he supposed by purchase. At present many free persons, who would object on the present system to working on a sugar estate, work on wharfs, in towns, or on board ship, or as domestics, and sometimes by connecting themselves with female slaves on estates, are domiciled in the negro villages, and occupy themselves in tilling the land allowed to their wives by the owners of the estates. He admitted that in all cases much would depend on the character of individuals, and there might be many who would not be uniformly industrious, and there would also in many be a strong disposition to seize the lightest and easiest work, and in whom the love of ease might be stronger than the love of gain. They could not, however, obtain land but by grant from the crown, or by purchase from individuals; and from three to five acres, according to the quality, would be required to maintain himself, his wife, and a family of children of the ordinary size. Many of them, in this way also, besides providing comfortable food and clothing, would be induced to better their condition and to acquire what may be termed the luxuries of life. Mr. Taylor came to this conclusion, from the conviction he had that many of the present slaves, judging from the general style of their houses, and clothes, and furniture, had a keen relish for the comforts of life; many even of the field Negroes studying great neatness and cleanliness, and even making attempts at style in their

houses and furniture, using plates and other conveniences of that sort, and even wearing shoes on Sundays, being ashamed to go to church without them, but carrying them in their hands like the peasant women in Scotland, and putting them on when they drew near the church : but though they did not walk in their shoes, they did not walk barefoot ; they wore sandals. All these articles of use, or show, or luxury, were got entirely by their own labour. Mr. Taylor spoke of many of the slaves, especially on Mr. Wildman's estates, as thus acting. On these estates the respectable part of the slaves, the head men, had property of that description, consisting of mahogany furniture, glass decanters, wine, beds, bedsteads, and pictures, acquired not by the gift of their master, or of one another, but the fruit, as he must infer, of their own labour. In the parish of Vere particularly, the Negroes were well off, much better than in St. Andrew and Clarendon. Their dress was different : at the church service in Vere, he was struck with the expensiveness of their dress ; the women were dressed in muslins, and Leghorn bonnets ; and the men in trowsers, and broad-cloth coats. One day he remarked the difference to one of the head people on Papine, the St. Andrew estate, and received from him this explanation :—"Vere is a great corn country, and in consequence of the supply of corn furnished by the master, they rear large quantities of poultry, and on the market day hucksters come from Kingston by sea, and a considerable trade is carried on by this means, for the supply of Kingston and the shipping in its harbour with poultry ; and when a good season comes, as they are then enabled to raise food enough from their own grounds, they save up their allowance of corn from the master, and with that corn rear large quantities of poultry." In Clarendon and St. Andrew the slaves of Mr. Wildman were poor, as compared with those in Vere. This appeared to arise from the sugar district in Clarendon being remote from any market, being sixteen miles from the coast, and twenty miles from Spanish Town. The slaves, therefore, could not turn their provisions into money. The Negroes said they had enough to eat, but could not convert the food into money. In Clarendon, the principal productions are cocoas and other ground provisions ; of these they have abundance, but they cannot be applied to the same purposes as the corn of Vere, and, moreover, they have not the same command of a market. In St. Andrew it is better

than in Clarendon, but not so good as in Vere, because the soil is not so fertile as in Vere; but the locality as to a market is more favourable than that of Clarendon, Kingston being only six or seven miles distant. On most of the estates throughout the island, the prescribed quantity of clothing is given to the slaves, and their grounds supply abundance of provisions, even where there are no markets near, where they can realize money; but slave-coopers may make money by working at their trade in their own time, viz. on Sundays and their twenty-six days besides, making pails and other articles; and slave-carpenters and masons by executing jobs about other people's houses (pages 18, 19, 20). Still he admitted that in many cases there were great poverty and misery (page 19, question 142).

There are some estates, Mr. Taylor further stated, on which slaves are allowed to have cattle running on their owner's property, and which they sold occasionally, but that that is not a general case.—p. 20.

At one time, Mr. Taylor observed, there was a strong impression on the minds of the slaves of St. Andrew that they were about to be made free. This arose from the House of Assembly, in 1830, having given to the free black and coloured people of the Colony the civil rights and privileges enjoyed by the whites. There was consequently excited among them in that parish an intense desire of freedom; and being told that many of the slaves on Papine were overheard speaking of its approach, he sent for a respectable Negro, belonging to that estate, and spoke to him on the subject of their paying for their cottages and lands by a rent arising from wages, for which they should give a certain quantity of their labour in return. He said that he thought they would be well off in such a case. The Negro said, "Sir, suddenly to take our lands would not do. It would be better for us to have our lands and our houses, taking that as part of our hire." And certainly, if they got a fair return for their labour, Mr. Taylor thinks that they could afford to pay rent.—He also sent for a Negro from Vere, and his statement was that they did not expect freedom, but only the privilege of additional days for themselves. He also sent for another from Clarendon; but in that remote parish, away from the busy part of the island, the rumour had not been heard, and the matter was not thought of. The desire of freedom was very prevalent among domestics as well as field-slaves. He had known persons, especially in sickness and old age, indifferent to freedom, and the

head man on an estate may be indifferent to it, but that is not the case generally. He could point out a head-driver, living on an estate where his privileges and means of acquiring property were great, and who, considering freedom as the being turned out upon the open savannah,* said he would rather forego his freedom. Most of the cases of manumission he had known were among domestic slaves, and among them also most of the applications for manumission occurred; but he does not know that this is owing to a more intense desire of, but simply to greater facilities of acquiring, freedom; they therefore aim at it; but generally throughout the island, the slaves of all classes are anxious to obtain their liberty. The exceptions are the aged invalid Negro, who has survived all his relations, and has a kind and wealthy master, or the driver, whose appointments and allowances are good, who is led to connect with the idea of freedom expulsion from the community in which he lives and from office. If his office could be made to consist with freedom, he would not refuse it; but if he thought he was to be forcibly dispossessed of his house, and driven from his family, and sent out a vagabond upon the face of the earth, much as he might value freedom, he would not like it on those conditions. Though there may thus be individual exceptions, yet decidedly, as a body, the slaves are desirous of liberty. He knew of no body of slaves who would be unwilling to exchange slavery for freedom; he had never heard of freedom being tendered to a body of slaves and refused. He could not even call to mind one instance of a slave having had his freedom offered and refusing it, but he could call to mind almost hundreds of instances where pressing applications had been made for freedom by slaves, with applications to himself for money to enable them to buy it (p. 21, 22).

On Mr. Wildman's estates the slaves had privileges that were very peculiar. They had, for the most part, in addition to the twenty-six week-days allowed by law during the year, every Saturday as it came round out of crop, and *in* crop every second Saturday, and every alternate week in crop the half of Saturday, besides which no night work was permitted on his estates during crop. His object was to give them a full share of rest and sleep, and to preserve Sunday, at least as far as he could, perfectly inviolate. Their children too were educated, and the

* So doubtless it was represented to him by those who knew better.

women were exempted from flogging. He would positively have discharged any overseer who he knew had done so; and even with the men he went on the principle of having no corporal punishment: but in spite of him, and of Mr. Wildman also, the whip was still used. The whip appeared to the overseers to be essential, in some way or other, to the maintenance of order. In one instance on Salt Savannah, it took place contrary to Mr. Taylor's own express orders. Mr. Taylor admits that it would be impossible to manage an estate on the present system without the whip at one time or another: it may not be necessary to be *always* using it; but it is essential to order and to labour, as a stimulus which must be brought to act, either immediately or remotely. He conceived that labour must have some stimulus, and this was the only one applied, because the only one permitted by the state of things in Jamaica. On his entering into the charge of Mr. Wildman's estates, there was an understanding that, on his part, the estates were to be managed on a moderate and humane system, or he would have nothing to do with them; and, on Mr. Wildman's, that Mr. Taylor would conform to his mode of management, or he would have nothing to do with Mr. Taylor. The principle, therefore, on which he went, and from which he never receded, was, that the pecuniary interest of the master was to be secondary to the better interests and well-being of the slave; but Mr. Taylor found that it was quite impossible to work the existing system on that principle. There was a want of a stimulus which he could use. That which alone he had, he could not, and would not use. He accordingly wrote Mr. Wildman a letter, to intimate to him that he was disappointed in all his expectations, and that he found that the system would not work on the principle of humanity, and that it required a harsh and coercive principle. His neighbours advanced before him simply because they could and did use a power which he would not make use of. This letter was written in October, 1830; the following is an extract from it:—"I must now advert to the subject on which you have remarked in your last letter, namely, the civil condition of your Negroes. I cannot refrain from being explicit on the subject; my mind has been unceasingly harassed by it. The retrospect, too, of the months which have passed since your departure, only confirms me in my opinions. I do not think that your estates can possibly be made to yield, under the combined system of religion, humanity, and slavery.

There is in the latter, as it exists in Jamaica, a repugnance to unite with the two former. By *our* system we take away the motive which leads to labour on the neighbouring estates,—that is, the dread of the lash : and we cannot substitute that which makes the English labourer industrious, namely, the fear of want ; for the law of Jamaica compels the slave proprietor to feed his slave, to clothe him, and to house him, whatever the conduct of that slave may be.* True it is he may flog him and imprison him,—but *there* our principles come in and prevent ; for the first we turn away from, and the latter is a clumsy and dreadful means of compelling obedience ; so that, between the two, the discipline is relaxed. Your people are certainly quiet, and generally well conducted ; but I am at the same time obliged to say that less work, I think, is produced under our moderate and mild system than under the harsh methods used by the majority of planters. The want is that of a motive. After much anxious thought on the subject, I have come to the conclusion that THE ONLY EFFECTUAL remedy is emancipation. We are, I conceive, in a strait: we must either go on to the ultimate measure of freedom, or go back (which would appear to be impossible, as well as inhuman) to the use of brute coercion. In the middle state we are perplexed and retarded in our operations, simply because there is not a sufficient stimulus. A labourer says he will not work : in England instant dismissal is the consequence : in Jamaica, instant flogging follows.—Now, dismiss a labourer, I cannot ;—flog him, I will not.”

In short, Mr. Taylor goes on to state, we must either have an extinction of slavery, or be content to go on with the harsh and barbarous system which now prevails. We must stimulate the slave to labour either by the fear of want, or by the lash. In Jamaica you feed and clothe him whether he works or not, but if he will not work you flog him. If it had not been for the law of Jamaica, Mr. Taylor thinks he could have worked upon him by other motives ; but the law required him to swear every quarter that he had provided him with food and clothing ; and therefore, unless he committed perjury, he had no hold upon him but the lash. He believed in the first instance that he should have succeeded in his plan mentioned before (see p. 325) of buying these estates, after the plan

* Mr. Taylor must mean of course the conscientious slave proprietor, who feels bound not to violate the law.

of a modified slavery had failed ; but he was misled by his strong wish to try the experiment, and by the warm regard he felt for the slaves over whom he had been placed. He saw that there were immense difficulties in the way, in the then state of things, but he hoped they might be overcome ; and at any rate he was so disgusted with what he was engaged in, and so anxious to make the experiment, that he proposed, had he got any others to join him, to purchase the three estates, to manumize the Negroes belonging to them, who were connected with each other by family ties, and to work them as free labourers, hoping to be supported in his plan by the local authorities. He could prevail on no one to join him. Still he made the proposal for one of the estates, but it was not accepted. Difficulties of various kinds might have arisen, but these would have been much fewer had the whole slave population been manumitted, and the government of this country been resolutely determined to preserve order. He had no fear whatever that the slaves would become unsettled, or turn vagrants, for he never saw any disposition in the negro mind to vagrancy. A Negro who has his house and grounds will never wander, or run away, but from very bad treatment. A man who has no ties on the estate, no family ties, will desert on receiving ill treatment ; but a head Negro, or even a respectable field Negro who has his house and his land, his wife and his children, will bear a great deal of ill treatment before he will run away. Very few return into the woods as compared with the whole population. On one estate he recollects 25 men deserting at a very critical time of the year, in the season of planting ; but it was because the overseer had treated them infamously. They watched their opportunity and withdrew into the woods when their services were most required. The proprietor of the estate happened to arrive on the island at the time, and they instantly returned. The overseer was dismissed, and another put in his room, and the Negroes never went away afterwards. It would be difficult to say that they have the *same* ties to home as the English labourer, their situations being so unlike ; but still they have many strong ties to home. If a gang of Negroes is bought or sold, it is with the greatest difficulty they can be moved, and often the civil power must be called in to force them : some are sent to the workhouse, and the rest are terrified into submission. Mr. Taylor remembered an instance where a large estate was broken up and the Negroes sold in separate gangs,

and one gang they had great difficulty in moving; it was at last moved about 25 miles. About eight months after, their new owner died, and, he not having paid for them, they had to be moved again, when the difficulty was as great as before (p. 24, 25).

Mr. Taylor, in reply to another series of questions, stated that the law allows twenty-six week-days in the year, exclusive of Sundays and the usual (three) holidays, for his provision grounds; and by this allowance of time, together with his Sundays, the Negro in Jamaica maintains himself and his family. Multitudes of them consume their Sundays in their grounds and in going to market. Besides this they have half an hour each day for breakfast, and two hours' interval in the middle of the day. During that last interval many work on their own account in their grounds or gardens, or in other matters; the half hour for breakfast is usually consumed in rest in the field, often in the shade of a tree. He cannot say how much labour in the year is sufficient to enable a slave to satisfy his wants and those of his family, nor how much land he requires for that purpose. But he knows that to a great extent they cultivate their grounds and go to market on Sunday; but he cannot affirm that working all Sunday is universal. If, however, a Negro were to devote his Sundays to repose he certainly could not maintain himself and his family; and, in fact, by the great majority of them, Sunday is generally consumed in their grounds or in marketing. If they strictly observed the Sunday, having only their twenty-six week-days, it would not be sufficient; and even near the Missionary stations he remembered that the ministers complained that on certain Sundays the slaves never could attend service, and they had no congregation of them.—It was not the nature of the slaves' work, with the exception of cane-hole-digging, but the duration of it, of which they had to complain. As for cane-hole digging, it was so hard that he had heard overseers of plantations state as the chief objection to freedom that they never could get cane-holes dug by free men. And certainly they could not at the common rate of labour: it would require an immense inducement. The slaves will certainly do much more for themselves than when they work for their masters. Even when performing task-work, they are different beings. A Negro will lift a load for himself which it would require a severe flogging to make him lift for his master. He had seen them travelling to market, groaning under a load of hard

wood timber which no overseer could make them carry. But the inducement was great: they were sure to get a high price for it, and they were labouring for themselves. He had often observed them, after working for their masters, and for their own maintenance, prolong their work to procure some little indulgences. Whenever they could contrive by task-work, or other arrangements, to obtain any extra time, their grounds were crowded with them, labouring for their own benefit. They cannot, therefore, be said to be an indolent race, or incapable of being actuated by the motives by which labour is generally prompted. His own experience assured him of the contrary. He admitted that the propensity of the Negro, as of all men in warm climates, was to indolence; but, whenever the hope of pecuniary advantage could be brought to bear on this indolence, it was powerfully counteracted. He was well acquainted with the inhabitants of Scotland, and he had never known an intelligent and well-instructed Scotchman who would work hard without an inducement; but, for the same motive of personal advantage, the Negro might most decidedly be induced to work to an immense extent. Having tried the experiment of voluntary labour for wages in his own garden, the man who most frequently applied for employment was the most idle and worthless man on the estate. The steady Negroes were far less willing to work in his garden, having large and well cultivated grounds of their own; while this fellow had neglected his ground and had therefore no temptation to go to it, and was glad therefore to be employed in the garden, or he would collect a little fruit, or procure some billets of wood, and carry them to Kingston market, converting them into cash. This man, more frequently than any other, came to work in the garden the whole day till four o'clock, and he then took his 2s. 11d. of hire and proceeded to Kingston to convert the money into comforts; while the other Negroes were unwilling to do so, it being more profitable to go to their own grounds—thus decidedly showing their judgment in discriminating as to the kind of labour that would reward them best and selecting that. In fact the Negroes are far from being the rude uncultivated barbarians they are sometimes represented to be. The estimate in this country of their character is a great deal too low. He himself had no notion of it till he was called to manage those estates; and he had been ten years in the island and was

still in great ignorance of the agricultural labourers of Jamaica; and he then found that far too low an opinion had been formed (and this he declared to many in Jamaica) of their state of civilization. The Negroes who worked in his garden worked diligently, because he discharged them if they did not. The idle man, who was the chief labourer, was well watched by the gardener, and if slothful was sent away. The fear of this operated to produce application as the fear of the whip did in the field. Working in his garden was however less hard than digging cane holes (p. 25, 26, 27).

Mr. Taylor was here asked a very important question: "How many hours a day, upon the average, is a slave engaged in the work of his master?" He was unable to answer this question with any precision, having never acted in the lower grades of plantership, either as book-keeper or overseer.* But though Mr. Taylor cannot specify the exact

* As Mr. Taylor could not trust to his recollection to answer this question, it may be expedient at once to refer to the infallible authority, not of an obsolete statute, but the latest slave law on this subject, namely, the Act of 19th February, 1831, clause 22:—"And be it further enacted that every field slave on any plantation or settlement shall, on work days, be allowed half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner; and that no slave shall be compelled to any manner of *field work* upon the plantation before the hour of *five in the morning*, or *after the hour of seven at night*, except during the time of crop, under the penalty not exceeding fifty pounds, to be recovered against the overseer or other person having the charge of such slaves."

The overseer, therefore, is by this, the only existing law on the subject, empowered to compel the labour of the slaves in the field, whether they be men, women, or children, on all work days, from five in the morning till seven in the evening, being fourteen solid hours, with intervals of two hours and a half, leaving the actual field labour to which the slaves, male and female, are compellable to submit, at the immoderate amount of ELEVEN HOURS AND A HALF on each work day throughout the year. But then crop time, which lasts from four to six months in the year, is exempted even from this limitation; and there is no extent of exaction short of absolute cruelty, and not bounded by the physical powers of the human animal, which this apparently slight and parenthetic provision may not vindicate. This enactment, too, is not an act of inconsideration on the part of the Jamaica legislature. It stands thus in every successive version of it from 1788 downwards. It stood in their disallowed act of 1826 in precisely the same words, and was thus commented upon by Mr. Huskisson in

but varying duration of the slave's labour for his master, upon one fact involved in it he speaks without any doubt or hesitation, and that is, that the *women* are employed the same number of hours with the men,

his Despatch of the 22nd September, 1827:—"The provisions for the prevention of excessive labour contemplate the working of the slaves for eleven hours and a half daily out of crop, and place no limit on the continuance of the work during crop time. Considering the climate in which the labour is to be performed, and that after the work of the field there will yet remain many offices to be done not falling within the proper meaning of the term 'labour' (he should have said field labour), I should fear that the exertions of the slaves, if exacted up to the limits allowed by law, would be scarcely consistent with the health of the labourer." Mr. Huskisson might well say so, as the murderous tendency of the whole system of slave labour in Jamaica abundantly testifies, by the debility and death of its victims, by the arrest of the prolific powers of the female slaves, and by the frightful waste of the whole slave population.

Now, in the insolent reply of the Assembly to Mr. Huskisson's Despatch, drawn up by the very Mr. Barrett who is now a delegate from Jamaica to uphold this cruel code, as it is given in the papers printed by command in 1828, Mr. Barrett seems at some loss to parry or evade the above conclusive observations of the Secretary of State. His reply is a rare example of shuffling dexterity. It is as follows:—"Mr. Huskisson fears that the exertions of the slaves, if exacted up to the limits allowed by the disallowed law, would be scarcely consistent with a due regard to the health of the labourer. Negroes do not exert themselves at work like Europeans. They seldom fatigue themselves, and it is common for them to travel many miles or to dance the entire night after the longest day's labour. It is believed by the House of Assembly that labourers work much harder and longer in Great Britain, and are rewarded with a smaller share of the necessaries and comforts of existence."

The daring insolence, the unblushing falsehood, and the unfeeling levity of such a statement, on so grave a subject, and with a wasting population around them, is quite characteristic of the Jamaica Assembly. Yet Mr. Huskisson did not do justice to the cause he advocated. He was not aware of half the exactions to which, under the shelter of this artfully framed and most insidious enactment, the slave might be subjected. There is no limitation but to work in the field, none to grass collecting for the cattle after the work of the field is over, none to the onerous duties of the slaves, male and female, in their household menage; viz. all the cooking required, the firing and water wanted for household purposes and cleanliness for them and their families;—all are left to fall on the slaves after their work is over, and they have been broiling in a tropical sun for eleven hours and a half in the field and under the lash. Can we wonder at the dreadful waste of human life in Jamaica?

except women pregnant, or having children at the breast. Their labour, also, is almost entirely of the same description as that of the men. They cannot undertake the management of cattle, or the duty of *watching* all night out of crop; but they dig cane-holes with the men, and in gangs with them; and they are exposed to the same degree of labour. The question aptly follows, “Does the population of Jamaica increase or decrease?” The reply is—IT DECREASES; and this decrease, Mr. Taylor states, is considered in Jamaica to arise from sugar cultivation, especially the night work of crop, and the cane-hole digging. The free blacks and people of colour, on the other hand, increase. The maroons, he knew from the returns in the Jamaica Almanac, increased largely, and they derive their whole subsistence from their own exertions. The habits of the free people as to labour he was not able to describe particularly; few of them, from the jealousy and ill-will of managers and overseers, have hitherto been allowed to settle on or near estates. A free village near an estate indeed is viewed as a great evil. Being asked to account for the increase of the free, while the slaves decrease, Mr. Taylor said he accounted for it partly by cane-hole digging and night work, partly by abortions caused by flogging pregnant women, before the pregnancy is apparent. Many children are thus destroyed in the womb. Some of the medical men to whom he spoke admitted that this evil prevailed to a certain extent. He believed that there was a waste or rather prevention of life from this cause (it was admitted generally in conversation) as well as from the severity and duration of the labour imposed on the women in common with the men, such as cane-hole digging, and night work (pp. 27, 28).

Mr. Taylor being again questioned as to the slave's capacity, if manumitted, to maintain himself and his family in comfort, he replied that he would be neither incapable nor unwilling. Let him be moved by the fear of want, or excited by the hope of advantage, and he will exert himself as certainly and effectively as the labourers of Europe. It would at the same time be unfair, in his present enslaved state, to require that he should be placed in comparison with the free Scotchman; yet he believed that he would be always alive to the prospect of pecuniary advantage whenever it was palpably exhibited to him, and, with that before him, he would work if free. Emancipated slaves do not become vagrants, in any legitimate sense of the term. They are much

employed as hucksters, an occupation for which the peculiar state of Jamaica offers great advantages. There are in that island scarcely any inland villages with shops, as in England ; but the wants of the slaves in distant parishes are supplied by hucksters, which emancipated slaves are fond of becoming. A strict watch, however, is kept over such stragglers, whether they be coloured, or black, or white persons. The slaves, if emancipated, would only think of removing from their home to better their condition ; but otherwise they would cling, if allowed to do so, to their respective villages, to their houses and grounds, their wives and children. With respect to the habits of the free people of colour, little comparatively is known by the whites. Indeed the distinctions between white, and black, and brown, and bond and free, raise barriers to communication which widely separate them from each other. This is an almost necessary, but most unhappy incident of a slave state.—Certainly the desire for freedom does not arise from the slave's connecting it with an exemption from labour ; for they see under their own eyes many who had been slaves labouring hard for their support. Even an old Negro on an estate, when he ceases to labour for his master, does not cease to labour for himself. There was one on the estate of Salt Savannah, who, though allowed to “sit down and to be exempt from plantation labour, was most industrious and hard-working for himself” (p. 28, 29).

Mr. Taylor, being further questioned as to the danger of disturbance among the slaves in Jamaica, replied to this effect :—Jamaica is now in a state of disturbance ; but he could not answer for the future, so ignorant may an individual in Jamaica be of the state and feelings of the society around him. Had he been asked in January last, or on the very day before the news of the insurrection arrived, he would have denied all probability of riot or insurrection ; and in no parish should he have less expected it, with the exception of Kingston and Spanish Town, than in St. James. The actual transactions would have falsified all his convictions, and convinced him that, though living in the very centre of the slaves, with hundreds of them at the very door, nothing was known of them, or of what they felt or designed. This is a peculiar feature of a slave community. Slavery separates the different classes from each other. The military executions and horrors may for the present have quelled the spirit of insubordination ; but, when that terror has

worn away, it can hardly be doubted, from the vast increase of lettered knowledge among the slaves, which there is no controlling, that, without an early emancipation, they will break out again, and you will not be able to put them down. They will be more methodical and successful. Men cannot be expected to be quiet who read newspapers on both sides of such a question. The great error in Jamaica is madly fancying that the slaves of 1830 are the slaves of 1810. Legislation is at least half a century behind the state of the people. Whether when made free they will be turbulent or peaceable will depend wholly on the mode of doing it. If put in a situation to feel the influence of the motives which make us all work, they will work, if you only establish a good government in that country.—But it is asked, if the slave in certain situations possesses the advantages you have stated, why should you think freedom preferable to slavery? It is preferable on these grounds, and in this view of the subject the slaves almost universally concur.—Whatever advantages a slave may have, the evils accompanying slavery are such as every man would get rid of if he could. Let the comfort even of a Negro in Vere, the most comfortable in the island, be doubled, yet he would not remain in that state, if he could get rid of it without absolutely being turned adrift. Better to be the poorest labourer in England than the richest slave in Jamaica. Suppose him in the best circumstances, and with the best master, he cannot call Sunday his own. He may see his wife indecently stripped and flogged at shell blow. He may see his adult daughter put in the same situation. There is no law to prevent this, and it is done over and over again. No degree of comforts, even their greatest abundance, could be accepted on such terms (p. 29, 30).

The remainder of Mr. Taylor's evidence, extending through nearly 34 folio pages, consists chiefly of a close and eagerly pursued cross-examination, conducted, as it would appear, by Mr. Burge, who alone of the committee could have been competent to the task. Close and able as it was, it did not shake any one material position occupied by Mr. Taylor; on the contrary it has greatly strengthened them. It would be a mere waste of time and labour to repeat, under this new form, the re-assertion of the principles we have already abstracted. We shall therefore only glean what we find new and striking in this truly searching examination.

Mr. Taylor, during the thirteen years he had resided in Jamaica, between 1816 and 1831, had had abundant opportunities of knowing something of the state and character of the slave population. During the ten years he resided in Kingston as a merchant, he visited Hermitage estate, in St. George, belonging to his partner Mr. Simpson, three or four times a year, having upon it 160 Negroes. During six months of 1816 he visited many estates in Trelawney, with his uncle Mr. Cunningham, who was both a proprietor and an attorney. He had also been a good deal in Manchester and St. Elizabeth.—The time allowed the slaves by law to raise their food, he was convinced, was wholly inadequate. The land in general was ample, but the time, without encroaching largely on the rest of Sunday, very scanty, it being only his own time, and not his master's, which he could apply to that purpose (p. 34). The labour required to keep yams, and cocoes or eddoes, free from weeds, is very considerable. The time required by a plantain walk, when once established, was certainly not great;* but still, to secure sufficient food for the slave, far more time is absolutely required (p. 35, ques. 342). At present the slave is almost wholly debarred from the religious use of two Sundays in three, and from attending the Sunday schools on those days.—The wealth found among slaves is principally among mechanics (ques. 308, p. 36); but he knows no parish where provisions are deficient (ques. 384, p. 37). As to the hours of labour, the whip is cracked generally between four and five in the morning. In general they go out as soon as they can see (ques. 392, p. 38). Half an hour is usually allowed for breakfast, and an hour and a half for dinner (ques. 396, p. 38). In duration their day's labour is thus raised to twelve hours. In most estates cane-hole digging to a considerable extent is indispensable; on very fertile lands it is much less called for (ques. 415, &c., p. 39). Cane-holing was the chief work in Clarendon, from the middle of August to the middle of November, with occasional intermissions of lighter work, as the strength of the

* But, if a hurricane comes, plantain walks are swept away, and, if the Negro has no other food to rely upon, he is reduced to a state of absolute famine. The planter who permits his slaves to *rely* on the plantain exposes them to destruction of the same kind which, in 1789, swept away so many thousands by the famine caused by the miserable penuriousness of the planters of that day in the allotment of time to their slaves.

Negroes would permit (ques. 462, p. 39). The plough and jobbing gangs are in use on many plantations, with a view of sparing the Negroes (p. 40). On estates not strongly handed, during crop, the Negroes work day and night for about 18 hours out of the 24. If the estates are strongly handed, this labour is lessened, but in none is the loss of sleep less than two nights a week* (p. 41). Mr. Taylor is asked whether the

* An intelligent person, who kept spell as a book-keeper for four years in Jamaica, is ready to testify, if called upon, to the uniform practice, in his time, to divide into two spells that part of the first and second gangs not occupied as coopers, in making casks, or as waggoners, or mule-drivers.

The following is a sketch of the working of those two spells, which we will call A and B, a white book-keeper being allowed to each, who had the same length of night duty as the slaves :—

On Sunday, at 6 p.m., the spell A went to the works and put the mill about, remaining there till midnight, when it went to rest as soon as relieved by spell B. At day-dawn, on Monday, spell A went to the field, and continued cutting canes there for the mill till noon. At noon it resumed its place at the works, and continued there till midnight on Monday, when it took rest till day-dawn on Tuesday, and was then again in the field cutting canes till noon, and thus it proceeded on each succeeding day of the week, except that on Saturday it did not always retire at midnight, but remained sometimes to two or three on Sunday morning, till all the cane juice was boiled off. During the same week, the spell B came on duty at the works at midnight on Sunday night, and continued there till noon on Monday, when it went home; but at 2 p.m. it was again in the field, cutting canes for the mill from that time until dusk, when it went home to rest, till called up again at midnight to relieve spell A. And so the work proceeded the whole week, only that at midnight on Saturday there was no call of spell B, however late might be the boiling.

The succeeding week, the spells were changed, so that the spell B began work on the Sunday evening at 6 p.m., and so had the very same tale and hours of labour, both at the works and in the field, which the spell A had had the week before, and A the same as B had had. Thus each spell during every 24 hours was 12 hours at the works and six hours in the field, the whole of their sleep being taken from the six hours which then alone remained to them. And the same must of absolute necessity be the case still, if the manufacture of sugar be continuously carried on, on estates not having more than from 200 to 250 Negroes, embracing a large majority of sugar estates. Is not this toil dreadful, and most wearing and exhausting? and it affects the women still more than the men. Can women, by any possibility, breed under such circumstances? It is altogether impossible.

mortality is as great among the children of the free as among the children of slaves (ques. 496, p. 44), but he cannot answer the question.*—No attempt was made to instruct and civilise the maroons till 1829, when Mr. Taylor was authorised by the Church Missionary Society to erect schools for them in Accompong Town. Prior to that they had been left in a state of utter ignorance and barbarism; but from that date he observed a rapid change among them (ques. 537, page 48).—Mr. Taylor affirms the ample sufficiency of his experience to justify the assertions he has made respecting the Negro character and the conduct of the slave population. His experience was as large as that of most others who had been in that island (ques. 562, p. 49). His means of acquiring a knowledge of lettered instruction among the Negroes were peculiar, and he pronounced their advance, as compared with 1816, to be *immense* (ques. 581, p. 51); meaning by lettered instruction the knowledge of reading. They acquire it in Sunday schools, which are chiefly attended by the adult slaves, and *they* carry it home and spread it diligently. The knowledge of reading was not general, but it was spreading rapidly. In these schools are many children, but the chief part is composed of adults, and this though they could only attend one Sunday in three. These schools are numerous in St. Thomas in the East, in St. George's, at Buff Bay, at Annotta Bay, at Falmouth, at Montego Bay, at Lucea, at Savannah-la-mar, and in St. Elizabeth, where the clergy, the dissenting missionaries, the Moravians, and several private families are particularly active; and the recipients of such instruction are themselves, in their turn, the active instruments of teaching others. It thus spreads rapidly. Many adults are able to read Anti-Slavery publications, not from England, but published in the island: some subscribe for them and take them in. The proprietors and land-owners know little of all this (p. 51 and 52). The Watchman and Christian Record are unsafe reading for the slaves in Jamaica. As for the Anti-Slavery Reporter, it was little known in Jamaica, and he did not believe it was

* But can the slightest doubt rest upon this matter when the returns officially sent from the West Indies are examined? The increase among the maroons of Jamaica is nearly 2½ per cent. per annum, while the decrease on the sugar estates is from 1 to 2 per cent. or more. The free black and coloured people of Demerara, Berbice, and the Mauritius, increase at the rate of nearly 3 per cent. per annum.—How terrible is the waste of slave life as compared with this increase!

read there (p. 53).—The insurrection Mr. Taylor thought had arisen chiefly from the rapid advance of knowledge among the slaves; partly from the debates in the Assembly, as to the free people of colour; partly from a desire and expectation of freedom, excited by the discussions between the colonial legislature and the government at home; and partly from the excited and divided state of the press* (p. 53).—The handsome furniture found in the houses of Negroes were exceptions; such things were almost entirely in the houses of mechanics, but slaves, generally, have a strong desire to possess better clothing and furniture (p. 55).—The Negroes always put on sandals when they walk a great distance. (ib.) The Negro house is a low-roofed cottage of three apartments; the centre is the eating apartment. the parents occupy one end and sleep there, and the children sleep in the centre apartment. The other end is for their property. Many houses have only two apartments, one for living in, and one for sleeping. They have rude bedsteads of timber nailed together. Some have mattresses stuffed with leaves, and some bed-clothes and sheets (p. 55). Mr. Taylor could affirm that those slaves who were constant at church were those most desirous to receive instruction.

Mr. Taylor is of opinion that on plantations, generally, it is in the power of the manager to inflict great cruelty on the slaves, without their being able to obtain redress; and that, within the limit of the law, most appalling cruelty may be inflicted, which cannot be punished (p. 56). The Assembly of Jamaica voted large sums for the pro-slavery publications of Macqueen, Bridges, and Barclay; and the planters support the Jamaica Courant (p. 56). With the Negroes, the flogging of women operates against marriage. They will not marry, because they cannot endure to have their wedded wives flogged (p. 57).—It is indisputable that one part of the Jamaica clergy promotes religious instruction among the Negroes to the utmost, and that another part does not (ques. 670, p. 57). The former exert themselves in every

* Mr. Taylor has entirely omitted to notice the parochial resolutions of Jamaica in August, September, and October, 1831; the appointment of delegates to England; and Mr. Beaumont's bill for abolishing female flogging, and facilitating manumissions by compelling masters to grant them at a fair appraisal.

possible way to instruct the Negroes, conceiving it their bounden duty to their flock to teach them to read the Scriptures, and to put the Scriptures into their hands, whether the masters like it or not. The other party will do nothing without permission of the owner (ques. 684, p. 58). There are not sufficient magistrates in Jamaica at present to serve as substitutes for the master in enforcing discipline (ques. 681, p. 58).—Mr. Taylor thinks that no consideration would induce an emancipated slave to submit to the degradation of joining a Negro gang to work in the field with a driver behind him; but his refusal to do this, especially as he can procure more profitable employment, is only a proof of his good sense (p. 63).

A paper was produced which Mr. Taylor acknowledged to be his, and in which he had embodied, for the information of a friend, his general views on the subject of emancipation; and he added that they were still his views, and the result of much deliberation and reflection. It was as follows:—

“First let emancipation, and strict police arrangements, be contemporaneous.—Ample materials would be found for a police corps in the coloured class, whose services could be had at a low rate of charge.—Avoid paying the emancipated Negroes by means of allotments of land, as those would detach them from regular daily labour; but pay them in money.—At first there would be difficulties, but gradually the equitable price of labour would be ascertained, and act as the producer of regular labour.—A stipendiary magistracy would be necessary, because the peculiar prejudices of the present magistracy generally unfit them for the office.—The island would have to be divided into districts, each possessing a certain portion of the constabulary force, with a stipendiary magistrate, and a house of correction or other penitentiary. Were the island thus divided, and the police and magistrates properly organized, I firmly believe that emancipation might take place with perfect security.—Of course there would be difficulties, obstacles, and disappointments, in carrying into effect the detail of the system of emancipation; but if Government would address themselves actually to the work, telling the planters on the one hand that such is their determination, and the Negroes on the other that while they aim at instituting equal laws, and securing them their civil and religious liberty, they by no means design that idleness should be at their option,—I am con-

vinced that the result would be as beneficial, in a pecuniary way, to the planter, as it would be elevating and humanizing morally to the present degraded slave. The present system is incurable; it will not modify: it must be utterly destroyed. My experience, as a planter, assures me that to attempt to ingraft religion and humanity upon slavery, with the hope of profitable results, is a vain and fruitless endeavour. A religious man is a most unfit person to manage a slave estate. The fact is, cruelty is the main spring of the present system. As long as slavery exists, and the whip is the compeller of labour, it is folly to talk of humanity. Legitimate motives are taken away, and coercion becomes the spring of industry; and in proportion to the application of this, that is, coercion, is the effect on labour. The Negro character has been much underrated, even, I think, by the Negro's friends. When justice is done to him, even in his present degraded circumstances, he shows a sagacity and shrewdness, and a disposition to a regular social life, which emphatically prove that he only requires freedom secured to him by law to make him a useful, and, in his situation, an honourable member of the human family." Mr. Taylor added that he firmly believed all that he had stated in this paper to be true. It had been privately written, and he never expected to see it again, but he perfectly agreed now in every sentiment it contained.

Such is the evidence of Mr. William Taylor, and certainly more important evidence has never been laid before the public on this subject. It will commend itself to every reader by its calmness, consistency, and truth, by its cautious and discriminating character, and by the straightforwardness with which he states facts, without regard to the impression they may produce. It bears all the marks of a thoroughly honest evidence.

II.—THE REV. JOHN BARRY.

The next witness is the Rev. JOHN BARRY, a Wesleyan Missionary. When he first went to the island, and for some time after, he found the work of education in a backward and inefficient state. The children attended only on Sundays at the chapel. They were all regularly at work during the week in St. Thomas in the Vale, where he then was, and no fit teachers were procurable. Now, however, great numbers of children, and latterly of adults, have learnt to read. The Wesleyans have no

schools on any plantations, nor on any day but Sunday, and at their chapels, except in Kingston. The Negroes in St. Thomas in the Vale derived their subsistence from the provision grounds allotted by the master, and cultivated by themselves. Besides provisions, some of them reared pigs and poultry. The yearly allowance of clothing was two suits of Osnaburg, a common hat or cap, and a coarse rug coat, for bad weather; but many were clad in better clothes, procured by the sale of their surplus provisions. The whole of the 26 week-days allowed by law, and any spare time they had, and the Sundays, were given to the culture of provisions, or to marketing. They generally laboured in their grounds on Sundays, except when they went to market, and which market, whether Spanish Town or Kingston, was 20 miles distant from the plantations near which he lived. This use of most Sundays was invariably and decidedly necessary, though they were very industrious in employing what time they had in raising food and articles for sale. He had paid attention to their industrious habits, and had not the least doubt they would labour willingly for hire if free. They did not become less industrious by having acquired some little property. He had a servant of his own who had been a slave, but had obtained his freedom; and, though he received a liberal weekly pay for his services, he requested to be allowed to devote his hours after 8 or 9 o'clock to his own purposes, and has been known almost constantly to work till midnight, or even two in the morning, in manufacturing baskets to sell, and increase his property and comforts. The Negroes employ themselves much, besides cultivating their grounds, in manufacturing ornamental baskets, making coarse straw hats and earthen utensils, and a variety of little articles, and sometimes in cutting grass, all which they sell. This is done to a great extent near towns. The slaves sell their provisions and other things in the public markets, as is done in England. They are very shrewd indeed in their bargains—as shrewd as any white man. They well understand the value of money. They often go as far as 25 and 26 miles to market, and sometimes as far as 35. Their plan is to prepare their loads on that Saturday which is their own, and to travel with it all Saturday night to be in time for the Sunday market; so that the violation of the Sabbath is unavoidable, for it necessarily requires the whole of the day when they go to market, to vend their goods and return home (p. 64—68).

The Negroes, Mr. Barry thinks, are remarkable for the social and domestic affections. He never knew more dutiful and obedient children. They are exceedingly attached to their parents, and will do all in their power to promote their comfort. The greatest offence that can be given to a Negro is to speak disrespectfully of his parents. At the same time, in St. Thomas in the Vale, they are generally in a state of sad demoralization. Great improvement, however, has followed religious instruction. On Mount Concord, near the missionary station, there were 130 Negroes. The adults were about 70. The overseer of that plantation called upon Mr. Barry one day and said, "Mr. Barry, the Negroes on this property perfectly astonish me. They are the most industrious, and the most intelligent, and the best Negroes I have ever seen in this island. I have just left the Port Royal mountains, and such was the state of the Negroes there that I was afraid to eat my food, lest I should be poisoned, and I always considered my life in danger." Mr. Barry replied, "I am glad to hear you bear that testimony, Mr. Jordan; for almost all of these people are members of our society." It is true that, owing to some peculiarities in the state of the Negroes, they had not sufficiently correct notions as to petty thefts and the obligations of truth and purity; but, when brought under the influence of religion, those evils were almost invariably corrected. Had the slave population, generally, been as well instructed as the 10,000 or 12,000 Negroes belonging to the Wesleyan establishments, they might be considered as on a par, in point of morality, with ordinary persons. In the late insurrection not a single member of the society was found implicated: and there were only two cases even of suspicion. The Governor himself stated as much to Mr. Barry; and Major-General Yates said that, after the most minute investigation, it did not appear that a single Wesleyan had taken part in it. Since Mr. Barry had quitted the island, a few months since, he had heard rumours that three or four had been detected, but on no good authority (p. 68).

Mr. Barry was decidedly of opinion that, if emancipation took place under prudent precautions, there would be an infinitely greater opportunity of communicating religious instruction, and a more rapid advancement in morality and civilization. He called once, in travelling through St. Mary's, on a Mr. Clarke, the possessor of about forty slaves who had been receiving instruction for two or three years. The change,

he said, was remarkable ; he no longer employed a driver, and seldom visited his slaves while at work. Previously to their becoming religious, he had employed two drivers, and constantly visited the slaves himself. Now he got infinitely more work from those very slaves than he could get by his own care, and that of his drivers ; and this he attributed to the influence of religion. Religious slaves, however, are not exempted in general, under the present system, from the infliction of punishment. If they work under drivers, as is the common case, they will share in it, however attentive they may be to their duties. If emancipated; he believes, they would do more work than now (p. 69).

Many plantations have no religious instruction at all. St. Mary's had a population of 25,000 slaves : when first he visited it, in 1825, the only places of worship were the parish church at Port Maria and another small church that only held 200 people, both very distant from the dwellings of the great majority of the slaves. This is a fair picture of the provision of places of worship generally throughout the island. In some parishes the advantages are greater, but in no due proportion to the number of slaves. The aggregate number of slaves even partially under religious instruction, by all the religious bodies, did not exceed 50,000, being only a seventh of the whole. The proportion of the free black and coloured inhabitants who attend religious instruction is much larger. A great degree of immorality, however, prevails among both slave and free, the constitution of society in Jamaica tending much to general demoralization, and more generally among the whites than the other classes. It prevails to a very great extent indeed ; and among the whites of all grades it is nearly universal. This general profligacy pervading all ranks, whether slave or free, has had its origin in slavery, and especially in the master's unlimited power over the body of his female slave. It is true he has not the same power over the *free* women ; but the example and influence of the whites are so corrupting that the mothers of free females generally prefer seeing their daughters the concubines of white men rather than the wives of men of their own colour. Emancipation would tend greatly to improve this state of things. Religious and moral improvement would then necessarily advance ; and, under the influence of religion, the present loose habits would be abandoned. In the Wesleyan Societies in Jamaica there are hundreds of fine young women who will labour incessantly rather than submit to

such a state of degradation. In some instances women have had the strongest inducements held out to return to their former keepers, which they have almost uniformly refused. The discredit which still attaches to white men who marry women of colour is great, notwithstanding the new rights and privileges conferred on that class. Such marriages cause an almost entire exclusion from white society. The emancipation of the slaves would tend to obviate this evil (p. 70 and 71).

The free coloured and blacks maintain themselves by their own industry in a great variety of ways; they work as carpenters, smiths, masons, coopers, wood cutters, cabinet makers, watch makers, and at all other trades carried on by whites. Many of them who have themselves been slaves are employed in the very first works in the island. Numbers of them are domestic servants, and a great many cultivate lands of their own, and sell the produce. They never work in the field of plantations: indeed their services are never asked for there, and they have constant work otherwise; and at all events in cultivating land of their own, which they purchase. The present system of labour excludes them from plantation work in the field. A planter would not willingly admit free persons to work with his slaves, and the free persons would feel it a deep degradation to work with a gang of slaves in the field: extreme necessity alone could drive them to it. Land may be had, but not always in convenient situations. Mr. Barry himself paid 7*l.* currency, or 5*l.* sterling, for an acre of very good grass land; which he wanted for his own use. There are immense tracts of uncultivated land both in the plains and on the mountains, partly belonging to the crown, and partly to individuals (p. 72).

Mr. Barry professes to be well acquainted with the habits of the free blacks and people of colour. They have certainly greatly improved in information, intelligence, and wealth, during his residence in the island. Some of the best educated men he has known in Jamaica are people of colour, and they promote education among the young. Being allied by blood and marriage with the slaves, they communicate with them to a great extent, and thus the slaves acquire much general knowledge.—There is scarcely a transaction which takes place even in England with which they are not acquainted. They take a deep interest in what relates to emancipation. When in the last session Mr. Beaumont brought in his bill for compulsory manumission, the greatest

possible excitement existed among the slaves, and their expressions of joy were almost unbounded; and the great mass not only of the slaves, but of the free black and coloured classes, were eager for the measure. He knew slaves that were head men and tradesmen on estates, who were able to purchase their freedom, and desirous of obtaining it, but could not obtain it. He had known instances of aged and infirm slaves who did not desire to be free; but he never knew an instance of a vigorous Negro who did not desire it. It is very common for emancipated slaves to pay large sums for the redemption of their wives and children: the desire to do so is universally very strong, and very exorbitant prices are often paid for them (p. 73).

When Mr. Barry first went to Jamaica, from what he had heard, he was led to think that emancipation could not be effected without danger. But now he was of a contrary opinion. He was now convinced, by a more close observation of the Negro character, that, with proper regulations, it might be effected without any danger; and that such is their willingness to labour at their own hours, whether field slaves or mechanics, that no apprehension need be entertained of the result.—The cause of religion and morality would be most essentially promoted by it. Under the present system the slaves are generally precluded, for weeks together, from attending places of religious worship and instruction. Any system of police, however severe, would be preferable to the evils of slavery. And not only would the free people, generally, be perfectly competent to discharge police duties, but thousands of the slaves themselves, if emancipated, might safely be put into a corps of that description. They would keep order themselves, and aid in keeping others in order. The present magistracy, however, would be inadequate, and there ought to be stipendiary magistrates to superintend the whole. The feeling of freedom has got so firm a hold of the slaves now that they will never be satisfied till they attain it, and even its delay will be attended with considerable danger. During the late insurrection, those who were judicially executed, with very few exceptions, died glorying in their death, and stating that, had they twenty lives, they would sacrifice them all rather than return to slavery. No mere amelioration of their condition will ever reconcile the Negroes again to slavery. Religious instruction tends indeed to restrain turbulence and outrage, but it never can repress the desire of freedom (p. 74, 75).

The Negroes are generally a shrewd and intelligent people. Many possess strong intellectual powers. They are strongly attached to their homes. They are grateful to those who treat them kindly. Taking all their circumstances into account, they are much the same as other men. Plantation field slaves have little opportunity of working for hire. Plantation mechanics will work assiduously after hours, as long as they can see, and often by candle-light. It cannot be doubted, however, that in case of emancipation all would work, for fair wages, at plantation or any other work. They dislike sugar planting more than any other work; but, for a proper remuneration, they will work even on sugar properties. They know the value of money, and they will labour for it (p. 76).

Mr. Barry did not think that the present means of education and divine worship were at all sufficient for the slave population. Difficulties, too, are thrown in the way by masters. One Sunday, in St. Thomas in the Vale, a woman came into the chapel with a wooden tray on her head, filled with dirty clothes. Mr. Barry felt inclined to reprove her for the indecorum, but the steward told him she was not to blame, as what she had done was to elude the opposition of her owner. His opposition to religion was so strong that his Negroes were obliged to leave the estate with their best clothes put into the tray, and their working dress on; that he might be led to suppose they were going to their grounds or to market; but when they came near chapel they put on their best clothes, and put their dirty ones into the tray, and all this was done to elude the opposition to their attending religious worship. But the grand hindrance is the necessary attention that must be paid to their provision grounds; and the impossibility of going to market if they attend chapel. They cannot attend any school but a Sunday school—their master's interest stands in the way; and from Sunday schools they are frequently altogether debarred. Even the children, from the age of five to ten, are constantly employed in gangs under a driveress, to perform various works on the estate. Mr. Wildman, and Mr. S. M. Barrett, are the only planters he knew to pay any great attention to the religious instruction of the slaves, both children and adults. Mr. Nicholas Palmer's wishes on that point were wholly frustrated by his attorney. Mr. Palmer sent out as a catechist a Mr. Stockman and his wife, from Bristol, to his estate in St. Dorothy's.

But, when Mr. Stockman arrived, Mr. Bailey, the attorney, would not permit him to go on the estate, and, though informed of Mr. Palmer's wishes, would neither make him any allowance nor suffer him to perform his duties. The consequence was that Mr. Stockman, having opened a school at Old Harbour, in a very hot and inconvenient house, fever ensued, of which he died; and Mr. Palmer paid the expenses of his widow's return to Bristol. He did not know of any specific opposition to Mr. Wildman's plans of education, but he became very unpopular in consequence of them (p. 77).

Mr. Barry could not tell, from his own observation, whether the field slaves worked harder on the plantation, or for their own profit on their grounds; but he had seen carpenters working as hard for their own profit as it was possible for men to do. There is, however, a great difficulty in entering a plantation to obtain information as to the state of the slaves. Attorneys and overseers never like it (p. 77, ques. 949).

He had known instances, during the late insurrection, of slaves who had shown attachment to their masters or managers, and had defended their property. One man in particular, James Muir, had defended his master's property to the last; and, when at length compelled to abandon the house to the insurgents, he secured the most valuable of his master's effects and carried them to Montego Bay, where he resided. This man was one of the principal slave members of the Wesleyan Society (ques. 950, p. 78).

Mr. Barry explained the mode by which members were admitted into that Society. There are subordinate leaders in the Society. If any of these should be applied to by an individual for admission, he states the fact to the missionary, who examines particularly whether, if a slave, his conduct as far as known is irreproachable, and whether he has been faithful to his master. If the examination be satisfactory, he is admitted for two or three months on trial. If, at the end of this probation, the leader can still recommend him for moral conduct, a ticket is then given him which recognizes him as a member. At the weekly meeting of the leaders the missionary further enquires of each as to the moral conduct of every member of his class during the week, and if a slave has been guilty of any act of immorality or dishonesty, or of running away, the slave is immediately called up and examined, and, if proved to be guilty, is expelled. This course is invariably pursued. He does not,

however, necessarily become a leader : that requires higher qualifications. In fact, there are not above five slave leaders in the island. The office of a leader requires that he should undertake the moral and religious instruction of a certain number of members ; and, before any such appointment, he is brought to the leader's meeting, and the missionary examines into his knowledge of Christianity, and his moral character, and whether he is in debt, or any pecuniary embarrassment, and it is only when the missionary is satisfied on these points that he is appointed a leader. There would have probably been more slaves appointed leaders, but for the prejudices existing in the colony, which are so strong that it was always avoided as much as possible. But for this, vast numbers of slaves were as fit to be leaders and subordinate teachers as any freemen in Jamaica. The Negroes are not allowed to preach. Mr. Barry had often heard them pray and communicate religious instruction ; but none of them are allowed to become public teachers for the same reason, that of obviating prejudice (p. 78).

Mr. Barry had resided as a missionary not only in St. Thomas in the Vale, but in Kingston and Spanish Town, occasionally exercising his ministry in St. Dorothy's, at Old Harbour ; and in Clarendon, on the estate of Lime Savannah, belonging to M. de la Beche. He had not, however, an opportunity of visiting the slaves in their huts, or conversing much with them, except in the way of religious instruction on Sunday, and on evenings in the week. Four times a year, however, he had direct and personal intercourse with every individual of the congregations in order to ascertain his religious and moral state. Mr. Barry does not believe that there is any essential difference in the characters of the Negroes in different parts of the island, or on different plantations, except in the grosser ignorance of some of the parties. On the sugar estates they are generally very destitute of instruction indeed. The difference of character arose mainly from their respective advantages or disadvantages (p. 81).

Mr. Barry did not know what time was required for the cultivation of different articles of Negro provisions. Plantain walks required little time when once established. Yams required considerable labour in the cleaning and weeding (p. 83).

Mr. Barry never knew emancipated slaves to work in the field on sugar estates. No freeman would willingly submit to the degradation

of working in the field with slaves on plantations, and planters would not allow of it ; many of them had themselves told him so ; and they were generally indisposed to the intrusion of the free on estates.

Being asked how sugar would be cultivated if the slaves were immediately emancipated, he replied that, on his first arrival in Jamaica, he was opposed to such a plan, and did not think that emancipation would be safe. As he became more fully acquainted with the Negro character he changed his opinion. He was convinced of their general disposition to labour for a fair remuneration, and he believed that any danger which might possibly arise from emancipation bore no possible proportion to the danger that must result from the perpetuation of slavery. With respect to sugar plantations, though some difficulties might exist in the first instance, in inducing the Negroes when free to work upon them, yet with due precautions, and the sense the Negroes had of the value of money, he certainly thought they would be induced to labour even on sugar estates. He was aware of their dislike to sugar culture more than to any other work, and this might operate on their minds for a time, in the event of freedom ; but he felt convinced, from their hard-working habits, and their love of money, that a proper remuneration would lead even those on sugar plantations to continue to work upon them. This conclusion had been drawn from a long course of observation, which had enabled him, as he believed, to form a correct judgment of the habits and views of the Negroes, and from frequent conversations with coffee planters around him. He had conversed little with sugar planters. He repeated his strong and immovable conviction, from all he had seen and heard, that the Negroes, when free, would work diligently, even in cane-hole digging, if adequately remunerated for their labour (p. 85, 86).

Being asked what he meant by proper precautions accompanying emancipation, Mr. Barry replied that he meant more particularly a strong police force, and the appointment of a magistracy for the special purpose of preserving the public peace. In the event of a general emancipation he should consider this as a proper precautionary measure, to repress any partial tumult or disorder ; and, as a measure of prudence, it ought to be maintained for some years afterwards, say five or six or more, according to circumstances. A large force properly distributed might be expedient, in the first instance ; but, believing that there

would not be any general indisposition in the Negroes to labour or to due subordination, a large force would not, after a time, be requisite ; and in some districts, little or no difficulty of any kind would be experienced (p. 86).

Being further questioned as to his manner of reconciling the necessity of coercion to compel the slave to labour, with his view of the industrious habits of the Negroes, he said that the infliction of punishment often depended on the *driver* alone. Besides, the slave now considered himself to labour without remuneration. The whole system was compulsory, and he himself was the object of that compulsion. While the present system of slavery endured, such compulsion, by the corporal punishment both of females and males, was, he believed, necessary (p. 87).

In St. Thomas in the Vale, the members of the Wesleyan Society amounted to about 700, besides free people ; 300 or 400 usually attending. The school here was very inefficient. In Kingston their three chapels contained about 4000 ; about half who attended were slaves, and of the slaves about half were domestics and mechanics residing in Kingston ; the rest plantation slaves ; but the plantation slaves could not attend every Sunday, and many only every third or fourth Sunday, on account of their own engagements. There was a vast number in the Sunday schools, both children and adults, many capable of reading the Scriptures. The schools have been much more efficient of late. The children are taken in at all ages, from four years and upwards. The parents take a manifest interest in the progress of their children in reading. A great number of children, but by no means a majority of them, are taught to read, and a child diligently attending for twelve months may acquire a knowledge of reading. In Spanish Town there were about eighty slaves in the school, some of them, but not many, adults. Those not taught to read are orally instructed in religion. The slave children in the town attended twice on Sunday. The general aptitude of the Negroes to learn is about as great as that of any other peasant population. There is a great number of children who are now able to read, and some can write ; several adults also, who have received instruction solely in the Wesleyan Sunday School. In Kingston there is a day school, lately formed, attended by about 150 children. There is here a mixture of free and

slaves, and of brown and black, but Mr. Barry does not know the proportions. The parents of the free children pay towards their schooling. These schools have been encouraged by some owners, but very generally discouraged by others. The indisposition is very prevalent to religious instruction, whether given by sectarians or not. Planters would prefer not having their slaves instructed at all by ministers of the church or of any other persuasion. This Mr. Barry asserted from what he had seen and known. He had known many severe corporal punishments inflicted for no other crime than that of merely attending public worship (p. 88, 89, 90).

Then follows a long enquiry about a set of resolutions passed by some Wesleyan Missionaries in Jamaica, on the 6th September, 1824, and afterwards disowned by the society at home; but, having no reference whatever to the points now at issue, the whole is omitted.

Mr. Barry afterwards went on to state that he knew several estates on which facilities were afforded for the instruction of the slaves, both by clergymen and by missionaries of the Scotch church. But he did not know of many instances in which additional places of worship to the parish church had been erected by voluntary contributions in Jamaica: he knew of some. Some catechists had been sent out to estates, connected, he supposed, with the Church of England, but they were discouraged. A few clergymen, of the Church of England, are active in preaching in chapels to the slaves, and in forming Sunday schools; but they do not carry on preaching or instruction on the estates. There are four Scotch Missionaries on the island (p. 99, 100).

Mr. Barry denied that, to his knowledge, any Wesleyan Missionaries had ever corresponded with the Anti-Slavery Society in England. He knew them occasionally to send letters to the newspapers and other periodical publications in Jamaica (p. 100).

Mr. Barry was then questioned as to his view of the moral state of the white society of Jamaica. His view was briefly to this effect:—While he resided at Grateful Hill, in St. Thomas in the Vale, two women came to complain that, the night before, the overseer of Mount Concord had taken away three of their daughters, the eldest thirteen, and locked them up for improper purposes, and they begged him to interfere. He said no; but sent them to the nearest magistrate, Mr. Lane, who interposed and had the girls set at liberty. In this way a knowledge of facts was

often obtained by the missionaries without any interference on their part. As to concubinage, it prevailed generally throughout the island. It is impossible for any man to reside in Jamaica, or travel through it, without being perfectly acquainted with this fact. Certainly many scenes occur peculiarly offensive to morals, in England as well as in Jamaica; but, as for concubinage, it is carried on to a greater extent in Jamaica than he could ever have conceived possible in any country. Concubinage exists to a great extent among all classes, but it prevails most among the whites, merchants, planters, clerks; indeed, the whole white population. In short, the system of concubinage is universal in Jamaica: to say it is general is saying too little. That very circumstance constitutes one of the principal obstructions to missionary labours in Jamaica. To the consequences immediately resulting from the power of the master over his female slaves must be ascribed the general demoralization in which the island is plunged. A proprietor, for instance, has twenty female slaves on his estate, all of them entirely at his disposal: that of itself must lead to great demoralization. But these women have children, to whom and to the mother the master often gives freedom. Children of such parents, under such circumstances, can hardly hope for marriage with men of respectable character; and women of colour will not intermarry with those that are below them in life. The distinctions of society are all founded in colour. Hence concubinage is resorted to, and mothers prefer letting out their daughters to white men to marrying them with people of their own colour. This Mr. Barry has frequently known to take place, all originating in the original illicit commerce of whites with slaves. In case of emancipation Mr. Barry does not conceive that this evil would continue in the same degree as at present; not only will the women be less in the power of masters but religious instruction has already elevated many, and will elevate still more, among the women of colour, to make every sacrifice to escape from this state of vice and degradation. A young woman of colour had formerly lived with a merchant, who died, and from him she had received some property; but the executor or attorney of the estate, taking a fancy to this lady, requested her to live with him. She refused to do so, from religious motives, and she was obliged to purchase of this man the property that had been given to her, but for which she could exhibit no deed. This case he mentioned to show the effects of religion, in

leading women of colour to resist the strongest inducements to return to their former degraded habits. She was at that time about thirty years of age. Mr. Barry adds that he could produce many instances of the same kind. The ignorance prevailing among these women of colour he affirms to be deplorable. He knew one who had seventeen children, and no two by the same father, and who rode in her carriage. No moral turpitude attaches to such female deviations from rectitude. A woman who gives her daughter to-day to live in concubinage holds the same rank in society she did the day before: he spoke of the coloured women. The white women in Jamaica are a virtuous race. The women of colour, but less so than formerly, prefer concubinage with the whites to marriage with their own colour; but this is attributable to slavery. The decrease of this evil may be traced, in almost every instance, to religious instruction. Among the slaves too there is a strong desire to receive religious instruction, and he had never seen any general indisposition among them to receive it (p. 101, 102).

In the Wesleyan Society in Jamaica there are about 13,000 members, of whom 10,000 are slaves, a great many attending the chapels who are not members. The church in Kingston is generally well attended, so is the Kirk, but few slaves attend either. In the towns, and especially in Kingston, the proportion attending public worship is very considerable; but in the country places few attend, either slaves or free. They have few opportunities, few places of worship. It is Mr. Barry's firm belief that religion alone will keep the slaves quiet in the hope of ultimate emancipation, but nothing will ever extinguish their strong desire of freedom. As the slave becomes enlightened, his desire after freedom certainly becomes more intense, though religion will enable him to control his passions, and wait for the legitimate accomplishment of his wishes. This appeared strongly in the conduct of the Wesleyan slaves in the late insurrection. Religion must certainly increase the desire of freedom: this is in the nature of things (p. 102, 103).

Mr. Barry further declared his firm conviction that no missionaries of any denomination in Jamaica, whether Methodists, Baptists, or Moravians, had ever had, even remotely, any thing to do with the late insurrection. There are circumstances in the constitution of the Baptist Society which gave a colour, though most unjustly, to the charges against them. Baptists give tickets to men enquiring about religion; but the

Wesleyans only to those who are admitted as members. There was not the slightest ground for any imputation on the Baptist missionaries. The causes which appeared to Mr. Barry to have led to the insurrection were these :—The slaves had long known what had been passing in this country respecting their freedom, and had been led to entertain the notion that the king had given them their freedom, but that their masters withheld it from them. The parochial meetings that took place in Jamaica, the resolutions of which were published in all the island newspapers, requesting to be absolved from their allegiance, was one of the proximate causes. Some whites also travelling through the island frequently take newspapers with them, which they read to the slaves. Negroes attending at the tables of their masters hear their masters discussing the questions of freedom and slavery as freely as if no slaves were present. The parochial resolutions seemed to the slaves to shut the door against their hope of freedom. Then there was Mr. Beaumont's bill for compulsory manumission, which was at once rejected by the assembly. The slaves had been elated to the highest pitch of joy by its introduction, and proportionately depressed by its rejection. The uncalled-for publication of the king's proclamation, in December 1831, was also an unfortunate occurrence. It co-operated powerfully to promote the insurrection. Such were its main causes (p. 104 and 105).

His reasons for thinking that there was more danger in withholding than in granting freedom were, that the Negroes knew very well what was going on in their favour in this country. Their minds have been long set on freedom, and they never will be satisfied without it. A feeling of liberty has gone abroad among them. Many of the Negroes who suffered during the insurrection died glorying in their death. And, with all this danger on one side, no evil bearing any proportion to it could possibly result from freedom (p. 106).

The Negroes who cultivate their own grounds are well fed, but their clothing would not be sufficient for decency, were it not for what they purchase for themselves. All this, however, is gained by the sacrifice of the slaves' Sunday (p. 106).

III.—THE REV. PETER DUNCAN.

The Rev. PETER DUNCAN was the third witness called. He

had been a Wesleyan Missionary in Jamaica for more than eleven years; had resided five years in St. Thomas in the East, two in Kingston, two in St. Thomas in the Vale, and two in Montego Bay. In St. Thomas in the East, which was a great sugar parish, there were three chapels, in all of which he did duty. There were about 1000 slaves attending at these chapels, besides free people; but the members of the society were much more numerous, for all could not attend each Sunday. The chapels were as full as they could hold. There were no Sunday schools at first: they were regarded with an unfavourable eye by the planters. At Kingston about 3000 attended in two chapels, a third has been added since; the majority of the slaves there were domestics. In St. Thomas in the Vale about 300 attended, chiefly plantation slaves. At Montego Bay the average attendance was between 600 and 700, more than half being slaves, and of these a half being plantation slaves. There were Sunday schools at all these places, principally for children, but also for adults. At Kingston there were 300 children of both sexes taught. It was not till 1825 that the Sunday schools became efficient, and that reading was taught. A day school was opened in 1830, attended both by slaves and free, about half of each. The teachers were coloured persons. The aptitude of the scholars was pretty much as elsewhere (p. 106 and 107).

From all that Mr. Duncan saw of the slaves, he thought they were just as willing to labour as the people of any other country. Hard labour being performed by slaves in Jamaica stamps it with a kind of disgrace; but, when they get above that feeling, they are much more willing to labour when free than when slaves. Their desire too to acquire comforts and luxuries, beyond their allowances as slaves, is very evident. They have in general a stronger taste for these things than the lower classes in European countries. He had seen emancipated slaves with their little settlements so arranged, and their premises so regulated, as to indicate a desire for very superior comforts and luxuries in furniture and dress: this is quite obvious to the spectator. He is persuaded that if emancipation were general, and firmly established, the Negroes would be more industrious than at present: the unthinking and worthless among them might shrink from labour, but, if slavery were done away, hard labour would be stripped of its degradation, and they would labour generally and industriously. As a body

Mr. Duncan thought them the most industrious people he had ever seen. The free people he had known do not at all murmur at hard labour, but they would not submit to go and dig cane-holes, that being slaves' work. Many of them who have even had the advantage of a liberal education will pursue without complaint, and perseveringly, work as laborious as cane-holes. They have appeared to him to have energy little short of the people at home, though warm climates are less favourable to exertion (p. 108 and 109).

Mr. Duncan was well acquainted with plantation slaves, especially in St. Thomas in the East, but almost wholly in the way of religious communication. When he went on plantations he had no intercourse with the slaves, nor visited their houses, but he knew much of their habits and mode of living from conversation with themselves, and with attorneys, overseers, and others. The enquiries which were found necessary to be made into the causes of absence from divine worship revealed much of the interior of plantations, and pains were taken to substantiate excuses by the evidence of slaves on the same estate on whom reliance could be placed. The most general excuse was that they were bound to attend their provision grounds. He believed it to be quite indispensable at present for the slaves to labour in their grounds on a Sunday. He never expected to see them oftener than once a month, and this even in the case of such as had masters favourable to instruction. The number of slave members in St. Thomas in the East was 3000 or 4000, but only about 1000 attended each Sunday. It was absolutely necessary that they should devote their Sundays frequently to their provision grounds, to have even a bare maintenance for themselves and families. Indeed the slaves are compelled by their masters, in some cases, to go upon their grounds on Sunday. In one instance Mr. Duncan had to intercede with a humane master to save a Negro from being flogged, whose crime was that he had been to the parish church on Sunday, instead of going to his grounds. It was scarcely possible for the slaves to keep the Sabbath strictly, or to attend every Sunday. Some have attempted it, but have suffered materially. Religious instruction certainly tended to make the slave more patient of injury, as he had seen in many instances; but it also diffused a light which tended to make them long for its extinction. It cannot be that slavery should long continue in any country

which is generally christianized, so that Christianity may be fairly said to be at issue with slavery ; but, if religion get hold of the slave's mind, he will submit to his lot till freed by legitimate means. It is the duty of slaves to obey their masters ; but that does not justify slavery, nor will it prevent the light from flowing in on the slaves, whether religious or not, who have an education. They cannot be indifferent hearers of the discussions going on around them. Slavery cannot stand before the light of instruction. Mere oral instruction, indeed, would do little, as in Catholic slave communities ; for no substantial knowledge can be communicated without letters. The work of Christianity, however, is still in its infancy in Jamaica. The number of slaves religiously instructed is very small as compared with the population, and the proportion of them that can read is of course still smaller. The moral state of the uninstructed Negroes is awfully degraded. Marriage is almost wholly neglected by them, and indeed is not unfrequently opposed by the whites who are living themselves in the same low and vicious habits as the Negroes. But even those slaves that are uninstructed are very acute in understanding their own interests, and in making a bargain ; and he would entertain no doubt of their ready subjection to the authorities over them (p. 111, 112).

Mr. Duncan believed that wages would induce the Negroes to labour when free, and that they would labour harder in a state of freedom than they now do. They now want the stimulus of remuneration, and that makes the toil hard which would otherwise be light. Cane-hole digging, though hard, is not harder than the work of English labourers, nor harder than that which is voluntarily undergone by many free persons in Jamaica itself. He has known such exert themselves in their own grounds, and at their trade, more than the Negroes in the cane-holes. Whether sugar would be raised in the same quantity as now in Jamaica if the slaves were free, he would not pretend to affirm ; but that sugar might be raised he has no doubt, nor that numbers would labour in raising sugar for wages. There need be very little change in the mode of remuneration ; the labourers might have land and increased time for their own use, only having the Sabbath as a day of entire rest (p. 113).

Mr. Duncan further stated that he had had, over and over again, the testimony of masters, attorneys, and overseers, to the beneficial

effects of religious instruction in improving the morals of the slaves, and in restraining the disposition to thieving and licentiousness, and he had seen it himself in a thousand instances. The very same moralizing effects are produced by it in Jamaica as in England (p. 113).

He doubted on what footing sugar cultivation might stand, in the case of emancipation; but he believed that a great number of the present slaves, attached as they were to their domiciles, and having their provision grounds already planted on the estates, would be desirous of remaining where they were, and would continue to cultivate sugar for wages. If they had money enough to obtain land of their own, they would doubtless prefer cultivating that. With the twenty-six week days they now have, and the Sundays, they are able to raise food for their comfortable subsistence. He had heard few complaints on that head, and he mentioned it with very great pleasure. A day and a half in the week, however, is the very least that can suffice, allowing Sunday free. Seven days in the week could not fail to put him in a state of the highest comfort, if he had land in possession; and if he had land, and his time, he would soon have property. In case of emancipation the money possessed by the slaves would be expended in buying land, and forming settlements of their own. Land would then rise in value, and at length be as much out of their reach as it is now out of the reach of the peasantry of this country. The greater part of them, however, would not be able to obtain land. They have now provision grounds cultivated and ready to their hand; they would be reluctant to leave them, and, if encouraged by the master, they would be willing to remain and labour on the sugar plantations. They receive now no food from their masters that he ever heard of, but a few herrings or other salt fish, occasionally. If free, they might pay a rent, by labouring for their former masters. The black labourer might give, say four days' labour in the week to the master, to cultivate sugar, and employ two days for himself and family. If he could do better in any other way he might prefer it; yet those who had lived long on certain estates, where they had been born and brought up, and where they had become familiar with sugar culture, would, he believed, be willing to remain and give labour in return for a certain portion of land which the owner might let them have. But if they could purchase, or rent,

land of their own, some might prefer it. He had no idea of their attempting to possess themselves forcibly of it (p. 113, 114).

He did not know how much time it took the Negroes to raise their food; but the time allowed them was not more than enough for that purpose, and the little additional comforts they required. Some were well clothed, others very badly, although all of them are desirous of appearing as fine as they can. In labouring on their own grounds they generally appear very diligent, but the labour is not severe. They work with the hoe. In general they are very anxious for conveniences, and even finery, and they work very diligently, and even laboriously, in their grounds; but they have often to go a long way to market; and what between this and planting their provisions, and keeping them clean, and gathering them, and preparing them, carrying them home, and taking them to market and selling them, their time is generally fully occupied.

It is not possible for them, but in rare instances, to attend both church and market, even when the church is contiguous to the market. They cannot quit their marketing till it is finished, and then the forenoon service is over. In the afternoon they are obliged to return home early, especially in crop time, when they must be home to put the mills about on Sunday evenings.* There is, therefore, no time to sell their provisions and attend chapel too (p. 115). In point of fact, they scarcely ever do attend market and chapel on the same day. In the former case their secular engagements seem wholly to engross them. In St. James some few attended both, but crop time lasts there for six months, and the necessity of being at home to put the mills about rendered it generally impossible. At Montego bay the market was chiefly supplied by slaves, and it probably may be so in Kingston and other places. The Negroes obtain money by selling hogs and poultry, as well as provisions, especially the head men. Other Negroes who have peculiar advantages have hogs and poultry, but they complain of the overseers' often shooting their hogs and taking their poultry—sometimes for straying, sometimes from mere wantonness (p. 119.)

* There is a law against putting the mills about on Sunday evenings, in Jamaica, of which the Jamaicans make a great boast. This evidence shows how ill it is observed.

If compulsory manumission were the law of the island, some slaves would be able to buy their freedom, but not many as compared with the whole population (p. 117).

The fish allowed to the slaves is given them, not on the Saturday, but, according to the statement of the planters themselves, on every alternate Sunday, except in one or two parishes (p. 117).

Inconveniences might possibly arise, both to master and slave, from any great and sudden change, like that of emancipation, as they arise more or less from all great changes. But it is Mr. Duncan's firm opinion that, even if the Negroes were emancipated at a stroke, there would not be that loss or disturbance which must ensue if emancipation is long delayed. Emancipation might take place with perfect tranquillity, if a proper police were established. The public peace, however, would be very seriously endangered by any long delay, or without a reasonable hope of early emancipation. He does not take it upon him to say what would precisely be the effects of emancipation; but he is persuaded that if one set of labourers could not be got to work on a particular estate, another would. In the event of freedom, the resources of the island would be rapidly developed; machinery would be more employed; and the Negroes, he is convinced, would labour in general, as they do now, for a remuneration, only with more heart, and with more profit to the master. They would in that case, he fully believes, cultivate sugar as they now do, and go through all the process of cane-hole digging and the duties of the boiling houses. Their inducement to this would be the desire of liberty, and of their own profit, so natural to man. He would himself rather dig cane-holes all his life, than have all the money on earth and be a slave; and the Negroes partake of that feeling. It is infinitely more ardent in their minds, as late events have proved, than was supposed. The Negro could raise provisions indeed, but he must first acquire land on which to raise it, and if he had not property he must labour for it. They would, it is true, rather pay a rent in cash than in labour, but either would be equally beneficial to the master. The 300,000 Negroes of Jamaica, if they possessed the land themselves, would have no inducement to work for others, if they could work for their own profit. But few of them could buy land at first; and if emancipation were universal, land would be more difficult to get than now. At present their provision grounds are not generally disturbed, but still

complaints are often made that after having cleared, and planted, and cultivated their grounds, they are taken from them by the overseers; and, though this injustice may not be general, yet the grounds are secured to them by no legal tenure. It is not a common case; but when it does occur the complaints are very loud, and the overseer has certainly the power to do it. Mr. Duncan had heard of the difficulty which Mr. Simon Taylor had experienced in inducing his slaves to allow some cocoa trees of theirs to be cut down which were supposed to interfere with the healthiness of their houses on Holland estate, but his forbearance was mentioned as a rare instance of disinterestedness, and eulogized as highly as language could praise any thing. As to what would be the actual result of emancipation, Mr. Duncan could not venture to predict; but his hope was that the Negroes would desire to retain their provision grounds, and that masters would feel it their interest to secure as many willing and efficient labourers as possible, and that they would make bargains for certain portions of ground in lieu of certain quantities of labour. This would be the mutual interest of proprietors and labourers, and that they would feel; and therefore the slaves would be ready to comply with any reasonable overtures of the masters. If the property of the master in the slave ceased, the right of the slave to his ground would also cease, and a new bargain would have to be made. The slave would still feel his dependence on his master, notwithstanding his freedom, and the master would be able to say to the slave, "There is the ground which is no longer yours, as you are a free man, but mine; but, if you will continue to work for me, you will have for your labour that land and so much time to cultivate it." He could have no doubt, from his knowledge of the Negro character, of their acceding to any such reasonable proposition, if made by one on whose veracity they could rely; and, as to the religiously-instructed slaves, there would, in his view, be no difficulty whatever. The religious slaves, too, are considered by the others as their best friends and advisers; and as for enforcing such contracts, and ousting from their grounds those who failed, an active police could easily enforce the law. In St. Thomas in the East, for example, the number of Methodist converts is from 3 to 4,000. Their influence over the rest was demonstrated during the late insurrection. The slaves of St. Thomas in the East were as much agitated as in other parishes, yet the influence of the religious

slaves was so great that, while the whites of the parish were all absent, engaged in militia duty, a planter from that district stated that the Negroes there took off the crop as well in the absence of the white people as if they had been present. In the Plaintrain Garden district of St. Thomas in the East, here chiefly referred to, religion has existed longer and been less opposed than in most other quarters. In Manchioneel district, on the contrary, where religion had been constantly opposed, the Negroes were very troublesome and discontented; but where religion had been encouraged and embraced, while in other parts of the island labour was, to a great extent, suspended, there it was going on as well as if nothing had happened (p. 117, 118, 119, 120, 121).

With respect to opposition to religious instruction, Mr. Duncan had known as much made to zealous clergymen of the established church, and of the Scotch kirk, as to any others. The erection even of additional places of worship seemed to him to arise rather from a wish to appear in England more friendly to religion than they really were, than to promote the religious instruction of the slaves; and for this reason, that the most laborious clergymen had been always as much opposed as any dissenting ministers ever were. Of the general body of the clergy, about 42 in all, four or five have been very laborious among the slaves; and these have been as severely opposed as any Methodists or Baptists ever were. As for the established Scotch church, there is only one place of worship at Kingston, namely, Mr. Wordy's; he had been frequently there, and never had seen one slave attending (p. 122).

As to plans of emancipation, Mr. Duncan thought that all partial plans would fail of their effect. The best was that of emancipating all children born after a certain day, but even that was attended with great and perhaps insuperable difficulties. Still that would be better than nothing. The only plan not attended with very great, perhaps insuperable difficulties, is a general emancipation. Not that there are not great difficulties in the way of that measure, but they may more easily be overcome (p. 123, 124).

Mr. Duncan then entered into some explanations respecting the resolutions of the Methodist Missionaries in 1824, already adverted to, and which were disclaimed by their superiors at home. The only part of it we shall now notice is the case laid by the Missionaries be-

fore Mr. Burge for his opinion, and his reply to it, which tended to produce in the minds of the Missionaries the alarm which led to their rash and ill-considered resolutions.

- The parliamentary resolutions of May, 1823, had scarcely reached Jamaica when, however unreasonable and absurd, it was stated, and generally believed, that the Methodist Society had something to do with them.—Very great prejudice, said Mr. D., was thus excited against us. It was threatened to shut up the chapels. Two Missionaries had arrived, and had applied for a license to preach in our parish; but the license was refused. An alien act was then in force, which was thought sufficient to enable the Governor to transport any suspected persons. It was even proposed that we should be transported as well as refused permission to preach. Here was a painful state of things, especially as it was uncertain what might be the sentiments of His Majesty's Government at home upon the great subject of religious toleration in Jamaica.—The Missionaries got alarmed, and they applied to a legal gentleman, Mr. Burge, to know what was the law of Jamaica upon that subject, and his opinion added greatly to their alarm.

The case laid before Mr. Burge, with his opinion, was read as follows :—

“To the Honourable William Burge, Esq., His Majesty's Attorney-General, Jamaica.

“The Reverend Francis Tremayne, Wesleyan Missionary, arrived in this island in March, 1823, possessed of the regular documents of his church, viz., a letter of ordination and certificate of license, obtained before the Lord Mayor of London, authenticated in the usual way by signatures and seal. At the first court of quarter sessions held at Spanish Town, after his arrival, he applied for and obtained a license to officiate in the precinct of St. Catherine's. After having laboured with success, and to general satisfaction, for twelve months in St. Thomas in the Vale, he was removed to St. Ann's, taking with him testimonials from the only magistrates of the immediate neighbourhood, of their decided approbation of his conduct, which letters were produced in the court of quarter sessions held at St. Ann's Bay, on the 13th ultimo, together with his letter of ordination, English license, and the license obtained in Spanish Town, in this island, at which court he made application for leave again to take the usual oaths, to

qualify him for officiating in two of our chapels which had been previously licensed by that court, which was rejected. Now the questions on which we would solicit your opinion are these—

“First,—Has not Mr. Tremayne sufficiently complied with the law to authorise him to preach in those chapels?”

“As I consider it necessary for the minister to qualify at the court of quarter sessions of that parish to which he removes, and in which he intends to officiate, and as Mr. Tremayne has not been admitted to qualify by the court of quarter sessions of the parish of Saint Ann’s, I am of opinion that he is not authorised to preach in that parish.—W. BURGE.”

“Second,—Is not one personal license obtained in any parish in this island sufficient to qualify a man for the whole or any licensed house?”

“I do not consider that one personal license obtained in any parish in this island is sufficient to qualify a man for the whole or any licensed house.—W. B.”

“Third,—Provided that one personal license is not sufficient, and a Missionary with such documents is denied the privilege of thus re-qualifying in any court of quarter sessions, can such a court be compelled to re-qualify such a person by writ of mandamus or otherwise?”

“I am of opinion that, if he is possessed of all the documents above referred to, and the court of quarter sessions refused to admit him to qualify, such court might by mandamus be compelled to admit him.—W. B.”

“Fourth,—What could be done provided a Missionary, with only his regular home documents, should be refused a license by a court of quarter sessions in this island, could he have redress by a writ of mandamus or otherwise?”

“If the Missionary had not officiated in any parish, and consequently had not obtained his license from any court of quarter sessions, as in the case of a minister on his first arrival in the island, and had therefore only the documents authenticating and evidencing his ordination as a minister, I consider that the court of quarter sessions might by mandamus be compelled to admit him to qualify.—I cannot conclude my answer to these questions without impressing upon the serious consideration of the Wesleyan Missionaries the very great inexpediency, both as it regards the welfare of their institution in the island, and the public repose of the island, of engaging at a crisis so

agitated as the present in any litigation with the local magistracy on this subject. With the limited information that is possessed respecting the distinguishing tenets of different religious sects, it is not surprising that many persons of great worth and great liberality should entertain, from the conduct of the Missionary Smith, at Demerara, strong feelings on the introduction of any Missionaries. It would be highly imprudent, and quite at variance with the correct conduct of the Wesleyan Missionaries in this island, to incur the risk of increasing or confirming those feelings by any litigation with the magistracy. —W. BURGE." (p. 125.)

Now it was under the alarm and apprehensions thus produced that the resolutions were hastily adopted.

Mr. Duncan was residing at Kingston when the late insurrection broke out. He had resided two years before at Montego Bay, and therefore well knew the quarter in which it broke out. The causes he thought obvious.

1st. The ill-judged policy of the British Government, which, instead of conciliating the planters, as they vainly hoped, had greatly exasperated them. Had they carried the emancipation at once, in 1823, less loss would have resulted to the master, and far less misery to the slave. Vehement excitement, and discussions without end, were the consequence. The slaves heard and knew all this; for the planters were not very careful in expressing themselves before the slaves.

2nd. The parochial meetings, and the resolutions there adopted, in 1831, which were of the most violent character,—stating that the king's government wished to take their property from them, and make the slaves free, and that they would renounce their allegiance rather than submit to this, being determined to hold their slaves in bondage.—The slaves said naturally enough, "our masters tell us the king wants to make us free, but they will not submit, but keep us slaves still." This was their impression. Now the king has not more loyal subjects in the wide extent of his dominions than the slaves of Jamaica. They will do any thing for him. They revere his very name. Believing the two parties were at issue, they had no difficulty in taking their side with the king.

3rd. The unceasing opposition to religious instruction, in different districts of the island, on the part of the planters. And while the religious slaves desired religious liberty that they might benefit

by their teachers, the more unprincipled and uninstructed availed themselves of this desire to diffuse principles injurious to the peace of society.

4th. Mr. Beaumont's bill for compulsory manumission. Many Negroes hailed it with high satisfaction ; they thought it would pass, and, when they saw it thrown out by an immense majority, they gave way to a feeling of despair, and seeing their masters determined to keep them in slavery, though the king wished not, they resolved to rise and take their freedom.

5th. The dread of having the island transferred to the United States. Now not only the slaves, but the free classes, are enthusiastically loyal, and their hatred to America is as deep and deadly as their attachment to Great Britain is warm and devoted. A flame would have burst out before this but for the people of colour, who, it is known, would be ready to oppose the very first movement of the kind. *They* would not submit to such a thing ; they hate the very name of America, and every thing that is British is dear to them as a body.

Mr. Duncan said that the plans of his majesty's government had produced evil. But this was not because they were evil in themselves ; on the contrary, they were wise and moderate, and, if they had been acceded to by the planters, they would have done good : but the planters, instead of falling in with the views of government, uniformly opposed them. It would have been far better for the planters had the slaves been made free at once ; for all opposition must have soon subsided, and it would only have been the effervescence of the moment.

Being asked how many of the whites would have remained in the island afterwards, he replied, the whole of them. It might have been followed by some inconveniences ; but there would not have been either that loss to the planter, or that misery to the slave, which has been caused by the violent opposition of the planters to every wish of the government. It was his calm and decided opinion that emancipation would not tend to the effusion of blood, but that the attempt to perpetuate or prolong slavery certainly would. Even now, the violence of the whites in their persecution of religion, the destruction of places of worship, and the oppression of missionaries and their converts, was exciting an unwonted irritation in the minds of the slaves

and free classes, who were prepared for stern resistance to farther outrages. Even the less religious part of the coloured people felt deeply interested in the cause of civil and religious liberty, and they were bent on actively resisting any farther attempt to infringe them. Yesterday letters were received stating that one of the Wesleyan missionaries at Falmouth was attacked by a mob of white men, who entered his premises armed with bludgeons; bedaubed him with tar; knocked down himself and his wife; attempted to set fire to him, and to throw his infant child out of the window. The timely interference of the people of colour prevented all the mischief that was intended; but, when the missionary went to lodge informations against these rioters, he could get no magistrate to take his depositions. Such things must lead to blood: indeed the prolongation of slavery must lead to it. Emancipation would be perfectly harmless compared with this state of things. Indeed so completely has the law proved ineffectual for the protection of property, that the people of colour seriously talked of arming for its defence (p. 140). Besides, the systematic opposition of the planters generally, and with a few bright exceptions, to that religious instruction for which the slaves are so eager, joined to their growing thirst for civil liberty, increased ten-fold by late events, must be fatal ere long to the public peace. Whatever dangers, therefore, there may be in emancipation, they are very greatly exceeded by the danger of prolonging the present system. The slaves who were executed died exulting in suffering for the sake of freedom; and this is a feeling likely to increase. Without a reasonable prospect of early emancipation, it was his firm and deliberate opinion the peace of the island cannot be preserved for any thing like five years (p. 131—134).

Mr. Duncan then stated the case of Henry Williams, a slave, of the cruelties practised on whom, on account of his religion, a full account will be found in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* (see vol. iii. p. 356, 384, and 431). During the late insurrection, the estate to which Henry Williams belonged was left under his care, and he preserved it from all disturbance. He was, nevertheless, arrested, tried, and severely punished, at St. Ann's bay, "for holding unlawful meetings, and administering unlawful oaths!" This Henry Williams is a very intelligent person, who can read and write. On the last night of the year, he did what is customary among the Wesleyans: he spent it in

religious services with a few of his friends. There is also a custom among the Methodists of renewing, in their chapels, on the commencement of the new year, what they call their covenant with God. As the chapels were then shut, and the missionaries forced to leave the parish, Henry Williams read over with his friends the form of this covenant or engagement; and, as is also customary, he and they lifted up their hands in token of assent. Some one having given information of this circumstance, Henry was apprehended, taken to St. Ann's bay, tried by a slave court, and sentenced to be flogged and to six months' hard labour, in chains, in the work-house, from which he effected his escape, a circumstance which Mr. Duncan regrets, although the many cruelties he had patiently borne before, and the injustice and severity of the present proceeding, seem to have subdued his constancy. He possessed great influence among the slaves, and the effect of these proceedings towards him must be bad (p. 141, 142).

Mr. Duncan then gave some account of the Colonial Church Union of Jamaica, composed of the magistrates and most influential persons in each parish. The objects of the Union were to "resist the encroachments of their enemies;" to furnish "an antidote to the falsehoods of the Anti-Slavery Society;" to collect "the whole strength of the island, and to obtain therefrom a general petition to the legislature, for the expulsion of all Sectarian missionaries;" "to strive to regain the confidence of their slaves, by a more rigid discipline in the first place," and next "by granting every indulgence that may be merited;" "to lend their influence and support, on all occasions, to those patriots who, on behalf of the paramount laws of society, hazard their personal responsibility for our preservation," and "to obey promptly and implicitly all constitutional orders of the Union." One of the resolutions adopted by them was to request all proprietors to restrain their slaves from attending any dissenting chapel. Many members of these unions are Jews (p. 142, 143).

After the most rigid enquiry, it did not appear that one Wesleyan convert was concerned in the insurrection. Some of them had successfully defended their masters' property. In no case does it seem possible that slavery and Christianity can long exist together. But, in the present state of excitement in Jamaica, it seems quite impossible that any efforts of Christian ministers can keep the slaves quiet in their present state (p. 144).

The hostility of the planters to religion has exceedingly increased of late. The growing efficiency of missionary labours and Sunday schools has aggravated it greatly (p. 144).

Mr. Duncan was present, in the House of Assembly, on the 3rd of March, 1832, when the Order in Council of the 2nd November, 1831, was discussed. One member, Mr. Barry, after a long and violent speech, moved that the order should be thrown over the bar and burnt by the hands of the common hangman. Mr. Stamp was not for proceeding so far; but, if the British government should try to enforce it, they had, he said, 18,000 bayonets, and with such a force they would never submit to the dictation of the King's ministers. This was known to the slaves. The speeches were published and read by them, and many blacks too were present in the House at the time (p. 145).

Mr. Duncan, being asked whether the hostility of the planters to religion was not a dislike of particular sects, rather than of religion generally, replied that, wherever Christianity was promulgated, light was diffused in many cases where the religion was not embraced or obeyed, and that light could not but make slavery odious. Slavery was incompatible with the known rights of mankind, and the ideas of justice, which Christianity recognized and enforced, and must ultimately fall before it. Christianity in Europe extinguished slavery, by its influence both on the master and the slave. Ministers of the gospel were bound indeed to inculcate obedience on the slave as a duty; but Christianity also binds Christian masters to free their slaves. The slave is required to obey his master, till his condition is changed; but the duty of the master is to "let the people go." This view of the matter was avoided by the missionaries in Jamaica; but the slaves who could read had access to newspapers where slavery was discussed. The influence of the island press was very injurious to the cause of Christianity, particularly in exciting the opposition of the planters. He alluded to the Jamaica Courant, the Falmouth Courier, the Cornwall Chronicle, and other papers. There was a paper on the other side, the Watchman, but he did not think it so hurtful; for, though it advocated the cause of the slaves, and exposed the oppressions of slavery, yet it inculcated obedience on the slave (p. 427).

When asked whether he persisted in saying that religion was

opposed, when taught by the ministers of the Church of England and Scotland as well as by sectarians, he said he adhered to that opinion, and he believed that neither the increase of the clergy, nor the addition of places of worship, arose from any wish to give *effective* instruction to the slaves, but to make people at home think they were friendly to religion, if taught by the Church. He did not scruple to say this, though it might appear uncharitable, that such, and even worse, was the general case, judging from what he had himself seen. Many of the clergy do not labour at all among the negroes; those of them who do so, with zeal and unwearied diligence, as some of them, about five or six, do, are as much opposed and maligned as any Methodist, even by persons professing to be members of the church. It is *effective* religious instruction, whether oral or otherwise, to which the planters are opposed, but especially to the slaves being taught to read. The clergymen to whom he alluded had themselves told him of the severe opposition they had to encounter. They were discouraged in every way, and their characters traduced. This was quite notorious (p. 150).

Mr. Duncan denied the allegation of the missionaries drawing *large* contributions from the slaves. The contributions they received came mostly from the free—not a fiftieth part came from the slaves (p. 151).

Being asked whether he thought the condition of the slave was more comfortable now than when he first went, twelve years ago, to Jamaica, he said he did not think so (p. 152).

Mr. Duncan produced a memorial that had been addressed to the governor, Lord Belmore, in April, 1832, stating the destruction of a number of their chapels by lawless mobs, and that, having discovered the authors of these outrages, they had furnished the Attorney General with informations, on oath, but that no step had been taken by him to bring the offenders to justice; that their missionaries were prevented from performing their duties by threats and violence; but that, notwithstanding these circumstances of outrage and oppression, they were happy in being able to affirm that not one individual connected with their societies, whether free or slave, had been connected with the late insurrection. They therefore solicited the governor's interference. On the 21st of April the governor's secretary transmitted to them a copy of a letter from the Attorney General, stating that no unnecessary delay had arisen, and that he meant to institute proceedings

against the offenders at the next June grand court, but complaining that the complainants had not bound themselves in recognizances to prosecute, and had not held the offenders to bail: all which, as Mr. Duncan had said, was surely his duty, and that of the magistrates, and not theirs (p. 153).

Mr. Duncan has certainly known slaves suffer severely from the pecuniary distress of their masters, being driven from their grounds, perhaps converted into jobbing gangs, or put in gaol for their debts. But he cannot say that the slaves are the best off on the most prosperous properties.—Their education depends almost wholly on the disposition of the owner or manager (p. 156).

Mr. Duncan had known the marriage of slaves opposed by their masters in a great many instances, and this could not be ascribed to a dislike to sectarians, but to religion itself. When he has enquired into the objections on the part of the master or overseer, it was of this kind:—"I will not allow you to get married, you may live as I am living myself." This has been the general and almost only reason assigned in all parts of the island. In 1826 two respectable slaves, who had been living together in the usual way, applied to Mr. Duncan to marry them privately, as their master would not consent. Mr. Duncan refused; but, the Negroes intreating him with tears in their eyes, he wrote to their master (a Mr. William Rae of Kingston) a respectful note, saying he had no intention to interfere between him and his slaves, but intreated him to consider the case. The Negroes took the letter, and when he read it he tore it in pieces before them and gave no reply to it. A few owners and attorneys, but very few, encourage marriage; but in general they are very adverse to it, and the general answer is, "You may live as I do" (p. 157).

Our readers cannot fail to be struck with the honest boldness, and at the same time with the clear and comprehensive views, and sound principles which mark the evidence of these two Wesleyan missionaries, Mr. Barry and Mr. Duncan. They reflect credit on those who appointed them; and it must afford general satisfaction to have such clear and indubitable indications as their evidence affords, of their calm and dispassionate judgment, as well as of their enlightened zeal and unshaken courage.

IV.—THE REV. THOMAS COOPER.

The next witness was the Rev. THOMAS COOPER, a Unitarian minister, who had lived on the estate of Georgia, in Hanover, belonging to Mr. Robert Hibbert. The slaves, he said, had a weekly allowance of herrings from their master, the adults seven or eight, and the children half. For raising food they had land on the back part of the estate, which they cultivated on Sundays and on the 26 days allowed them by law. The time allowed, exclusive of Sundays, was not sufficient: besides which they must attend market on the Sunday; so that they must labour the whole of the time allowed them, and on Sunday also, to provide for themselves and families in any thing like comfort, the chief part of their subsistence being derived from their own labour. The grounds were too distant to allow of their working upon them in the intervals of their labour during the working days. Their surplus provisions they carried to market, to which they had often to travel 13 or 14 miles and back. Some were nearer the market. The least time that could enable a slave to live in comfort, he thought, was 78 days in the year, besides what little they had from their masters. Two days in the week, or 104 days in the year, would have been sufficient, he thought, to support them entirely without the master's aid. He had never known a slave to possess more than 30 or 40 dollars. If emancipated, he thought the slaves would be better labourers and better members of society. The free were highly respectable, as compared with the slaves. They were as much disposed to industry as the people of this country. He saw none idle among them. Many accumulated property, both as settlers cultivating land, and as merchants in towns. He thought that the best way of procuring labour from manumized slaves would be to pay a fair rate of hire for their labour. He had seen brown men very industrious as carpenters, &c. He had never known them work in the field as labourers, but he had known them work as boilers. He had no fears that the Negroes would return into the woods if emancipated: that would be placing themselves voluntarily in poverty and distress. That they would be industrious if free, he felt well persuaded, as he had never seen any tendency to idleness in those that were free. If they were free and worked for wages, labour would no longer be disgraceful, as now. The free coloured are rising in intelligence. They send their children to schools to be educated.

Mr. Cooper had known whites living on parochial relief: he had never seen free coloured persons in such distress as to require it. He thought that in case of emancipation a few able and well disposed men would keep a Negro village in order as effectually as our police keeps London in order. A total change, however, would be required in the magistracy. The free coloured people, he believed, were loyal. They formed a part of the militia. He never heard any distrust expressed of them by whites. The Negroes had no hope of liberty when he was in the island. They submitted to their state as a great but unavoidable evil. They seemed like persons in despair: they had no hope whatever. They were sometimes gay, and danced and jumped about. In general they exhibited that sort of gloom which must arise from being oppressed without any hope of rising. He did not recollect hearing them sing, as they returned from work in the evening: they were generally too fatigued. They sometimes had dances at night; but the planters disliked it, thinking it added to their exhaustion (p. 138).

It was doubtless possible to teach the slaves to read and write, but it was not thought consistent with the master's interest to give time for that purpose. Even the children he taught were not kept one day from work. As soon as they were fit to go to the field, they were taken from him. There was a general and very powerful prejudice against teaching them to read. He had been sent by Mr. Hibbert to instruct his slaves, and no one actually obstructed him, but he had no encouragement. He had never known a plantation slave who could read. In general, at that time (1817 to 1821), the slaves had no means whatever of religious instruction. There was no hindrance to Mr. Cooper's going on neighbouring plantations, but the overseers did not like that he should communicate with the slaves. The overseer of Georgia did not directly obstruct him, but he told him he considered the teaching the slaves a very injurious thing; and the clergyman of the parish said that Mr. Cooper was training up generals for the black army: he did not object to teach them the Lord's prayer, and the being of a God (p. 139).

Mr. Cooper had employed Negroes for hire as carpenters, and in his little garden, and they worked very well. The free blacks often complained to him of the difficulty in obtaining payment for the work they did for white people (p. 139):

Mr. Cooper had written to Mr. Hibbert to say that, if the slaves were taught to read, he thought they would certainly soon cease to be slaves; that, in proportion as they were enlightened, they would be dissatisfied; and that, when they came to see their real condition, they would themselves alter it. On Mr. Cooper telling Mr. Hibbert this, the latter begged him to discontinue teaching them to read. It appeared to him that the slaves submitted to their condition on account of their degraded state, but if instructed, and taught to read and to understand the principles of Christianity, they would at once discover the wrong done to them, and there would be a general resistance, if no means were taken to make them free; and such was the universal opinion among the planters in Jamaica. He quite agreed with them in thinking that knowledge diffused among the slaves by reading was wholly incompatible with slavery. Slavery considers them as animals, goods, and chattels. Instruction considers them as men; and if knowledge be widely diffused among them, and emancipation be not given them, it will be seized by force (p. 140).

On Georgia and other estates, it was the duty of the book-keeper to go to the Negro grounds on Sunday, to see that the Negroes were at work there. In these cases, at least, the overseers thought that it would not do to depend wholly on the diligence and providence of the slaves for their support, but that they must be superintended even then.

V.—MR. HENRY LOVING:

MR. HENRY LOVING resided at St. John's, in Antigua, and was proprietor and editor of the Antigua Weekly Register. In 1821, by a census, the population of the island was 1980 whites and 4066 free coloured persons. There has been no census since, but in 1828 pains were taken by himself and some friends of his, coloured gentlemen, to ascertain their numbers, and they made the total 5400, being an increase of 1334 in 7 years. This account excluded the intermediate manumissions. This account was not published then: it was not thought prudent to do so, lest the authorities should suppose they had an improper motive in exhibiting the superior strength of the coloured as compared with the white class. Of late years marriage has become much more common among the free persons of colour. Formerly, concubinage pervaded all classes, even the highest, and the force of

example carried it through every rank. This change he regarded as owing to education and religious instruction, which of late had greatly advanced (p. 159).

A corresponding improvement had also taken place in the slave population. From an early period, though the Established church was asleep, the Moravians and Wesleyans were very active in the work of religious instruction, and very successful too. And, since the appointment of a bishop, Antigua has been greatly favoured by having such clergymen as Archdeacon Parry and Mr. Holberton. That gentleman is Rector of St. John's, and has endeared himself greatly by his indefatigable exertions in diffusing religious knowledge among the slaves. Schools have multiplied, and there is a unity of feeling between the clergymen and the sectarians, which promises the best results. The schools under the established clergy having more ample means, and being also zealously superintended, have flourished much, and things proceed very cheerfully. The slaves in Antigua are the most intelligent and best instructed in the West Indies. Formerly, few were taught to read: now great numbers are so taught—some even on plantations. Having known Antigua from infancy, he can say that marriage has increased as religion has been diffused. He had refrained from conversing with the slaves as to their feelings about freedom, thinking it imprudent to do so; but, though he could not say that they were positively restless under their slavery, he thought it impossible their minds should be enlightened, and yet remain so debased as not to desire freedom. He had never seen any tendency to tumult in the slaves of Antigua, till the month of March, 1831, when the Sabbath market (their only market day) having been taken away by the legislature, and no other day substituted for it, a revolutionary movement took place among them, which was alarming, and they seemed determined to resist the operation of the law (p. 160).

Mr. Loving believed his newspaper was read by the slaves. He did not know of any who were subscribers to it, but many copies are purchased for ready money, and doubtless some of these by slaves.

The slaves had been in the habit, from time immemorial, of bringing their articles to market on Sunday; for they had no other time for doing so, having no other day given them by law. But, in alleged compliance with the wish of the Government at home, the legislature, in 1831, abolished marketing on Sunday, and thus, as no other time

was given them in lieu of Sunday, in fact abolishing marketing altogether for the slaves.

The Negroes have some ground allowed them, but no time in which to cultivate it. They have an allowance of food by law.* Some proprietors, however, allow their slaves occasionally a little time, but by no fixed rule. The effect is that Sunday, instead of being religiously observed, is, in great part, devoted by the slave to labour for himself, either on his ground, or in some other way (p. 161).

The free blacks in Antigua, of whom there are many, are on all occasions willing to labour for hire; and they work cheerfully as jobbers, porters, hodmen, &c. They do not labour on plantations. Proprietors would not permit them, lest they should poison the minds of the slaves. Besides, no free black would willingly quit his present pursuits to go and labour on a plantation. Whether the present slaves, if emancipated, would do so, is another question.

There is no doubt whatever that the Negroes have a very great relish for the comforts and conveniences of life. Hence arises the very great industry with which they use every moment of time they can redeem from the hours of interval from labour. After a slave has done his master's work at night, he will travel perhaps six miles with some little article to sell to add to his little comforts. At the same time he would not probably overwork himself to obtain mere luxuries (p. 162).

Cane-hole digging is certainly very hard work, especially under a tropical sun, and still more as the whole gang are obliged to work together, the weak with the strong. Many of the slaves, when emancipated, might not like to engage in plantation labour, disgusted as they are with it, and deeming it a kind of punishment; but necessity

* The allowance is a very scanty one indeed. It is fixed by the 1st clause of the slave law of 1798, viz.—Weekly to every adult slave, nine pints of corn, or beans, or oatmeal; eight pints of wheat, or Indian corn, or Cassava flour, or seven pints of rice, or twenty pounds of yams, with one pound and a quarter of herrings; and, to children, half of this allowance—the whole being diminished by one-fifth in crop time. This is little more than half of the prison allowance to runaways in Jamaica. By the same law, two jackets, and two pairs of trowsers, are annually given to male slaves, and two petticoats and two wrappers to females. But only one suit need be given, if a blanket and hat be given. The hours of labour are the same as in Jamaica, viz. eleven hours and a half (clause 10).

would compel them to accept of wages for labour. Besides which, they are much attached to the place of their birth, or what they fondly call their "born ground." Their early associations are formed there; their huts, their little fruit-trees are there, and there they have their family ties. They are well aware, too, that they cannot get food without labour or money; and nothing but a hatred of their master would induce them to leave the estates on which they now live. A part of them might, from a sense of former hard and cruel treatment, and a hope of bettering their condition with lighter labour, put down the plantation hoe; yet most of them would feel the necessity of continuing to labour at such labour as they had been accustomed to. If they could get land by renting or purchasing it, he thinks they would prefer any other culture to that of the sugar-cane (p. 163).

Much, he thinks, might be done by the planters to lessen the necessity of manual labour on the estates, by substituting machinery even in weeding canes. Some planters, wiser than the majority of them, use the plough, and it might be used to spare cane-hole digging almost entirely; but the planters generally have a distrust, he knew not why, in the benefits of machinery (p. 163).

Mr. Loving thinks that about nine-tenths of the slave population of Antigua attend some place of religious worship. Religion certainly will not teach men to take up arms and shed blood to obtain freedom; but undoubtedly religious knowledge cannot but be attended by other knowledge: it tends to expand the mind, and leads the slave to see the wretchedness of his condition, as compared with that of the free. The contrast is very great and striking, both physically and civilly, between the slave and the free. The latter has the use of his own faculties both of body and mind. *Morally*, many of the slaves are superior to many of the free; but, in point of the comforts of life, the free black in Antigua stands infinitely above the slave. He can earn as much in a day as the slave gets from his master's allowance in a week. This is remarkably illustrated in the case of the African apprentices emancipated in 1828, to the number of 400. Their conduct since proves a good test for ascertaining the fitness of the present slaves for freedom. With a solitary exception, none of them had committed any offence, down to July, 1831, when Mr. Loving left the island, and they were then pursuing a course of industry for their own support. They lived near him, and were occasionally employed

by him; and he saw with his own eyes their industrious habits, their desire of property, their love of fine clothes, and their efforts to imitate the speech, manners, and dress of the creoles, and in these respects some of them had already surpassed the creoles. A great part of the laborious work of St. John's is done by them. They are fishermen, mariners, bargemen, hodmen, porters, domestics. Agricultural labour had been forbidden to them by His Majesty's Order in Council respecting them. But, besides this, since their liberation, no planter likes to employ them, from a fear of their instilling into the minds of the slaves notions of liberty. Many of the women are active hucksters. Many of them, amounting to about twenty, have already purchased their own houses, including three freeholds; and only one man and five women had been thrown on the bounty of the Crown; and this by medical advice, they being declared unfit for labour.—Mr. Loving had been at pains to authenticate these facts. Apprehensions were entertained and loudly expressed by many in Antigua of the state of mendicancy and wretchedness to which they would be reduced, and of the consequent burden that would fall on the public; but proved totally groundless. There may have been among the Africans persons of bad principles (it would be strange were it not so); but their general conduct has been quiet and orderly. After all, their greatest crime is what in a slave colony is termed their insolence; but those who make this charge do not consider that these Africans had not forgotten the freedom of which they had been robbed, and had sense enough to know that they could not be treated as slaves with impunity. Some of their masters and mistresses attempted so to treat them; but as the indentures strictly forbade this, and the apprentices resisted it, an incurable rankling against them has been left in the minds of the defeated party. As for any danger from the Africans there is absolutely none, though some jealousy may be entertained of them by the slaves, who see these newly-imported persons thriving as they do under the effects of their freedom. Some of them have attached themselves to the Moravians, and some to the Methodists. He did not know that education was general among them;—still they were all sufficiently enlightened to know that they ought to conduct themselves as good members of society. Hence only one case of petty larceny had occurred among them before July, 1831. They were not above the slaves generally in Antigua in respect to

religious instruction and knowledge; nor do they despise the slaves. They sometimes intermarry with them, and their social intercourse with each other is 'unchecked. This adds to the danger of delaying emancipation. When they intermarry with slaves, it is always before sectarian ministers. The clergy of the church are forbidden by law, under a penalty of £50, to be parties to intermarrying a free person and a slave (p. 165, 166).

The African apprentices were liberated by proclamation of the Governor. They were only required to exhibit proof that they could maintain themselves, and having done so they were all immediately made free. Their certificates of freedom were printed by Mr. Loving (p. 166).

VI.—THE REV. JOHN THORP.

The Rev. JOHN THORP was Curate of St. Thomas in the East, in Jamaica, for upwards of two years, from 1826 to 1829. He had known many emancipated slaves, but had never known or heard of any who were in want, or who lived by crime, or who hired themselves to plantation labour. They would regard it as a degradation to work with slaves, and they had also employments more profitable than field labour. There might not exist the same hindrances if slavery were abolished. The slaves in Jamaica are fed with food cultivated by themselves, with about six salt herrings a week to each adult, and half to each child, from the master. They maintain their children as well as themselves from their grounds, being allowed 26 days in the year for that purpose; but that is not enough; they work also on Sundays. The time allowed them is clearly not sufficient, as they are forced to work on Sundays also. Indeed, he remembered one instance, on an estate called Stanton, where some slaves who would not repair to their grounds on Sunday were assembled in a gang, and compelled to do so, and fed in the interim by the master. In general the slaves work in their grounds on Sunday. The surplus they raise beyond their wants they carry to market. The daily duration of field labour in Jamaica is eleven hours and a half. In St. Thomas in the East they do not usually gather grass afterwards. In crop time there is no legal limit to their night labour. The usual time of sitting up in the night was six hours. When the gangs were large this labour was lightened. In general, the slaves in crop time worked 18 hours out of 24. Their

labour, during the day, appeared to him severe and exhausting (p. 167—169).

The attendance of the slaves in his church was about 80. They were chiefly plantation slaves. They were clean in their dress; the head Negroes in white jackets and trowsers, the others in Osnaburgh. They did not wear shoes. The women generally appeared at church in a muslin dress. He had known two or three hundred emancipated slaves, and he knew them to be well behaved and industrious, not shrinking from hard labour—having a great desire for the comforts of life. He never knew them to work on sugar estates. He has known them to raise provisions, and bring them to market. He thought that the slaves, if emancipated, would be willing to work. His duties, as a curate, carried him occasionally to a few estates on which religious instruction, but only orally, was permitted by the owners. He visited 24 estates in this way, superintending some free brown catechists selected by the rector, Mr. Trew. He never visited the slaves in their houses. Reading was permitted to be taught on Sir George Rose's estates at Coley and Morant, but not during the owner's time. It was merely for half an hour during the dinner interval, twice a week. The number taught to read was only one in 38. When he went on the estates, he met the children at the boiling house, or at the house of the overseer. He knew no difference in the aptness of children to learn in Jamaica and in England: he had been much engaged in teaching the children of the peasantry in this country, both before and since his visit to Jamaica. The children were of the age of from six to fourteen. Their parents had a strong desire they should be taught. The adults did not attend on the estates, though they showed their desire for instruction by coming to the Sunday schools. The oral mode of instruction Mr. Thorp deems quite inefficient, but, when united with reading, the effect was good. He never had any conversation with the slaves respecting freedom, having been warned by Mr. Trew of the peculiar state of society in Jamaica. On the same ground he abstained from questioning overseers on the subject. He found, however, that the proceedings in this country about slavery were well known to both slave and free—they having access to the newspapers. Mr. Thorp, however, saw no symptoms of disaffection when he was there, except that he heard frequent complaints of the extent and exhaustion of labour, and of the consequent exclusion

from the means of religious instruction. Those means were at that time more abundant than in any other parish, and there was an improved moral feeling among the slaves. For, in St. Thomas in the East, not only was religious instruction to a considerable extent afforded by the rector, but the Wesleyans had three chapels largely attended by slaves (p. 170—172).

Mr. Thorp had seen the slaves cultivating their grounds and taking provisions to market, and not only supporting themselves, but their aged relations, by their own labour. He understood that the law compelled the owner to support the aged slaves; but certainly the law was not carried into effect; for, in cases he knew, they were supported wholly by the exertions of their relatives, without any thing from the owner but their small allowance of fish, and grounds which they were not able themselves to work, but which their relations assisted in working. He could not tell that the time so occupied was not made up by the masters, but his strong impression was that it was not* (p. 171).

Then follows a number of questions respecting the influence of general as distinct from religious knowledge; on the nature of police regulations proper to be adopted; and on the degree in which the emancipation under such regulations would be partial or complete: they elicited, however, few or no material facts, and therefore may be passed over (p. 172, 178).

VII.—THE REV. WILTSHIRE STANTON AUSTIN.

The Rev. WILTSHIRE STANTON AUSTIN is a clergyman of the established church. The insurrection in Demerara, in 1823, he conceived, arose from the ignorance in which the slaves were kept of the real purposes of government, and the excitement produced by their being led to believe that privileges had been conceded to them by the king which their masters withheld from them. Knowing, however,

* The law on this point sounds plausibly to an English ear, but in fact it goes only to prevent masters from permitting their infirm or diseased slaves to become mendicants, or to wander from the estates, and this obviously as a regulation of police, to prevent the annoyance to the public, rather than to secure a provision for the slave. See clause 17 of the Act of February 19, 1831. It does not interdict quartering them on their relatives, or prescribe the allowances to be made them.

as he did, the feelings and habits of the slaves, he did not imagine that the grant of entire freedom to them would endanger the public peace, especially if the slaves were allowed to cultivate the land from which they now draw their food. There would be no danger of either the young or the old suffering from want with their fellows around them able to give assistance; he never had seen natural affection more strongly exhibited than among the Negroes. Their wants indeed are few, and the soil is fertile; but yet such is the desire of the Negro to improve his condition, that he would make equal exertions with the European, if his inducements to labour were the same. A slave working for himself is a very different being from a slave working for his master: in the former case he labours cheerfully and willingly. On his father's estate, in Surinam, he was in the habit of employing the slaves to execute the work of the plantation by task, and he found that a reasonable day's task would thus be performed in much less time; and that when a double task was assigned to a man and his wife, the wife was sent to attend to her domestic affairs and prepare the comfortable meal, while the husband completed the task of both in the usual time allotted to labour. In Guiana and Barbadoes the slaves at present are fed by provisions raised by the gang as a common stock, which are dealt out to them by the master. If the slave were allowed to feed himself, and were paid wages for his labour, the master might be relieved from all his present heavy expenses for food, clothing, medical charges, and the cost of providing for children and for the aged and infirm, and the master would be greatly benefited by the labour of the slave. It was his father's opinion, as well as his own, that if his 250 slaves were emancipated, and he could place them around him as a peasantry, paying rent for their houses and grounds, and having also wages for all the labour they did for him, he should be a great gainer. That he could not carry this plan into effect was owing to a heavy mortgage on the estate, comprising the slaves. Had he tried to treat them as free labourers, while they were still in fact slaves, the experiment, under existing circumstances, must have failed; and if he had emancipated them the mortgagees would have interfered. He had seen in Guiana four instances of slaves emancipated and land given to them, on which they not only raised provisions, but also canes, which were manufactured into sugar at the master's mill for half the produce.

In short he was convinced that the emancipation of the slaves might be made compatible with the cultivation of sugar, and probably in equal quantities as at present, and at no greater cost. This, however, was only opinion, not experiment. The desire of the slave for comforts and luxuries is very strong, and would induce him to engage in constant profitable employment (p. 179—182).

There are in Surinam two settlements of emancipated slaves, with which he had had much intercourse. Their employment was to cut and saw timber into planks, and bring it down from the interior; and also their surplus provisions, as rice and yams, and other articles, which they bartered for whatever they wanted, besides accumulating property. Mr. Austin had in his possession 10*l.* to keep for one man; and he knew a friend with whom as much as 300*l.* had been deposited by various individuals belonging to those settlements, the produce of very hard labour; at least as hard, if not so regular, as the cultivation of sugar. Under all the circumstances of the case, his own clear opinion was that West Indian property would be improved, and not injured, by emancipation; and, as for danger to the public peace, that, he thought, would be lessened, not increased, by it. So strong was his belief of this, that he should not hesitate to return thither with his family in case of emancipation, while nothing could tempt him to return to the West Indies if slavery is to continue. He has large reversionary interests in prospect both in Guiana and in Barbadoes, and though those interests are in slaves and not in land, so that he himself might be a sufferer by the change, it was his decided feeling that, with a view to the general interests, emancipation was desirable (p. 183).

The free settlements spoken of are not settlements of Indians, but of Africans who had forcibly emancipated themselves, as stated in Stedman's History of Surinam, and with whom the Dutch had entered into a treaty, which has been pretty well observed on both sides; and instead of being a source of danger to the colony, they are now a great protection to it. He had never heard of any want among them; and, though he had had much intercourse with them, he had never seen one of them intoxicated. Their settlements were not very far from the cultivated parts of the colony, but they did not themselves raise sugar or coffee. They are a very handsome, well-formed race, with their features sharper and more raised than the Africans generally.

They consist of persons from different parts of the colony, escaping from slavery, and uniting to defend their liberty. Their number is not known; they are jealous of enquiries on that point; but the reports vary from 10,000 to 20,000. They are very prolific, and their habits are very favourable to their rapid increase. They speak what is called Negro-English, a compound of English and Dutch and African. The Bible has recently been translated into it by the Moravian Missionaries, who have planted a mission there. The settlers allow no other Europeans to reside among them. Mr. Austin made one or two attempts, but did not succeed. He had, however, frequent intercourse with them on his father's estate for a few days or even a week at a time. Generally speaking, they were heathens, with the exception of those converted by the Moravian missionaries; but their mission commenced only 15 years ago, and since Mr. Austin's intercourse with them had ceased (p. 184 and 185).

Mr. Austin stated that his opinion of the safety of emancipation was derived from his knowledge of the character of the Negroes. They were naturally peaceable, and they would be still more so when the great boon for which alone they had to contend was conceded to them. Their habits of submission, and their respect for the superiority of the whites, he thought would remain with them. What course the planter might think it right to pursue he could not pretend to say, but it would be obviously his interest to hold out every inducement to the emancipated slaves to continue as labourers on his estate. As he could have no other labourers, there could be no fear of want of employment for a time, though indeed the richness of the soil would hold out temptations to persons emancipated in the other slave colonies to migrate to Guiana (p. 186).

In Demerara the slaves had little opportunity of attending religious worship. There were only two clergymen and four missionaries, for a population of 90,000 of all classes (p. 186).

Mr. Austin had never known slaves buy their own children's freedom; but he has known parents, after being emancipated themselves, redeem their children. As slaves, had they had the means, they would have been most eager to do so, even in preference to redeeming themselves (p. 186).

In the island of Barbadoes he had seen one or two cases of blacks begging about the streets; but whether they were slaves or free he

could not tell. The number, however, of such persons was extremely small indeed; while white beggars swarmed in many parts of the island. He had even seen such relieved by the slaves (p. 187).

The free blacks and people of colour whom Mr. Austin had known were remarkably industrious as mechanics, hucksters, and in a variety of ways; and though not indeed as field labourers for others, yet as labourers on their own plots of ground. He had known Negroes of good character, both in Demerara and Barbadoes, when emancipated, continuing to live near their former master or some kind friend, raising small patches of cane, which when ripe were sent to the master's mill and manufactured for a half or a third of the produce, as might be agreed. This, however, is much disapproved of by masters generally, from the same feeling which, in this country, leads a farmer to disapprove of his labourer growing wheat or barley, suspecting that, if he had a bad crop, he would help himself from his master's field (p. 187).

In Demerara, as late as 1822, the marriage of slaves was a thing unheard of, being considered as incompatible with slavery. This was his official reply to a question put by the government of that day (see the parliamentary returns for 1823, No. 89, p. 81). Such marriages were in fact discouraged by the planters and the governors. Two persons applied to Mr. Austin to be married, and the fees of the Secretary's office were so high that he was obliged to send them to the Methodist Missionaries to be married. They being desirous of marriage, and Mr. Austin refusing to admit them to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper till they were married, he saw no other course. Marriage appeared to him incompatible with slavery, because, under the law of Demerara at that time, the husband and wife might be separated so as never to meet again. The law may now be different; but, previous to 1824, the husband and wife might be separated. Marriage is now more encouraged than it was then (p. 188).

Mr. Austin said that his conduct, in respect of Missionary Smith of Demerara, had caused a wide breach between him and his relations in the West Indies, with all of whom, excepting his father, all intercourse had ceased for a time. He was not without fear that the evidence he was now giving might produce a similar result. But he was so deeply interested in the cause of Negro emancipation that he should be ready to promote it at any hazard or sacrifice. There was a time, he admitted, when he felt somewhat differently on this subject, or rather

in his views of Christian principle and duty concerning it. As those views became clearer, he was more fully convinced of the incompatibility of religion with slavery. His opinions had never been opposed to those he now held ; but they were so affected by early prejudices and views of interest as to lead him at one time to regard Mr. Wilberforce, for example, as a great enemy to the West Indies. Reason, experience, reflection, and better feelings had led him to a different conclusion now. He then thought only of the injury emancipation might inflict on the planter ; but he had latterly thought of the wrong done to the unfortunate Negro and his unoffending offspring, condemned to perpetual bondage. Even in 1821 he had expressed opinions in Demerara which Governor Murray considered as dangerous, and which proved a bar to his promotion, leading the governor to suspect his being connected with the African Institution in this country. The Governor particularly objected to his opinions respecting the education of the slaves, and said he would banish any missionary who should attempt it. To these views, and to his advocacy of the missionary Smith, he conceived he owed the hostility of the Governor, and his loss of preferment to the chaplainship of the colony on the resignation of Mr. Strahan (p. 189, 190).

Neither in Guiana, nor in Barbadoes, did the law require the owner to allot land to the Negroes ; and, in point of fact, it was not the practice generally to do so, though in the former it may require the owner to provide a sufficiency of food for his slaves. He was certainly not aware that either the law or the practice of Demerara was to allot land to the slaves. Being asked whether he knew the estates of La Belle Alliance, and the Land of Plenty, he said that he knew them ; they belonged to two uncles of his, and that the slaves of the latter were most kindly treated ; but he was not aware, nor did he believe, that on those estates grounds were allotted to the slaves ; neither did he know that from the slaves on those two estates any thing was brought to the market in George Town, but pigs and poultry occasionally. Being further asked whether he meant to state that it was not a fact that the market of George Town was supplied by provisions brought thither by the Negroes, he replied that some planters, one of them a friend of his own, sent its main supply to that market ; that the Negroes certainly had it in their power to carry to market, from Sunday to Sunday, any trifle they might have, but, generally

speaking, it was only fowls or pork. The Negroes from time to time had Indian corn given them by their masters, and might possibly grow a little themselves, as Indian corn was of particularly easy growth, and cheap and abundant, and with that poultry are fed. The plantain too, at some seasons of the year, abounded, and, when ripe, is a very nutritious food for pigs as well as poultry; but the slaves had not, as far as he knew, grounds of their own. They were, it is true, abundantly supplied with plantains, but they had little else in the way of food (p. 191).

When *he* knew the free Negroes who had emancipated themselves, and were placed in back settlements in Surinam, he found no religion among them, and at that time religion occupied so little of his own thoughts that he should never have thought of questioning them about it. He only knew they were sober. He never saw any drunkenness among them; but, among the slaves, drunkenness was common when they could obtain spirits. The free Negroes were also very punctual in all their engagements with himself. The free Negroes were also as far beyond the slaves in appearance, and in their manners and habits, as the gentlemen of England are above the peasantry (p. 192).

Frequent attempts had been made at education, and by himself among others, and they were successful till interrupted by the insurrection. He had commenced his own contrary to the wishes of the Governor, after having been deterred for some time by the fear of losing the prospect of preferment held out to him. After many conflicts with himself, he had at length opened a large Sunday school, which, down to the time of the insurrection, interested him much; but whether after he was driven from Demerara his successor continued it he could not tell. The children he found very apt to learn, and very eager for knowledge. There was no provision made by law either for the education or for the religious instruction of the slaves; but the missionaries, and also he himself, were permitted to instruct the slaves in religion, but not on the plantations. A few weeks before he quitted Demerara, two clergymen arrived there with that object in view, but before that nothing had been done under the authority of Government, nor was he aware whether oral instruction only was meant, or any other instruction (p. 192).

The Negroes throughout Guiana were, generally speaking, stronger and healthier on cotton than on coffee estates, and on coffee than on

sugar estates. There are, in Demerara, many free coloured persons. They are in very good condition, many of them rich, and none poor. As president of the board of the poor's fund, he was called to investigate all cases of distress. He remembers one or two cases where the cast-off mistresses of white men were reduced to great distress, but, with the exception of one or two other individuals in a wretched state of disease, he knew of no free Negroes who were claimants on this fund. The chief claimants were Barbadian whites of a very low description, and other white immigrants who had been unsuccessful in their speculations (p. 192, 193).

It was in consequence of his experience of the working of slavery that his opinions upon it underwent a change. By the time he had reached the age of thirty, he thought somewhat more seriously on the subject, and began to shake off the prejudices which had grown with his growth. He left Surinam because he was disgusted with the whole system. There was one thing which peculiarly disgusted and pained him, and which led to a separation, not in affection, but in labours, between his father and himself, and that was the flogging of women. He was so disgusted with that and some other points, that he gave up all connection with the estate. In Surinam, the Negroes were less heavily tasked than in the English colonies, but were more severely treated than in the latter. In Surinam, the Moravians are admitted on a few estates, and among them on his father's. There is no protector of slaves in Surinam; the slaves, therefore, are more at the mercy of the planters than they are in the English crown colonies since the appointment of protectors there. There is, he believes, no protector of slaves in Barbadoes (p. 193, 194).

Mr. Austin said that he had no connection with the Anti-Slavery Society. He had come as a witness on this occasion at the instance of a friend, Mr. Z. Macaulay.

He thought a more gradual plan of emancipation would meet the views of the planters better than one that was immediate; and, feeling interested himself in West India property, he should, on the whole, prefer the former to the latter; but he had no fear that immediate emancipation would affect the public peace in any way. As for the slave, he viewed him as at this moment fit for emancipation. He should think of any modified plan only in the hope of reconciling conflicting interests. Of course, if education went on, each day would render

the slave more fit for it. All such plans as freeing the children and apprenticing them to their masters were liable to great and numerous objections, both as respects the master and the slave, and they would not satisfy the slaves generally. Notwithstanding the great facility of acquiring uncleared land in Demerara, the slave, he thought, would prefer land already laid out, as the most laborious work is that of felling trees, laying out new land, and trenching it. The Governor could undoubtedly grant the slaves new land, but it would be easier for the slaves to cultivate land already in cultivation. The owner of an estate might let it out in portions to the slaves; and, as slaves are fond of the spot where they have lived, they would prefer to buy or rent land of their masters to planting themselves in new situations (p. 192, 193).

VIII.—VICE ADMIRAL THE HON. CHARLES FLEMING.

Admiral FLEMING thought the slaves greatly improved since he had first been among them. He did not regard them as at all deficient in natural capacity. If they were at once emancipated, he had no doubt, from what he had seen in Cuba, Caraccas, Bahamas, and Trinidad, they would not only maintain themselves, but cultivate the land as well as it is now. The slaves are not industrious except when they work for themselves, but when they do they are very industrious. He has had slaves who worked for hire most industriously; but, when working under overseers, they did as little as they could. He did not think that in Trinidad and the Bahamas the slaves were much dissatisfied, but in Jamaica they were generally much dissatisfied; and, during all the time he was there, he was in fear lest all that has since occurred should happen there, and he feared the same still. In the Bahamas there are no sugar plantations, and the slaves are not worked in gangs, and there slavery is as light as it can well be. Still, even there, they ardently desire freedom, and are availing themselves of the law for compulsory manumission as much as they can. In Trinidad, the slaves appeared better treated and better fed, and, being mostly Catholics, the priests have a great influence over them and keep them quiet. Trinidad is under the excellent laws of Old Spain, and the slaves have efficient protection from the slave protector. In Jamaica, the slaves have no protector, and the magistrates, generally, neglect their duty. If the hope of

emancipation were to be extinguished, they would not remain for a moment in hopeless slavery. The only reason they are now tranquil is the hope of emancipation by the Government. No island he had visited would be tranquil for a moment if that hope were cut off. If that hope be withdrawn, insurrection will soon take place. His reason for forming this opinion is the great anxiety they show to learn what is going on in England for their own emancipation, and that of their children. In the island of Jamaica, particularly, this feeling is very strong. He resided lately for eight or ten months in Jamaica, and, during that time, he was much in the interior of the island, and lived on a coffee estate, and near a sugar estate, on the Port Royal mountains; and, in going to his house and coming from it, he had to pass through the sugar estates of the Duke of Buckingham, Mr. Wildman, and others. He had frequently been on these and other estates, seven or eight in all. At the place, too, where he lived, called Claremont, he had much intercourse with the free blacks, the whole district around being peopled with them and the free browns, who lived in great comfort with their families, having pieces of land of their own which they cultivated themselves. They also reared vegetables, and fowls, and pigs, and cultivated the sugar cane, and coffee, and all kinds of Indian corn, which they sold in Kingston market. Some of them had slaves of their own. Persons of high naval and military rank have little access to the interior of plantations, though they are always hospitably received. They would be expected, in most cases, to give notice of an intended visit, but, on some estates, there would be no objection made. He had observed no alteration in the dress of the slaves on those occasions. He had himself been turned off estates in Jamaica, but had visited others and gone through them without giving notice. He went thither last in 1827, and left it in 1830. The admiral's regular residence was at a pen two miles from Kingston. But, when the rains set in, he was obliged to quit it, and went to reside in the mountains, about 13 miles off. He lived ashore during his being in command there more than six months at one time, and, in all, about ten months. He had not only passed constantly to and from his residence to Kingston, Port Royal, and the admiral's pen, during that time, but travelled into St. David's, about 30 miles, three or four times. He was also at Stoney Hill, 11 miles in another direction. He went on several estates to observe the management, particularly Mr. Wild-

man's estate of Papine, which was very differently managed from the others. Former admirals resided still more on shore than he did. Admiral Halsted lived on shore the whole time. He was turned away once, but by mistake, from the Duke of Buckingham's estate, and also from Lord Claremont's, near Stoney Hill. He thought he had seen enough, during his last visit, to form a sound opinion of the increased intelligence among the slaves, as compared with their former state. They are certainly now not inferior to the white people in intellect. He knew that reading, and listening to works read, were common among the slaves in Jamaica. He had seen a person reading the Gazette to a gang of slaves.

The Admiral was asked "*Was that at Mr. Wildman's?*" He answered it was a jobbing gang, belonging to Mr. Sinclair. The slaves generally are strongly excited to acquire knowledge, and their knowledge of what passes here and in Jamaica must put an end to slavery soon. He had viewed insurrection as probable all the time he was in Jamaica, and its occurrence was no surprise to him: The debates in the House of Commons and in the local legislatures are quickly known. When the slave law of 1829 was disallowed, the fact was instantly known to the slaves. It was even known the next day at thirty miles from Spanish Town; and he found it was known at his mountain residence when he went up, as well as all the way up to it. He was assured that, by means of hawkers and pedlars, news were conveyed to the whole of the interior, and publications diffused in a very short time. He did not believe that there had been any amelioration of the state of the slaves with respect to labour, punishment, &c.; while their intelligence was thus increasing. The instrument carried in the field by the driver is called a cart-whip; he had never heard it called by any other name. It differs from a waggoner's whip: it is a cart-whip. It is laid aside on some estates, but not generally. He never heard a doubt till now of its being called a cart-whip. He had extensive intercourse with persons of all classes in Jamaica, and the driver's whip was always spoken of by them as a cart-whip. He had now one in his possession bought from the driver of a jobbing gang, who was using it in the field at the time (p. 198--201).

The Admiral had been more in Cuba and knew more of it than of Jamaica. The number of free people there is very great. The whites there are about 380,000, the free coloured 136,000 to 150,000, the

slaves 200,000 or 220,000. This he drew from public documents ; but the returns are somewhat confused. They are made up by the priests in the different parishes. The free people generally are in good condition in Cuba; many of the browns, and of the blacks too, are very rich. He had never heard in Cuba any complaints of a want of industry in the freed classes. A great many of them are employed in cultivating sugar in Cuba. Even some whites work in the field in Cuba, who come from the Canaries, and manage all the indigo culture. He had himself seen the free people digging cane-holes, and some of them work their whole estate without slaves, growing the canes, and selling them to persons who boil the juice. He could not tell how many were so employed in Cuba ; the number was considerable ; and when they were deficient in hands at any time on such sugar plantations they hired additional labourers, at two pissettas, or 18d., to half a dollar a day, sometimes more, usually paid in coin, but sometimes in goods. Some free persons manufacture their own canes, but more frequently sell them, as mills and boilers are expensive, to richer persons near them. They get back a certain portion in a manufactured state. The soil is richer than in our colonies.* He knew one man who sold his canes in this way who had 45 acres in cane, all wrought by free labour. The estates are more extensive in Cuba than Jamaica, and portions of them are let off to free people. It was a continual subject of dispute with many intelligent persons in Cuba whether free labour or slave labour was cheapest. The English in general whom he met there thought slave labour the cheapest. One party argued that if the slave trade were stopped they could not cultivate the island. Another party held that they could. Many Cubans are against importing Negroes; as the new Negro is always found to take part with the Government, being influenced by the priests so to do; and the Government holds the slaves and free blacks over the whites as a rod to keep them in order. This alone has prevented the independence of Cuba, as of the other Spanish colonies. The domestic slaves in Cuba are equal in intelligence to those of Jamaica; the

* So that now the secret of cheap sugar in Cuba is out. It is free labour; and all the minute calculations of Mr. Keith Douglas and Mr. McDonnell, *et hoc genus omne*, may be given to the winds as waste paper. See the massy labours of the Committee on West India distress reviewed in No. 97 of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

field slaves inferior : but in Cuba neither can read except some domestics. The same danger of insurrection certainly does not exist there as in Jamaica. There is little discontent among the slaves in Cuba. They can all obtain legal or compulsory manumission if they can make up the means, and thus free themselves, their wives, and children. They work generally by piece-work, and are not driven except on some estates held by Englishmen and Americans. The Spaniards of Cuba never drive. Freedom is never placed beyond the reach of any slaves in Cuba, and they may always change their master, even if they cannot pay their price, provided another is willing to buy them at their value ; so that if a slave is valued at 200 dollars, and B will pay the money, the slave may oblige A to sell him to B. The Admiral sent home all these regulations to Sir G. Murray, and they must now be in the Colonial Office. There is a compulsory manumission law in Cuba, and a tariff fixing prices. He could not find the law and tariff in Trinidad ; but he and General Grant found it at the Caraccas.* The existence of this compulsory manumission in Cuba is a great cause of the difference of feeling among the creole slaves in Cuba and Jamaica. The *new* Negroes in Cuba, as formerly in Jamaica, are comparatively indifferent about the question of freedom. Accordingly the newly-imported Africans are not permitted to be worked with the creoles in Cuba, as they require a stricter discipline than the creoles. The creoles would not like to be put on the same footing with new Negroes. The creoles are both better behaved and better treated. The Spanish planters take pains to inculcate religion on their slaves ; the women teach the children born on the estates, and the priests attend every estate. The Catholic slaves are more submissive than those in the English colonies. He does not know what their religious state is in our colonies, but he believes very defective. He has seen the annual returns of manumissions in

* But how came it that these documents, transmitted by Admiral Fleming to Sir G. Murray, were not laid before that Committee? They would have saved a world of trouble, and no small expenditure in paper and press-work. Is there not some ground to suspect treachery in some of our former public functionaries in Trinidad, in having kept out of view these most important documents? Some enquiry into the matter seems to be imperatively called for, and we trust will be instituted.

Cuba; they are very considerable, but he is not in possession of them. They may be got either through the Colonial Office, or from the commissioners of the mixed Commission Court at the Havannah. The slaves in Cuba, working generally by task-work, have more time to work out their freedom. Besides they have the whole of their Saturdays, and all their saints' days,* and they work much fewer days for their masters than in the English colonies. And this applies not to Cuba only, but to the Caraccas. Task-work prevails on the sugar estates not only in Cuba but Caraccas. He had been frequently in Cuba from 1827 to 1830; and on many estates. He had liberated 4000 slaves in that time from Spanish slave-ships. Holding rank in the Spanish navy; and speaking freely the Spanish language, he had peculiar facilities of communication. He was treated there with great attention and hospitality. Free labour he thinks has increased in Cuba. He does not think that slaves are cheaper in Cuba than in Jamaica. The price of a good new slave in Cuba is 250 dollars, or about £55 sterling. He paid £70 currency, or £50 sterling, for a good slave in Jamaica (p. 201 —205).

An estate in Cuba, making 200 hogsheads of sugar, has about 200 slaves, besides carters and others, who are usually free. The slave trade in Cuba, he believes, is chiefly carried on by foreigners and foreign capital, as Spanish capital employed in it would be confiscated (p. 205).

The moral habits of the white people of the interior of Cuba are much superior to the same class in Jamaica. In Cuba a great many people live quietly with their families, cultivating their lands, and they are very respectable indeed. In the towns on the coast their habits seem much the same as in Jamaica (p. 205).

The importation of slaves into Cuba is chiefly not by Cubans, but by foreign adventurers and by Spaniards expelled from South America. Most of the old proprietors in Cuba will not purchase Africans. A few purchase them; but rarely. They are chiefly for new estates.

The law and tariff connected with manumissions bear, he thinks, the date of 1789. It is a written law, first published, he believes, at St. Domingo after the only insurrection that had occurred in a Spanish

* The saints' days are 30; added to the Saturdays they make 82, and to the Sundays 134.—See *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 37, vol. ii. p. 233.

colony in the time of Ferdinand the Fourth:* he sent a copy to Sir G. Murray, and one to General Grant. It is one of the laws of the Indies, promulgated by the King of Spain. By this law the slave is entitled to purchase a day at a time, paying the proportion of his price to the protector. His holidays or other days are never taken from him. He is fully protected, and has easy means of redress through the *sindico* or protector, and the priest. The bishops in Cuba, of whom he knew two, are very vigilant on this point. The slave confesses to the priest, and has free access to him on every plantation in Cuba. This is a great protection, and gives him an opportunity of stating his grievances. The priest was always looked to by the slaves in South America as their protector as well as the *sindico*. There is no such practice in Jamaica. Some Spaniards refused to buy new slaves from not liking to mix them with their *creoles*; others, even the first merchants, from conscience, thinking it was a disgraceful transaction, and illegal. Many of them are high-minded people. The English he saw at the Havannah, and who thought that buying new slaves was the cheapest, were slave-holders from the West Indies. English officers were generally of a different opinion. He was fully convinced that there would be no more difficulty in the English colonies as to free labour than in Cuba, Caraccas, and Hayti, and in the Bahamas and Trinidad. On the sugar estates in Cuba there are more slaves than free; but in the interior, where corn is grown and cattle reared, the free labourers are more than the slaves. If slavery were abolished by law in Cuba to-morrow, he does not believe the least confusion would ensue, or that one sugar estate would be thrown out of cultivation. There is no dislike in Cuba to employ free people in cultivating sugar, as in the English colonies. In estimating the profit of slave labour in Cuba the holidays must of course be taken into account: some owners give their slaves, besides these, two or three hours for going to mass (p. 207).

When Admiral Fleming first visited the Caraccas, in 1828, the slaves were all free after a certain age, females at twelve and males at fourteen. Many of the old Negroes were not free, but greater facilities were given them to obtain their freedom than even under the

* It was probably a republication, called for by the insurrection.

Spanish law. Funds were created for freeing them gradually. He never saw, during the three times he visited Caraccas, any confusion or disorder from this cause. And yet sugar was cultivated there and exported to a considerable extent. In all parts of the Caraccas sugar was grown and exported largely, though the export duty was high. There the free and the slaves worked promiscuously on the same sugar plantations. Cane-holing is carried on there, but the soil is rich and the canes seldom require to be renewed. Still he had seen cane-hole digging, and free blacks were employed in it on their own account. There the wages were ninepence a day and food. In the Caraccas he had heard the question of free and slave labour often discussed. The Spaniards and Columbians were generally for free labour; the Americans and English for slavery. The Spaniards and Columbians were in favour of freeing them all, even on the score of profit. The Marquis del Toro, a cousin of Bolivar, had immense estates; but his great number of slaves were worked as free labourers. Admiral F. had great facilities of intercourse with all of condition there. He was four months there at one time, and went 200 or 300 miles up the country. He availed himself of his facilities, and it was highly interesting to him to see a people newly emancipated, both from European oppression and from slavery, in their progress of becoming free. His opinion is, that the blacks in Caraccas are making rapid progress in civilization. Many schools are established, of which they anxiously avail themselves. Many are learning trades, and the desire of knowledge is great among them. They maintain themselves perfectly well without aid, either from their former masters or from government. The law of manumission was suddenly enacted by a decree of Congress, under Bolivar. Bolivar had previously freed his own slaves, and many of the principal people had done the same. There was no interference with the rights of landed property. Many of the proprietors of the soil, who had before wrought with slaves, cultivated it at once by free labour. No convulsion whatever was produced. A time was fixed when slavery should wholly cease. He did not recollect the year. It had not ceased when he was last in Caraccas, but it was gradually declining, and would be extinguished very shortly. There were not above a fourth of the slaves remaining then of those who were in slavery at the time of Bolivar's decree. He saw no traces of receding cultivation. It was even making a rapid progress, though

Caraccas had been the seat of war, and therefore had suffered greatly. During his second visit, he found the culture of wheat advancing rapidly, though it had not been cultivated formerly. American wheat is now no longer imported. Every body agreed that the culture had much increased. When he visited the Caraccas the second time, the improvement was manifest and rapid. There had been a year and a half of peace; party spirit had evaporated, and confidence was established. They were improving rapidly in agriculture and the arts. The revolution has tended to obliterate distinctions of colour; but the political disturbances had certainly retarded improvement, great numbers being employed in the armies. He had himself seen slaves and free blacks working together in the same field in the Caraccas. Field labour was no longer viewed as degrading there. The free might have obtained land to cultivate for themselves, on higher and colder regions, but they seemed to like the low warm country the best, and therefore readily continued to work on the established plantations. They certainly were not driven to sugar planting by necessity; they might have pursued other means of living. They might have got lands easily in the interior. They continued, however, to labour voluntarily and cheerfully on the sugar estates, and at much the same rate of wages as on other estates. The English who had estates there objected to employ the free blacks. They said they were not accustomed to that mode of working. He only knew, however, three Englishmen having estates there (p. 208—210).

General Peyango was a perfectly black man; but he was a well informed, a very well educated person, well read in Spanish history, and altogether an extraordinary man. Many English officers were serving under him. He knew many other black officers of very considerable acquirements in the Caraccas, and also in Cuba, and a black priest born in the Cape de Verds, a very intelligent man (p. 210).

The admiral referred for the particulars of the decrees about freedom, and the progress of manumissions, to the Caraccas laws and the Caraccas Gazettes, which may easily be obtained. There are commissions for freeing slaves, and the names of those freed are regularly inserted in the Gazettes. He repeated, confidently, that he had seen free persons labouring with slaves on sugar estates, not to the same extent as on other estates, for there was not so much of sugar raised as of other articles, as wheat, potatoes, cocoa, coffee, indigo, &c. There is

no more indisposition to grow sugar than other articles, but, in point of fact, he believed the majority of sugar cultivators were slaves, although he had no accurate data on which to rest. He was assured that the cultivation of sugar had increased in the Caraccas and Margarita. He could not tell how many were employed in sugar culture ; but the free population greatly exceeded, on the whole, the slaves. At the time emancipation was first declared, the numbers were about equal in the Caraccas. The slaves are widely scattered on estates over the country. They were not in huts as ours, but in a large square called Repartimento, where there is a chapel and an hospital, and a communication with the owner's house. A great many had entered the army, and thus became free. The time of the emancipation, he thinks, was 1821. It was not a time of civil commotion, but of tranquillity. The free blacks were numerous in town, and employed themselves industriously as other free persons. The blacks had not had much education, except the young, who are now in the schools. They were supposed, generally, to have embraced the Catholic religion. Slaves not taught were liable to be confiscated to the king. They could all, therefore, say their prayers and their confession of faith. They were all sufficiently instructed for that. Before the late insurrection, he should have had no fear of the same system of emancipation in Jamaica as in the Caraccas. Now, he should doubt whether it would be sufficient. They had not the excitement of the press in the Caraccas ; but they had the excitement of civil war, in which they took part. The civil war was between two parties in the State, but the slaves expected that if the liberal party succeeded they would be free (p. 211, 212).

Admiral Fleming had been in Hayti, in 1828 and 1829, for a short time. He had been there before, when the insurrection first broke out. In 1827 he understood that labourers were scarce. He did not hear that in 1829, and the people seemed then industrious. They worked for wages, and were paid in kind—he did not know how much exactly ;—the law said a certain proportion of the produce. He never saw any compulsion used. He was told that vagrants and deserters worked by compulsion, but he did not see any himself. He had never heard of any working under the lash. The lash was prohibited by law. The Haytians appeared to him the happiest, best fed, and most comfortable Negroes he had ever seen ; better off even than in the Caraccas ;

infinitely better than in Jamaica: there was no comparison between them. He could not speak positively of the increase of the Haytian population since 1804, but he believed it had trebled since that time. His belief, from the best testimony he could collect, was that it had increased threefold since 1804. This differed from Consul Mac Kenzie's report, but he believed it to be correct. They now fed themselves, and they exported provisions, which neither French nor Spaniards had ever done before. He did not recollect what was the population in 1804, but there were official documents on the subject. He had been in Hayti in 1797, when war was raging, and in 1828, and 1829, when things were quite tranquil. Things were greatly improved in the interval, as to the condition of the Negroes; for in 1828 tranquillity had prevailed for some years. There were no beggars in Hayti, and few in Jamaica. He saw a sugar estate near Cape Haytien, formerly Cape François, general Bourlon's, extremely well cultivated, and in beautiful order. It was wrought by blacks, all free. It was very fine land, and had not been replanted a long time. A new plantation was forming on the opposite side of the road. The rate of wages was a franc, or 9*d.* a day, with victuals, and two francs without. Their victuals were very superior to those of Jamaica; consisting chiefly of meat, cattle being very cheap. The highest contract of beef in Hayti was 2*d.* In Jamaica it was 12*d.* He had no means of knowing the state of religion in Hayti, but all the people seemed to go to mass. He had no means of observing their moral conduct, but marriage existed among them. Promiscuous intercourse also, he believed, prevailed; but two Spanish priests with whom he had conversed said that things were improving, and that they believed marriage would become general. It was so now among the principal people. But, whether married or not, the children were well taken care of, and they lived together in families. It was not easy to distinguish them in their habits from married people. Though the ceremony might not have been performed, the tie seemed to be practically binding. They generally lived one man with one woman. The parents *do* provide for the children. He saw no marks of destitution any where. The country seemed improving, and trade increasing between his two visits (p. 212, 214).

The estate the admiral visited near the Cape was large. It was calculated to make 300 hogsheads of sugar. The whole was culti-

vated with plantains, and Indian corn or manioc intermixed. It was beautifully laid out, and as well managed as any estate he had seen in the West Indies. He was told that this estate, though so good, was inferior in fertility to others in the interior. The culture of sugar, however, was comparatively not much followed in Hayti. Their means of properly manufacturing it are indifferent, and they have not capital to set up sugar works again. The reasons assigned were the entire destruction of the former works, and the want of capital to re-erect them. They had also other and more urgent and profitable things to attend to. The Haytian government too seemed to think that they might excite jealousies in other countries if they went much on sugar. He had never heard the unwillingness of the Negroes to engage in it assigned as a cause: they were very ready to work if paid. Nor had he heard the high rate of wages assigned as a cause: he believed sugar could be made cheaper in Hayti than in our islands, if the Haytian government did not discourage it. The insecurity of the country is still a hindrance to expensive works. They are hardly out of their revolutionary state. When he was there, Spain had been making a claim on them for the Spanish part, and they were raising a large army to resist it. This occupied their attention and discouraged such undertakings. His official correspondence, as admiral, with the Haytian government made him attribute much efficiency to it, and it bore very strong marks of civilization. There was a much better police in Hayti than in the New South American States; the communication through the country was more rapid; the roads were much better; one had been cut from Port au Prince to Cape Haytien that would do honour to any government. A regular post was established. He had sent regular couriers from Cape Nicolas Mole to Port au Prince, a distance of 80 leagues. The government is one quite worthy of a civilized people. The government still feared an attack from France, even during his last visit; and this had the effect of retarding their progress. The convention with France had not been fulfilled. Only one instalment of the money stipulated to be paid had been paid. Hence partly their apprehensions. The people were very much against paying, and blamed the government much for agreeing to pay it. The Negroes of Hayti are certainly richer and happier and in a better condition than any he had ever seen elsewhere. They were all working in the fields when

he was there. He rode about very much. He did not think any acts of oppression were practised on the people of Hayti by the government (p. 213—216).

The emancipation of the slaves in the Caraccas took place, the admiral thinks, in 1821. Bolivar had taken refuge in Hayti some time before, for which benefit the Haytian government stipulated that he should emancipate his slaves, and he did so (p. 216).

He had frequently visited the Bahamas when last in the West Indies. There are more slaves there than free. Sugar is grown in small quantities both by slaves and free, but little or none is manufactured. Both are employed in growing provisions, fishing, and taking care of cattle, and in looking after wrecks. They are all very orderly, and no difficulty is found in preserving order. The proportion of free blacks and persons of colour is greater than in Jamaica: it is about one third. The liberated Africans there seem equally civilized with the creole slaves. The African apprentices, knowing they are to be free after a certain time, intermarry with free blacks, and they become civilized by this intercourse in a very short time indeed. In seven years they are quite equal to any of the creole slaves in our islands. They are all married. Concubinage is not permitted them. There are missionaries there who instruct them, and they are all required to go to divine worship. They are very industrious. They cultivate their own grounds, and also work for wages. The rate of wages in the Bahamas is about a dollar a day; but they do not get much employment, as it is only at a particular time of the year that they are wanted. The wages are high because there is not regular employment but at particular seasons. If there were regular employment they would take less. They all have land which they cultivate, selling the produce they do not want. They get nothing from government but the land. The free blacks, as well as the slaves, in the Bahamas, are much more moral than in any other colony except Bermuda. In Bermuda and Bahamas there is no sugar cultivation, and there certainly the black population, both slave and free, are much more moral than in any other island he had visited. There are more pains taken with them. Almost all are Christians. They go regularly to places of worship. They are married and much better treated. The proprietors are smaller proprietors, who live almost with the slaves, and are very kind to them. The slaves in the

Bahamas and Bermuda are quite a different race; they speak better English and are much more intelligent than those elsewhere. He had no hesitation in asserting that the best effect was produced by religious knowledge on their morals, manners, and civilization; and this he asserted on his own actual knowledge of the fact. The liberated Africans become, before their apprenticeships expire, as civilized as those born and bred there. He only knew of one of these Africans being punished all the time he was in the Bahamas. He lived frequently on shore there, and he could himself observe their great advance in civilization. He found in every cottage beds, and cooking utensils of all kinds. Their huts were better than in the other islands, perhaps because more exposed to hurricanes. They had comforts far beyond the mere necessities of life. They showed not the slightest disposition to return to the habits of savage life. On the contrary, in a tour he had made with the governor through the islands, he found that they all wished to acquire property; that many *had* acquired property; that their children were well taken care of; that they were well clothed, and the women dressed out in unnecessary finery. He had seen no exceptions to the general industry but in two old men, who could read Arabic, and were looked on as priests, and who, besides doing something for themselves, had also supplies from the others, who looked to them with veneration as old men.—He saw in Lane Island a man who came up and complained to Governor Grant of his having been kept longer than his apprenticeship. His master, being sent for, stated that he had kept him because he had five children, and, his wife having died, he could not maintain them if he were free. The man answered, “If with two hands I can feed them in three days out of fourteen, why should I not feed them all in ten days, go to market on Saturday, and to church on Sunday?” The governor freed him. Admiral F. saw him next year, on the land that had been allotted to him; he was in perfect comfort; his land was well cultivated, and his children were all taught to read. The blacks have taken advantage of the manumission law which exists in Bahamas; and then they either hire themselves to work, or rent land from the owners. The value of slaves, however, is not fixed in the Bahamas; there is no tariff. The exports from the Bahamas are salt, cotton, onions, pine-apples to the United States, platt, salt-fish, logwood, fustic, and other

woods. In all the labours of the Bahamas the free and the slaves are intermixed, and especially in cutting wood, which is the hardest work of all (p. 217—219).

He had often heard in Jamaica of transferring their allegiance to America, and it had a considerable effect in adding to the discontent of the slaves. He had heard this said in the presence of the slaves, particularly on the occasion of the disallowed slave-law of 1826, and on other occasions, and he then observed that they must first get the consent of the 300,000 slaves, which would be very difficult. There were slaves present at the time. He had even heard the same language used at his own table. "The conduct of the government," it was said, "would make the star-spangled banner be hailed with delight in Jamaica." One gentleman, on taking leave of him, said he perhaps should never visit the island again as a British Colony. That this conversation produced discontent among the slaves, he had learnt from the slaves themselves. They spoke to him frequently of it in the conversations he had with them at different times. They often asked him if it was true that the island was to be given up to the Americans. One man, who asked him the question, was Frank, a slave belonging to Prospect, who was a very intelligent person.—He had lived little with the white inhabitants of Jamaica generally; but some were always with him or he with them. He was much with Sir John Keane, who then lived in Kingston. He conversed much with the slaves, in going about, as he would have done with the peasantry in this country. Being asked whether he had not gone out with strong opinions previously formed, he said, No, till he had returned the last time to Jamaica, when he found that little or no improvement had taken place. He was very much struck with the difference between the slaves of the Bahamas and those of Jamaica. The condition of the former was very superior. At the same time, on many estates in Jamaica, the slaves were well clothed, fed, and used; but that was by no means the case throughout the island. They were not improved to the extent he had expected since 1797. He had been in the Negro houses of sugar estates in Jamaica: some of them had the appearance of comfort. He thought the slaves had much more cause to be discontented in Jamaica than in Trinidad. They are not so effectually protected in the former as the latter, from harsh treatment. On estates where the proprietor resides, and on some

others, they are well treated ; but attorneys and receivers are often very oppressive. He thought that a general emancipation would now be less dangerous than no emancipation, yet more difficult than it would have been before the late insurrection. But any plan short of immediate emancipation, like that in Columbia, which should give protection to the slaves, and give them the certainty of ultimate emancipation, might perhaps avert danger and be more favourable to the interests of the planters. The danger is infinitely greater from leaving things as they are than from any even immediate emancipation (p. 219—222).

The following is the tariff which Admiral Fleming procured from the two Alcaldes in the Caraccas, who were in charge of the public documents of that colony. It was given to him on the 18th April, 1829. The value is here stated in sterling money.

	£	s.
Children of Eight days old	7	10
Ditto of One year	15	0
Ditto of Five years	18	0
Ditto of Ten years	27	0
Adults of Fifteen years to Forty	45	0
Ditto of Forty-five years	41	5
Ditto of Fifty years	30	0
Ditto of Fifty-five years	18	15
Ditto of Sixty years	7	10
Ditto of Sixty-four years	0	15

For each intermediate year a proportionate increase or deduction is made, as the age advances to 15 or rises above 40. If upwards of sixty-four, the slaves are deemed of no value.

From the age of fifteen to forty the slaves are valued at forty-five pounds; but if they have any particular trade, acquired at the cost of the master, or taught by him, the highest value is to be given, unless it be for their manumission. And where there is any blemish, defect, or disease, which diminishes their value, the value is to be lowered according as the blemish, defect, or disease may be considered to lessen their daily labour or the expense of their care.

The above was the tariff established at Caraccas in 1801; and it was also in force at Trinidad. This document could not be found at Trinidad, but Admiral Fleming discovered it at the Caraccas.

Many with whom he had conversed, at Trinidad and the Caraccas, admitted that this law was in force in Trinidad. A Columbian, in particular, of the name of Mundosa, told him that he himself had resided in Trinidad, and the law was then in force, prior to its capture by the British, and that he himself had had a slave emancipated by it. The law applied equally to domestic and field slaves. Admiral F. knew it to be common in Cuba, and that plantation slaves were freed under it (p. 239, 240).

Admiral Fleming also laid before the committee authenticated extracts from the Spanish Slave Code which he had obtained, by order of the governor of the Caraccas, from the proper officers there.

These laws are too long to be inserted here, but they breathe a spirit of morality and humanity which is highly creditable to the Spanish government. They provide for the careful instruction of slaves in the Catholic religion, and for their enjoying all the holidays of precept. They also provide for their food and clothing; for the regulation of their daily tasks, according to their ages, powers, and strength; prohibiting laborious tasks to the aged, or to children under seventeen, or to females, which last shall not be employed in labours unbecoming their sex, or in any which may oblige them to mix with male slaves. Time is also to be allowed to them for simple and innocent amusement, in which all excess in drinking is to be prevented. Separate dwellings are also to be provided for the unmarried of both sexes, and all their dwellings are to be commodious, and to have bedsteads, blankets, and other necessities; and there is to be a separate house for the sick. Various other regulations are prescribed, all bearing the character of great benevolence, for the temporal and spiritual interests of the slaves (p. 240, 241, 242).

IX. ROBERT SUTHERLAND, ESQ.

Mr. SUTHERLAND had visited Hayti four times since 1815. He remained there for some time in 1819, 1820, and 1821, and afterwards saw it in 1824 and 1827. His experience of the Haytians is that they are a free people, working for wages or for shares of produce, and not coerced to labour, except by their wants. Great numbers of them have land of their own, which they cultivate themselves, while others labour for hire, though the number of labourers for hire was complained of as deficient. The Code Rurale he did not

consider as an oppressive code by any means. There is decidedly no such thing in Hayti, practically, as compulsory labour. All corporal punishment is abolished in Hayti. Those who resided on their own farms appeared to him to live in the happiest state possible. Those who were employed for hire on plantations wrought five days in the week, having Saturday and Sunday entirely to themselves (p. 223).

X. THE REV. N. PAUL.

The Rev. N. PAUL is a coloured native of the United States, and a Baptist minister. An act was passed by the legislature of New York, in 1817, abolishing slavery in 1827. The number thus freed was upwards of 10,000. No means, that he knew of, were employed to prepare these slaves for emancipation, and no disturbance of any kind was caused by it, either at the time, or at any time thereafter; and he heard no complaints of the subsequent conduct of the emancipated persons. After their emancipation they became much more attentive to their religious duties, and were eager to acquire education. The general wages they obtained for agricultural labour when emancipated were from ten to twelve dollars a month and their provisions (p. 229, 230).

A number of slaves who have escaped from slavery in the United States into Upper Canada have formed settlements there. They had introduced the culture of tobacco to a considerable extent, and had begun to export it: it had never been thought of before.—They purchased their land of the Canada Company. They have been very industrious, and their moral conduct exemplary. They are generally either Methodists or Baptists, and their children are carefully educated. At their settlement of Wilberforce they have taken very effectual means to ensure sobriety: they have unanimously agreed to exclude ardent spirits. He visited these settlements as a Missionary, and did not find any distress among them, or any tendency to disorder (p. 231—233).

XI.—THE REV. THOMAS MORGAN.

The Rev. THOMAS MORGAN, a Wesleyan Missionary, resided in the West Indies seventeen years. He had been at Nevis, St. Kitt's, St. Vincent, Antigua, and Jamaica. In the smaller islands he was frequently on the estates, and had a good opportunity of judging

of the state of slavery. The Negro certainly possesses the ordinary powers of acquiring information in common with his fellow-creatures, and only requires they should be developed. He understands and profits as much as the people of this country by religious instruction, the beneficial effect of which on those who receive it is very manifest. At the same time it is impossible, under the present system of slavery, to carry religion to any considerable extent, on account of the inability of the slaves to attend religious worship. But the disadvantages they labour under in that respect are less in the smaller islands than in Jamaica. There was no reason to complain of opposition or discouragement in either St. Kitt's, Antigua, or Nevis. In St. Vincent there was at one time great opposition, but there was afterwards a better feeling. In Jamaica there were not the same facilities. In Antigua the Wesleyans may have preached on forty estates; in Jamaica only on one or two.—In the Leeward Islands, viz. Antigua, St. Kitt's, and Nevis, the slaves receive a small allowance from the master, consisting of Indian corn, corn meal, horse beans, and herrings. The allowance is not sufficient to maintain them. They are forced to supply the deficiency by working on Sundays; for no time in the week is allowed them by law. He had heard Mr. Rawlins, the Speaker of the House of Assembly in St. Kitt's, declare that it was impossible for the slave to subsist on what he received from his master, unless he worked on the Sunday. In St. Vincent 26 week-days are allowed the slaves for cultivating their grounds, as in Jamaica. He regarded the Negroes as a very industrious race, when they worked for themselves; and he had no doubt they would work cheerfully for fair wages in growing sugar or in any other way. The emancipated slaves maintain themselves very comfortably by labouring in various ways for their own benefit. He never knew them to work on sugar plantations. He had never heard of such a thing being proposed to any of them. Their conduct is usually quiet and orderly (p. 234—236).

Mr. Morgan apprehended no danger whatever from emancipation. He believed the slaves when free would follow their occupations, if fairly paid for their labour. He apprehended great danger, however, from continuing the state of slavery as it exists in Jamaica. The desire for freedom is very strong among all classes of the slaves, religious and irreligious, only that the religious are unwilling to take violent

steps to obtain it. They are very peaceably inclined. The emancipation, in his opinion, when it takes place, should be total, and not partial (p. 236, 237).

The free black and coloured people of Jamaica are rapidly improving in morality and knowledge, and many are acquiring wealth.

Mr. Morgan repeated over and over again his conviction that there was no danger in granting emancipation, under proper regulations of police, but the greatest danger in withholding it.

XII.—THE REV. WILLIAM KNIBB.

The Rev. WILLIAM KNIBB is a Baptist missionary. He had been seven years in Jamaica, and quitted it in April, 1832. He was in that island during the late insurrection, and at Montego Bay, near the spot where it first broke out. He was well acquainted with the slaves in that quarter; many of them were Baptists; some of these took part in the rebellion, but none who were previously known to him by person. Of the congregation under his immediate charge three were tried at Falmouth and punished, but not capitally. He did not know whether they were guilty or not.—About Christmas, 1831, the slaves appeared to be generally dissatisfied. The reasons they gave for it were that a part of the time allowed them by law was taken from them; and that they were severely flogged, and, when flogged, were taunted by the overseers with their being to be free at Christmas. They came to ask him if that was true; and he told them that it was not true.—They complained also of being debarred of their religious privileges, and flogged for attending the house of God. The fact that such taunting language, about their expected freedom, was used by the overseers, was reported to him not only by slaves, but by a free man and a white book-keeper, who heard it used on Flamstead estate. It was a common topic with the planters that the Negroes were looking for their freedom at Christmas. After the rebellion many of the Negroes told Mr. K. that the parochial meetings had led them to believe it. He had heard nothing of it before from the slaves, except the enquiry to which he has alluded as to the truth of the rumour, and to which he had given a negative. He had heard, it is true, white persons using that language, but he did not believe it; he had not the slightest expectation of any rising; he thought it was idle talk, and that persons who so talked

did not really mean what they said.—Meetings had been held in every parish with the exception of Kingston, at which all who chose might attend ; and resolutions were passed to the effect of renouncing their allegiance to the British crown. He had himself attended that at Falmouth, and the question of emancipation was there publicly discussed. The meeting consisted of proprietors, attorneys, overseers, and others. The speakers were Mr. Macdonald, the custos of Trelawney, Mr. Frater, a member of the assembly, Mr. Lamonas, and Mr. Dyer. Mr. Frater was the chief speaker ; he and the others were very violent : they talked of resistance, if England continued to interfere with their property in slaves. There were black persons present, and they may have been slaves. He knew that slaves had attended at some of the meetings, and immediately conveyed the intelligence obtained there to their fellows. The insurrection arose partly from these meetings, partly from a knowledge of what was passing in England, and a belief that the king of England had resolved on freeing them ; and partly from an idea that the planters, to frustrate this design, were going to transfer the island to America. The hatred of American rule is very strong among the blacks and browns in Jamaica. He had heard some of them declare they would spill their last drop of blood before a Yankee should get a footing there. Their detestation of America is quite notorious. The reason of it is the contempt with which the blacks and browns are treated in the United States. The slaves also dreaded a transfer to America as rendering their freedom quite hopeless. They expected too to be aided by the king. This was stated to Mr. Knibb by a man under sentence of death, whom he was requested by the custos Mr. Miller, with the concurrence of the chief justice, to confer with. He had no idea of this till after the insurrection. He knew indeed they were anxious for freedom ; but, on the only occasion on which the subject had been mentioned to him, by any slave, as a thing looked for, he decidedly discouraged any such idea.

The occurrences which took place during the insurrection, and afterwards, plainly showed how intense was their passion for freedom. A man belonging to Round Hill estate went up to a party of soldiers and said, “ I will never work more as a slave ; give me freedom and I will work ; you may shoot me.” They shot him at once. The fact is stated in the Cornwall Chronicle.—One said if he had twenty lives

he would risk them all for freedom.—As far as he could learn it was not their intention at first to destroy property or to injure the whites; but to insist on having wages at the rate of 2*s.* 6*d.* currency, or 20*d.* a day, the present rate of wages. But when the insurrection broke out they got drunk and fired the properties.—They certainly had inferred from the violent language at the parochial meetings, and the threat of giving up the island to America, that the king had made them free.—Many of the Baptist slaves were active in saving their masters' property. On Green park estate, in Trelawney, where there were many Baptists, they mounted guard every night, and defeated an attempt to fire the trash-house. They seized three of the insurgents and brought them to Falmouth, and were rewarded by the Assembly with £40. These men had come to him to say that the other slaves had blamed them for having arrested their fellows; but Mr. Knibb commended them, and begged them to continue their exertions; and, in point of fact, they defended the property to the last (p. 245, 246).

In the Baptist Societies there is a distinction between members who have been consistent characters, and have been admitted to full communion as being under the influence of Christian principle, and mere enquirers, who are on trial, as it were, and only admitted as members if their conduct and attendance are regular for a certain period, perhaps for two or three years, and also till they have attained some knowledge of Scriptural truth. They are in fact in a probationary state, and are often not admitted into membership at all (p. 146).

Various instances have occurred of rewards for good conduct bestowed on Baptists by the Assembly.—Charles Campbell, a slave belonging to Weston Favell, took charge of the estate, and preserved it from injury, and carried on the labours of it as at other times; all the Baptists on the estate uniting to preserve order. He obtained his freedom from his master for what he had done. He was a deacon of the Baptist church.—A man of the name of Barrett, belonging to Oxford estate, also a deacon, acted in the same way, and has since had his freedom given to him.—A slave named George Prince, another deacon, had the entire charge of the estate committed to him with written instructions from the overseer, and he kept every thing in the best order the whole time of the overseer's absence. The same occurred on Carlton estate. The Baptists were numerous on all these properties.—Six Baptists were hung belonging to Mr. Bur-

chell's congregation ; none belonging to Mr. K.'s. Some were shot at random. In Mr. Cantlow's congregation out of forty-eight leaders two were executed. One of them, of the name of Francis Escrow, had his freedom for his good conduct ; but he lost his wife, who was shot by the random firing of the militia. He was required by the overseer to put a rebel to death, but he refused. On this the overseer seized a cutlass and with it literally hewed the alleged rebel to death in Escrow's presence. One of Mr. Burchell's deacons, named William Rickets, obtained his freedom for his conduct. Mr. Knibb had not heard of one deacon having been executed, and only of one or two leaders (p. 247, 248).

Mr. Knibb himself, and two other missionaries, Whitehorne and Abbott, were forced, by a militia colonel, to perform military duty, notwithstanding their remonstrances. They were after that arrested, and on the 2nd of January, 1832, sent as prisoners to head-quarters in an open boat, guarded by soldiers, and when they landed were paraded as prisoners through the open streets ; and, after being sent backwards and forwards from the civil to the military power, were confined in the Court-house, guarded by four soldiers, and assailed with reproach and insult, till at midnight they were permitted to go on bail, but without being told of what they were accused, to a private house in Montego bay, which house they were not allowed to quit. During the interval, however, Mr. Knibb was ordered down to the court-house to answer a charge of having been preaching contrary to an interdict of the militia colonel, Lawson. He pleaded that he had only been performing family worship in the house where he resided. A little time after he had been sent back, some gentlemen, among whom was Mr. Manderson, a magistrate, and Mr. Roby, the collector of the customs, and Mr. Lewin, came to inform him that fifty persons were coming with clubs to murder him and the other two missionaries. This was on the 7th of February, martial law having ceased on the 5th. The Baptist chapel was demolished on the 7th at noon by a mob of white men, though the commander in chief, Sir W. Cotton, was in the town with some troops, and there were king's ships in the bay. On hearing this, and that the same mob was coming to attack him, Mr. Knibb escaped with his wife and child and the other two missionaries, to Mr. Manderson's, and thence on board one of the king's ships. They were led to this step by the alarm they felt, partly from

the representations of their friends, and partly from the threats and scurrilous language of the newspapers, the *Courant* and the *Cornwall Courier*, which said they should be tarred and feathered wherever they could be met with. On the 14th of February Mr. Knibb obtained his release both from his bail and from confinement, by the following discharge :—

“ *Montego Bay, February 14th, 1832.*

“ Having examined the evidence of Samuel Stennett, Alexander Erskine, Adam, and Paris, against W. Knibb, Baptist missionary, and finding nothing therein to support a criminal prosecution, I declare the said W. Knibb discharged with his sureties from their recognizances.”

(Signed)

RICHARD BARRETT, Custos.

Being released from his confinement, under this order, without the slightest charge having as yet been preferred against him, though loaded during his confinement with injury and outrage, he returned to Falmouth on the 15th of February, where he found his chapel had been destroyed on the same day on which the demolition of that at Montego bay had taken place. His congregation there he found had been suffering great anxiety on his account, and they appeared delighted with his return. Persons came from thirty estates, containing perhaps 10,000 slaves, to enquire after him. They complained much that they who had defended their masters' property should suffer for the sins of others, and that their chapel should be destroyed, and no place left them to meet in, though not a single estate in which he had members had been burnt. This occurrence produced a very strong sensation among them. They enquired whether the chapel would be rebuilt, and they be permitted again to attend the worship of God. Mr. Knibb consoled them with the hope of having the chapel rebuilt by help from England, and of again enjoying their religious privileges. The chapel had been their own work, built at their own expense. Instead of being allowed to preach to them then, he did not even dare to leave the house, being threatened with murder by a party assembled for that purpose, consisting not of blacks but of whites. There was no protection of law; mob government ruled. The custos, Mr. Miller, and Mr. Gordon, a magistrate, to whom he applied for protection, said that in the then state of feeling it was impossible, and advised his departure. A party of white

men, disguised in women's clothes, came to his house at night, and threw stones while he was in bed: one stone fell on the bed. There were some coloured gentlemen, who had heard of the intended attack, and came for Mr. Knibb's defence, and when the assailants heard them cry out, they ran away. These attempts were renewed for three successive nights, and at last Mr. K. was persuaded by his friends to quit the place and repair to Montego Bay, where he had left his wife and child. He was assured of the designs against him by two white gentlemen, one of whom had been applied to to assist in tarring and feathering him.—He knew of nothing that could have excited such ill will to him among the whites of Falmouth, except that his congregation there was composed of slaves, of whom 1000 generally attended on Sunday mornings, the number of members being 983 and of enquirers about 2500. These came from eighty plantations. The congregation had been originally formed by a preceding missionary who had died; many of them were illiterate, but many very sensible. A great many were learning to read, and about 100 adults could read. He found the desire for knowledge very intense, and he had no doubt they were stimulated to take pains by the power it would give them of gaining information relative to slavery. Since the rebellion he has learnt what he had not known before, that they were eager in obtaining and diffusing information on that subject. He had known that they read newspapers occasionally with that view (p. 249—255).

Mr. Knibb admitted the great hostility shown him by the whites; he denied, however, having ever touched, in addressing his congregation either publicly or privately, on their temporal condition. It was difficult to avoid doing it, but he thought it right and what every good man would do. When called to preach on subjects connected with the freedom of the gospel, he was at pains to make them understand that gospel freedom had respect to the soul and not to the body, and that there were slaves in the times of the apostles as well as now. He thought it imperatively his duty to preach the whole counsel of God; but he took care to make it understood that Christian freedom meant spiritual not temporal freedom, and the conduct of his congregation was a sufficient proof he was not misunderstood. The witnesses he had summoned from 70 different estates would have proved this had he had the pleasure of being tried

at the March assizes, as was intended. General clamour had charged him with preaching seditious doctrines. He called loudly for the proof, but it has never been produced. At a public meeting of planters at Montego bay, the custos Mr. Macdonald in the chair, a resolution was moved and carried, “That it appeared, from a mass of moral evidence, that the Baptists had been instrumental in misleading the slaves, by inculcating doctrines teaching disobedience to their masters. As sectarianism leads to revolution both in church and state, it behoves us to adopt means to prevent any other than duly authorized ministers of the established churches of England and Scotland from imparting religious instruction to the slaves; and in furtherance of this measure we call upon all proprietors of estates, or their attorneys, to put down all sectarian meetings on their respective properties, and that the magistracy should be most strongly urged to withhold for the future their license to sectarian ministers and their places of worship.” The meeting was for forming a Colonial Church Union, and the resolutions were printed in all the newspapers, and were of course known to all the slaves. All the religious slaves who attended sectarian meetings would of course mourn over such resolutions. But although the light produced by instruction tended to increase the desire of freedom, yet in the case of truly Christian slaves, they thought it wrong to seek it by violence. They said that if God intended to give them freedom, he would give it without force on their parts. If they took it by force, it would come with a curse and not a blessing; and this sentiment, he believed, was the only security against their using force. In reply to a question whether he had been always guarded in preaching to the slaves, he said he had proffered proof of it in Jamaica, and he should be ready to produce a thousand witnesses of that fact (p. 255—257).

Mr. Knibb then entered into some explanation of the causes which led to the dislike of missionaries. The doctrines inculcated by missionaries were directly condemnatory of the general habits of thinking and acting of the white community of Jamaica, which consisted chiefly of the mere servants of the proprietors who resided in England. Certainly it was his conviction that the generality of the planters entertained the opinion that Christianity would lead necessarily to the abolition of slavery. This was the view given him of the general feeling in the island by Mr. S. M. Barrett, and many others whom he declined to name (p. 258).

In a great variety of ways English newspapers, and the contents of English newspapers, were conveyed to the knowledge of the slaves (p. 259).

At Montego bay from 90 to 100 slaves were punished capitally, either hung or shot; and some were flogged to death, dying of the infliction on the next day. One of Mr. Burchell's members (sentenced to 500 lashes), died of the flogging. The courts martial that sat were composed of militia officers: he did not know if they had Sir Willoughby Cotton's approbation. He could not answer for that fact. He thought, in some cases, they could not have had his sanction, as persons were shot at distant places on the same day. There were about 300 shot, many by drum-head courts. One person told Mr. Knibb he had caused eleven to be shot. Some were tried, and shot or hung, in half an hour, Sir W. Cotton being then absent. He had himself seen men hung at Montego bay when Sir W. Cotton was so far distant that he could not have been referred to. The trials and executions went on the most rapidly in St. James's while the general was in Westmoreland; and he was told that he had delegated to some other the power of signing the sentences of the courts martial. Mr. K. had never known more than one hour elapse between the sentence and the execution. At Montego bay he said that 90 had been hung or shot, but in fact the number was greater. At Falmouth 11 were shot, 6 were hanged, and 36 were flogged. The executions were conducted with considerable levity, four or six being sometimes executed in a day at Montego bay. Mr. Knibb saw Dehaney hung, with two others. He fell from the gallows by the rope breaking. He went up again with the utmost firmness, and, the other two being dead, he swung in the centre, and kicked them. There was on this quite a horse-laugh, which was very disgusting. Blacks as well as whites joined in it. The bodies of those shot and hung at Montego bay were buried in a trench; those put to death in the country were left to be devoured by vultures. The feeling produced by all this is very painful and alarming, as many have lost not only fathers and brothers, but wives also. The severities exercised are much more likely to excite a deep-rooted feeling of revenge, and to accelerate a recurrence to violence, than to produce terror. The firmness with which they met death was remarkable. There was not one who did not. Dehaney's case was one he should never forget. He neither heard

of nor saw one who manifested any symptom of fear: not even a woman who was hanged. These things were currently known in the island, and of course to the slaves generally, for they appeared in all the newspapers (p. 258—262).

A young man, a Methodist leader, belonging to the militia, having been asked to pray with some people condemned to be shot at Falmouth, was then ordered to shoot them, and did shoot them. He did it under military compulsion, and he gave Mr. Knibb to understand that the very men who had told him to pray with the convicts had then ordered him to shoot them. His own words to Mr. Knibb were, "They asked me to pray with them prisoners, and then they made me shoot them." He spoke to me of the matter as a great hardship that had been imposed upon him (p. 263, 264).

Some of the clergymen of the church of England went out and fought in regimentals, among them Mr. Burton. He joined the militia as a trooper (p. 265).

Mr. Knibb was re-examined as to the conversations that had passed between him and the slaves prior to the insurrection. He repeated that several slaves, Baptists, had come to him to ask if it were true, as they had heard, that they were to be free after Christmas. He told them no. They said they had heard the overseers frequently say that they were to be free after Christmas. He told them it was not the case—he had heard nothing of it, and did not believe it, and he hoped they would not harbour such thoughts. They said, at the same time, that they had never been so cruelly treated as during the preceding three or four months. The only reason they assigned for this increased severity was that sometimes, when they were laid on the ground to be flogged, the overseers said that, as they (the slaves) were to be free at Christmas, "they would get it out of them first." On the occasion of this conversation, and with a view to create a disbelief of such statements, and thus to allay their excitement, he used the words, "Did you ever know the overseers tell you any thing to do you good?" The words were used to undeceive them. He had no reason to doubt that the statements made to him by these slaves were correct, and his object was to undeceive them.

Being questioned as to some passages in a printed speech of his, which had appeared in a paper called the Patriot, he affirmed their accuracy. One respected the flogging of an infant slave; and he said

that, in riding through Macclesfield estate, in Westmoreland, he had seen a child of seven or eight years old laid down, and held down by four others, and flogged. This was about two years ago.—Another case he had mentioned, that of Catherine Williams, was as follows:—“Just as the rebellion broke out, one of my members came and said that Catherine Williams had just crawled to her house, and her back a mass of blood. I said, ‘How is this? she always appeared to be a faithful servant.’ My informant said that she had been confined in a dungeon for three months, and had been flogged because the overseer wanted her to live with him in fornication, and she would not. Her back, my informant stated, was very bad indeed. He had mentioned the circumstance to Mr. Blyth, a Scotch missionary, who wished it to be laid before the custos; but my informant feared the trouble it would occasion, and Mr. Blyth therefore declined doing it. I had the utmost confidence in my informant.”—A third case was that of one William Plomer, an emancipated slave, who was one of the witnesses called on behalf of Mr. Gardner, the missionary, who was shut up in a room with a pot of burning brimstone, in order to induce him to accuse Mr. Burchell; the person who placed the pot of brimstone telling him that they would give him a taste of hell, as he would say nothing against Mr. Burchell. This was related to Mr. Knibb by the gentleman who had taken Plomer’s examination, preparatory to the trial of Mr. Gardner, and who had inserted the fact in the brief. He had heard the person’s name who had placed the pot of brimstone and used the above language, but he had forgotten it. The person, however, who took the examination of Plomer could tell (p. 265—267).

Mr. Knibb was further asked whether he had used the following language attributed to him in this speech, viz.—“A colonial Church Union, composed of nearly all the fornicators in the island, has been formed to stop the march of mind and religion, to protect the white rebels from deserved punishment, and to dry up the streams of religious instruction. Infidels, clergymen, slave owners, newspaper editors, high and low, have joined hand and heart.” “Yes,” replied Mr. Knibb, “that is mine” (p. 268).

Mr. Knibb stated that of the Baptist missionaries six had been arrested during the rebellion, and one Wesleyan. Thirteen Baptist chapels and four Wesleyan chapels were destroyed. The effect on the minds of the slaves of the destruction of those chapels was of the

most painful description. He can never forget their tears and their emotion at the sight. Mr. Knibb told them that, if they were obedient, their chapels would be restored, and that he was sure the king would see that they were permitted to pray, but this would depend on their good conduct (p. 270).

Mr. Miller, the custos, told Mr. Knibb that the Governor had requested him to find out the cause of the rebellion, that he himself was perfectly convinced of Mr. Knibb's innocence, and that he had conferred also with the Chief Justice on the subject, and they concurred in thinking that they could not do better than employ him; and the custos added, "Mr. Knibb, I have his Excellency's permission to say that if any slave will divulge that which may lead to a full disclosure of the rebellion, every effort will be made to have his life spared." This occurred between the period of finding a true bill of indictment against him, and the abandonment of the prosecution by the Attorney-General. Mr. Knibb accordingly examined some of the prisoners, some alone, and others in the company of Mr. Murray, a Wesleyan minister. He examined each separately. He examined none that had been tried, except one who was under sentence of death. They agreed in their answers as contained in the papers now produced, a copy or the substance of which he had given to Mr. Miller. These answers were taken down at the time, in the presence of the slaves, on sheets of paper, and afterwards copied into this book. Mr. Murray is now at Montego Bay. Mr. Miller himself attended the examinations of Sharpe and Gardner. The meetings of the inhabitants and what passed there formed one of the principal reasons they alleged for the insurrection. The last of the examinations he took was that of a slave called Hilton, on the 23rd of March.—Meetings of the drivers of different estates were held at a place called Retrieve, where Samuel Sharpe appeared to be the leading man. On Christmas morning Sharpe spoke to Hilton, at the chapel at Montego bay, to be sure, if the minister asked him about freedom, or not working after Christmas, to tell him he knew he was free, and that he would not work again for any body any more unless he was paid for it. The minister, however, did not call upon him. After the morning meeting he went to Richard Bailey's, with some others, and had breakfast. Bailey looked for an old newspaper, and said, "This is not the right one; this is four months old, and tells us that eight years back women

were not to be flogged." Bailey found another paper, which said that the English people would not submit to the brutish practice any longer. Hilton afterwards asked Thomas Williams, a leader, whether it was true what was said about freedom. Williams said, No;—that foolish people had put it into their heads; for he had never heard Mr. Burchell say one word about it, or that he was gone home to bring out their freedom; but that the whole had been made up at Retrieve.

The persons examined all referred to the expectation that was entertained of the island being given up to America.—In one of the examinations is found an account of a conversation among some of the slaves, which took place on Christmas day, to the following effect:—Gardner and Dove, though supposed to have been leaders, both solemnly denied that they had any connexion with the plot till Christmas day. On that day they met Guthrie, Sharpe, Taylor, and other members of the church, who were talking about freedom. Taylor strongly urged Sharpe not to refuse to go to work after Christmas. Gardner strongly advised to go to work after Christmas, saying, "If freedom is come we shall get it quietly, but if we do what is wrong we shall bring disgrace on religion." Sharpe said, "I know we are free. I have read it in the English papers. I have taken an oath not to work after Christmas without pay, and I will not." Sharpe then went away. Gardner after fell into company with Guthrie and some others, at Guthrie's house. Guthrie offered them wine or spirits: they chose wine. Guthrie poured it out, and, taking his glass, said, "Well, friends, I hope the time will soon come when we shall have our privilege, and when we shall drink wine free. I hope we shall soon have Little Breeches under our feet." Gardner asked who was Little Breeches. Guthrie said, "He is my master, Mr. Grignon. I heard him say the king was going to make us free, but he hoped all would be of his mind, and spill their blood first. But," added Guthrie, "I'll be the first to do the job, though I am his slave; I will give him a pill as I follow him." On another occasion some one was doubting of their freedom, when John Morris said he was sure it was true, because when the women at Duckett's having young children went to Mr. Grignon for their Christmas allowance, Mr. Grignon said that they must now look to their friends in England for allowance, for he had no more to give them. Morris argued long on this fact, saying, "If we are not free, what made Mr. Grignon

say so?" This made all the people stout upon it, and they said they would throw down their hoes and say they were free (p. 271—273).

One circumstance, Mr. Knibb said, which induced the slaves to think they were to be made free, was Mr. Beaumont saying in the Assembly, when discussing the bill for compulsory manumission, that they should no longer be called slaves, but labourers (p. 274).

Mr. Knibb said he believed the people told him the truth, for it agreed with what his own people told him afterwards. His church was not in St. James's, where the rebellion broke out, but in the next parish to it, Trelawney; and he earnestly requested them afterwards to tell him all they knew. They said they heard it commonly said they were to be free at Christmas, and that, if he had not contradicted the rumour, they should have continued to believe it. A young free man of colour, who had joined the rebels, and was executed at Montego Bay, told him and so did many others that they did not expect the king's troops would fight against them. This man of colour was executed for a deliberate murder. He shot a faithful slave, who was defending his master's property (p. 274).

The slaves are now in the full expectation that their freedom will come to them from England. He doubted whether they would be content to wait long for it. As the rebellion was breaking out he had himself spoken to about a thousand people, not of his flock, urging and entreating them, even with tears, to remain faithful to their masters, telling them they were misled by wicked men, and that no free paper had come out. But some who were present told him afterwards that the effect of what he said was neutralized by their being told by some of their companions, "Do not believe him; the white men have given him money to say so. The free paper *has* come out." The way in which he came to meet these people was this:—on the last day of the Christmas holidays he had gone to some distance to open a new place of worship. Mr. Blyth came and told him he had heard the people were going to refuse to work, and that the militia had been called out. He went off immediately; and, after riding 32 miles, he found them assembled, and talked to them for three or four hours, assuring them they were all mistaken, and urging them, if they had any love to Christ, to go to their masters, and not suffer themselves to be misled to their ruin. He had heard of their having this impression only the night before from Mr. Blyth. A person named

Stephen James also called to tell him of the rumour, and he said to him, "Go and tell them that, if one of my members refuses to go to work after Christmas, I will exclude him instantly from the church;" and he sent his free people in all directions to the estates to tell them the same. It was three or four months before this that he had been first questioned by the slaves. He then told them not to believe any thing they heard about it: "it is not true: you must not listen to any such reports at all: you ought to be thinking about your souls: you must never speak to me on the subject; I will not hear it." He viewed it at the time as an idle enquiry which he had only to check. He was at this time preaching at a distance from home to a strange congregation. He heard no more of it, and nothing of it whatever from his own congregation. He really thought nothing more of it, till Mr. Blyth informed him of what he heard was about to take place. He was thunderstruck, and went and told Mr. Manderson. But at this time the military force was under arms, and the magistrates quite awake. In fact he found them all better informed than he was, having already had informations on oath. His first intimation was at Falmouth, from Mr. Blyth. He immediately got Lewis Williams, a free man, a deacon of his church, who is still alive, to ride from property to property, to beg them not to be led away. He himself drove in his chaise as far as he could; but did not get down till ten at night, when the country was in complete confusion. The military indeed had been called out that very day. When he got to the place to which he was going he addressed the people in the way he had already stated (p. 275—277).

Mr. Knibb certainly thought the slaves were more disposed to listen to the missionaries of the Baptists and Methodists than to the ministers either of the English or Scotch churches. There were some excellent men among the English clergy, but few slaves comparatively attend upon them. Some of them use their very utmost exertions, but not only are their habits of life and their adaptation of language and manners different, but they had other congregations to attend to, the free and the whites. The same sermon that would suit a white and intelligent man would be lost on the unlettered and simple Negro (p. 278).

In the parish of Trelawney, Mr. Knibb said, there were no catechists. There was a curate, but he did not visit any estate; he was requested

to go on one; he did not go, and Mr. Knibb went. He knew one excellent and devoted curate, Mr. Hannah. He did not mean to say he was the only excellent one. There were undoubtedly others, as Mr. Dallas of Spanish Town, and many did their utmost; but they were occupied with the free, and, if there were no slaves in the island, they would have had enough to do. The Church Missionary Society had catechists; but, if there were a hundred more missionaries in Jamaica to-morrow, they would all have enough to do. In the disturbed districts there were no properties where slaves were attended by curates or catechists of the church of England; while, on all the estates on which the Baptist missionaries were allowed to go and preach, the people continued faithful. There were Baptists engaged in the rebellion; but he meant to affirm that on the estates to which he and the other Baptist missionaries were admitted, the people defended their masters' property to the last. There was not a single member of Mr. Abbott's congregation at Lucea in Hanover who was implicated in the rebellion, or even refused to work for his owner. There was one Baptist preacher wholly unconnected with the missionaries, on the borders of St. James's and Trelawney, at a place called Spring Vale Pen, who was shot as a rebel, many of his congregation being shot too (p. 279).

Christianity, Mr. Knibb thinks, will lead every man to love freedom, but true Christianity will keep him from taking it by violence. It will inspire a love of freedom, but it will lead him to be quiet till it is granted. As the apostle Paul says, "If thou mayest be free, use it rather" (p. 280).

There is in the mind of the Negro a suspicion of what his master does, so that even when Baptist missionaries have gone on an estate at the request of the master, the slaves would not attend them. This makes them jealous of clergymen; and, if they thought the missionaries were paid by their masters, they would not come near them. Clergymen themselves have told Mr. Knibb they found this to be the case. He was himself once requested by Mr. E. B. of Bristol, a very worthy gentleman of the church of England, to visit his estates; but, in consequence of something that was reported to the slaves to have passed between him and the overseers of the estates, they came to him in a body requesting him not to come, for if he did they would not hear him. "Keep," they said, "to your own chapel, and keep away from the overseers, and we will come and hear you."

Mr. Knibb communicated with Mr. B. on this subject privately, and has seen him since his return, having been received by him with great kindness. He had felt the subject a difficult one. One of Mr. K.'s reasons for not visiting his estates was the state of concubinage in which the overseers lived. Almost every overseer and book-keeper in the island is living in fornication, and he did not think it right to associate with such characters. Slanders also were raised against himself. The attorney too took the part of the overseer against him.—He is unwilling to go farther into the matter or to mention the proprietor's name.

In the report of a speech of Mr. Knibb, he had spoke of the innocent blood that had been shed during the insurrection. He said he referred to the number who, during martial law, had suffered innocently. The feeling produced by it, he feared, was very strong : for in this, as in all servile wars, great enormities were apt to take place, and much blood shed which would not be revealed till the day of judgment. Where soldiers go out, as they did, and fire indiscriminately, a great deal of innocent blood will be shed. This feeling he believed to be very prevalent, but was directed, not against their masters residing in England, who they thought were friendly to them, but against the resident whites. The probable existence of a feeling of resentment and revenge was the subject of much conversation among all classes of the free in the island (p. 280, 281, 285).

Mr. Knibb left the island early in April. Mr. Miller and Dr. Gordon had sent for him and said, "Mr. Knibb, it is our decided opinion that your life is not safe. I would do every thing to protect you, but I cannot protect you" (p. 281).

The Baptist leaders, in his congregation, were about fifty. Each had his own ticket entitling him to come to the sacrament. No one could have a ticket which he had not received from the minister, whether he were a deacon, a leader, or a member. Enquirers or probationers also had their tickets; and this explains why so many tickets were found; for many enquirers, after receiving their tickets, withdrew their attendance. Most of the tickets found were of this description. Nothing was paid for these tickets. All members however subscribed something quarterly, as the dissenters consider it the duty of all, bond or free, to do what they can to support the gospel; but these contributions go, not to the support of the missionaries, for

they are supported from home, but to the erection of chapels for themselves, which are vested in trustees, and could not be taken from them (p. 282).

Mr. Knibb did not know, of himself, who had commanded the militia when the new chapel at Salem's Hill was destroyed, but he understood it was Captain Gordon who was over the company. He was himself a prisoner at the time, and did not see it; but the missionaries were in possession of abundance of evidence to take before any court of justice of the persons who destroyed the chapels (p. 283).

He had been informed of slaves having been threatened with death, or severe punishments, for refusing to give evidence against the missionaries. He had also heard of torture being inflicted to extort information as to slaves engaged in the rebellion; but he had no personal knowledge to that effect. A slave, whom he himself had hired as a servant, told him that he was flogged by his master, a man of colour, for refusing to assist to pull down the chapels (p. 283, 284).

Mr. Knibb was of opinion that the Negroes, if emancipated, would labour for wages. He had known Negroes who paid their masters a weekly rent (one of them paying two dollars a week for himself, and a dollar and a half a week for his wife) and maintained themselves and families at the same time. He knew one who purchased himself and his wife: he paid £250 currency for himself, and £80 for his wife. His name is Richard Brown; he lives at Falmouth. Samuel Swiney tried to purchase his wife, but could not effect it, though he bade as high as £250 (p. 284).

He had said at a public meeting in England that he believed the Baptist slaves would be flogged if they were caught praying. He had seen a slave flogged for praying, the very Samuel Swiney he had just mentioned, but who is now free. The evidence is given in full in papers laid before Parliament. Mr. Finlayson, the magistrate, said that praying and preaching were the same in law. He and his brother magistrate who pronounced this judgment were struck off the commission by order of the Government. He never heard any other ground alleged for their sentence. He had not applied to the Governor on the occasion, but sent the facts to the Society at home, that they might act as they thought proper. They laid the matter before the

Colonial Department. He did not regard himself, as a Missionary, entitled to originate any matter by applying to the Governor or the Attorney-General. ' An order has, he believes, gone out requiring all complaints to be made through the Governor; but he knew nothing of that then. He had published the case in a newspaper in Jamaica, because, having sent it home, he thought it fair to apprise Mr. Finlayson of his having done so. He does not think that, after what has passed, *magistrates* in Jamaica would flog slaves for praying, but he thinks overseers would do it, and with impunity. Mr. Knibb was then asked whether the overseer could by law do this, provided he limited the number of lashes to 39; but to this he gave a vague answer, professing not to know sufficiently the provisions of the new slave law.* He had never attended to the proceedings in the courts of law, as he made it a point not to interfere with the temporal condition of the slaves. He had heard them say, however, that it was of no use to complain (p. 290).

Mr. Knibb denied his ever having had any communication with the Anti-Slavery Society, or having seen any of their Reporters except by accident (p. 318).

He had no conversation with the Attorney-General on the *nolle prosequi* entered by him to the indictment preferred against him at the Cornwall Assizes. All he had learnt of it was through his attorney, who told him that if the Missionary Gardiner's case broke down the Attorney-General would not enter upon his. He went into court with his witnesses, and the Chief Justice said to him, " You will have

* Had Mr. Knibb been acquainted with that law, he might have replied most confidently that no overseer who limited his lashes to 39 was liable to be called in question in any court of justice for any punishment within that limit which he might inflict, whether for any offence, or for no offence. The words of the 33rd section of that Act, of February 19, 1831, authorize every overseer to inflict 39 lashes on any slave; and there is no part of that clause, nor of any other clause in that Act, or in any other Act of the Jamaica statute-book, which authorizes any magistrate to take cognizance of any complaint, made by a slave, of a flogging which does not exceed, and is not affirmed to exceed, 39 lashes; provided only they are not inflicted twice in the same day, or until the person shall have recovered from the effects of any former punishment.

the kindness, Mr. Knibb, to remove your witnesses." Mr. Knibb said, "I am not sure whether I am not to be tried." He said, "You are not; there is a *nolle prosequi* entered." Mr. Knibb bowed and went out (p. 319).

The above is the whole of Mr. Knibb's evidence which it seems at all material to give. We have omitted many of the offensive and discourteous questions which were addressed to him by some member of the Committee, and which, while they tended in no degree to shake the force of his testimony, manifested a most galling sense of its importance, and of the irritation it had produced in the mind of his examiner.

We have now gone through the whole of the evidence which was adduced to establish Mr. Buxton's propositions, "*That the slaves, if emancipated, would maintain themselves, would be industrious, and disposed to acquire property; and that the dangers of convulsion are greater from freedom withheld from than from freedom granted to the slaves;*" and we think it will be allowed, by every candid and unprejudiced reader, that he has most triumphantly established them. But we must not forget that we have still to hear the upholders and apologists of slavery in vindication of their system, and in refutation of the strong statements that have already been brought under the view of our readers. To that part of our task we therefore now proceed.

I.—CAPTAIN CHARLES HAMPDEN WILLIAMS, R. N.

CAPTAIN CHARLES HAMPDEN WILLIAMS, of the Royal Navy, commanded the first ship of war which arrived at Montego Bay two days after the late insurrection had broken out. He has been promoted for his services there, and his conduct has been applauded both by the Admiral on the station and by the civil authorities. He had been sixteen months in all in the West Indies, and in that time had visited almost all the West India islands (p. 291). And yet Captain Williams states in a subsequent part of his examination (p. 297) that he had gone for the *first* time to the West Indies "in January last," which was January, 1832, only six months prior to the day of his

examination. We presume, therefore, he must have meant, by January last, January 1831.

The cause of the insurrection was that the slaves understood the king had given them their liberty, but that the planters had withheld it from them, and he adds, “*I believe* they were stirred up to the rebellion by the Baptists.” The gallant Captain’s reasons for this belief are somewhat vague. He attended several courts martial of slaves at Lucea, and he was led to suppose from what passed that the Baptists had preached up the slave’s right to liberty. It could not be brought home to any body, but this was his inference. He had spoken to several members of the court martial, and they were all convinced the Baptists had stirred up the rebellion, though they could not bring it home! “I saw several men shot, hanged, and flogged.” “Every man had a fair trial before the courts, which were composed of *militia* officers, and I believe every man to have merited his punishment.” “They had a very fair *chance*. I went up to one prisoner myself, and offered to assist him in his defence.”* He does not think any persons were killed without trial, except they were in rebellion. He had met with no slaves in open rebellion. He went seven miles with his sailors “to try to get near them;” but they could not come within gunshot of them. In his opinion “*all* the punishments that took place were cases required for example.” The rebellion, in the opinion of this officer, was “very formidable indeed;” and the reason he gives for thinking so, for he admits he saw nothing of it himself, is this, that when he arrived at Montego Bay he found them “in a great panic.” “The militia themselves were frightened, and he had to call their very “colonel† to order,” and to tell him that he could not act with him unless “he adopted discipline and order.” It, therefore, became quite necessary to “strike terror into the Negroes,” and therefore 100 persons were executed by shooting and hanging, and 100 flogged. “I believe,” says the Captain, “that was the exact

* The gallant Captain does not say the offer was accepted. We rather infer from his silence that the poor prisoner was too undiscerning to appreciate its value.

† This, we suppose, was the redoubted Colonel Lawson of whom we have heard so much.

number.”* Besides these, he thinks, “400 more were shot in resistance in open warfare.”†

Captain Williams further testifies “that he went out to the West Indies with strong opinions upon Negro slavery;” he believed they were “an ill-used people,” and he gives as his reason for having thus condemned the West Indians before-hand, “BECAUSE I had lived in a family that even would not eat West Indian sugar, because it was raised by slaves.” But “what,” he is then asked, “is your opinion on that subject now?” To this he promptly replies, “I believe they are much better off than *any* labouring classes in this country!” But, he is asked, “are you not aware that they are flogged at the will of their masters?” The reply of Captain Williams to this question is highly instructive:—“Their masters,” he says, “can inflict thirty-nine lashes; but they must first of all have two or three justices of the peace, or magistrates, before they can give the punishment; and I could give my men forty-eight lashes *whenever I please*, and more severe.”‡ Before he went out Captain Williams was in favour of

* It was but a just retaliation that the same militia officers whom the Negroes had so terrified should be made the instruments of striking a salutary terror into them in return, by shooting, and hanging, and mangling with the cart-whip 200 unarmed wretches, who had dared so to frighten them. But was it quite fair towards the persons thus summarily tried, and convicted, and shot, and hung, and lacerated, to constitute as their judges, without appeal, the very men who had been terrified and disgraced by them? Does Captain Williams think that was giving the prisoners a “fair chance?”

† Captain Williams has no where told us how many lives this “formidable resistance,” this “open warfare,” caused the gallant troops opposed to them,” and for whose loss so severe a vengeance was exacted by the alarmed members of these courts martial.

‡ It is quite impossible to resist the temptation of a brief comment or two on this evidence of this leading witness of the West Indians, this advanced guard of their array. Mr. Burge, himself, must have blushed for him. He goes out to the West Indies animated with Anti-Slavery views. He sails from island to island for a few months, attending the Bishop of Barbadoes in his pastoral visits. He repairs to Jamaica, and spends a month there, and reports in that short space 100 shootings and hangings, and 100 floggings worse than either shooting or hanging. He sleeps ashore, in Jamaica, for two or three nights, having before had the happiness of sleeping under the roof of the renowned Mr. Huggins, of Nevis,

emancipation. He is not so now. Emancipation would produce anarchy; there would be no more returns either of produce or revenue; for the slaves, being a lazy set of persons, if emancipated, would only raise plantains and yams for their own use. Being asked his ground for this inference, his answer is, "BECAUSE they are naturally lazy!" He had seen several free blacks, "and they are very lazy." He admits they have property of their own, but he is not aware how they got it; in short, "they are very lazy" (p. 291, 294).

The only ground Captain Williams has for representing the Baptist Missionaries as the instigators of the insurrection is his conversation with the officers composing the court martial, and general rumour (p. 294). He had heard that fourteen white women had been violated, and that seven persons had been burnt (*ibid.*). Being asked whether he had any communication with the slaves on the causes of the rebellion, he replied, "yes, I rode round one day to two or three estates, and I desired them to remain quiet; I told them that I would shoot them or flog them if they did not behave well; but they all seemed well disposed. I merely admonished them, and told them I was the captain of the ship in the harbour." He heard of the destruction of the Baptist chapels; he believed it was effected at noon day, and by whites, not by blacks. They were destroyed as a retaliation for the

for other three nights; and he comes before a Committee of the House of Commons to dissuade them from abolishing slavery, since he, Captain Williams, is able to assure them, after this ample experience, that the slaves are "*much* better off than *any* labouring classes in this country." His illustrations of this extraordinary statement are certainly somewhat unfortunate. He can give his men, his British sailors, 48 lashes *whenever he pleases*, and these more severe than the Jamaica cart-whip inflicts. Is it indeed so? If it be, then indeed might the British seaman complain of his condition; but it is a slander on the British navy to say so. He takes it upon himself also to tell the Committee that the slave master must have the authority of two or three magistrates, before he can inflict thirty-nine lashes of the cart-whip on the bared buttocks of any slave, man or woman. This, we need not say, is as gross a mis-statement of the facts of the case as could have been uttered. It is directly the reverse of the truth, and that on the very point which lies at the root of the whole question of slavery. To have produced such a witness, at such a crisis, looks something very like the infatuation we have on former occasions imputed to the colonists.

missionaries having preached up rebellion; but he was not aware of any foundation on which that charge rested (p. 295).

Captain Williams further states that he had not heard it assigned as a cause of the rebellion that the Negroes were afraid of being given up to America. And yet he immediately adds, "I visited a great many islands, and *in all the islands* the whites are forming a confederacy now to cast off the mother country. It is general throughout the West Indies. The planters are dissatisfied with the late Order in Council, and they wish to throw off the mother country*" (p. 296).

"The insurrection was quelled," said Captain Williams, "when I left Montego Bay" (he had been there only ten days); "but there were several executions going on at that time. When I went back to Montego Bay from Lucea" (where he had been about eighteen days), "I saw two persons hanging, and one or two flogging at the foot of the same gibbet!"

Captain Williams admitted that all he knew of the treatment of the slaves in Jamaica or the other islands "was *only* by conversation with *white* persons" (p. 297). He also admitted that all he knew against the Baptist missionaries was from the same source. "They could not prove it; they could not get it in evidence;" and yet he admitted "that the militia officers were particularly desirous of bringing guilt home to the Baptists;" and that "they were inveterate against them" (p. 298). He saw no professional or other persons assisting the Negroes on their trials. The courts martial began by shooting the insurgents, and afterwards by shooting and hanging them alternately. Then they hanged all, thinking death by shooting too honourable. The men did not mind being shot. He saw three men condemned to death: they did not alter their voice or countenance: they appeared prepared for it; but he heard them express sorrow and say they were legally condemned. The hundred who were flogged received from 150 to 500 lashes. The lives lost by the king's troops, including the militia, were, he had heard, ten (p. 292).

Captain Williams repeated his conviction that West Indian slavery was a happier state than that of the English peasantry. He did not

* Was it possible then that the slaves should not have heard of this design, and been influenced by it?

think it bore a comparison, so much better off was the condition of the slaves. "They are a happy people, and they have a great many enjoyments." But, supposing that the Englishman might be sold and separated from his family, and be liable to be flogged, and to have his wife and daughter seduced without redress, like the slave, he was asked if that would better his condition. He said the Englishman was a free man, and the slave had not his feelings. He admitted, however, that the Englishman would feel aggrieved by such liabilities; but still the slaves were born in that state and were used to it. The slaves are now a happy people, and he thought they would lose by freedom; and many of them would not accept it if offered them. At the same time he did not think it a happy state for a man to work for another and receive nothing for his labour but clothing, a hut, a garden, a surgeon, and some salt fish (p. 299—301).

Being asked whether the flogging of slaves was viewed with any horror in Jamaica, he said it was not: he had never seen any *feeling* exhibited about it (p. 301).

He had affirmed the slaves to be naturally lazy; but he admits that the West India markets are supplied, by the voluntary labour of the slaves, with poultry, pigs, provisions, and vegetables, which they brought from a considerable distance to the Sunday market, and for which they knew very well how to drive a bargain; but all this industry, he added, was for themselves. And, being asked whether he knew who would work without wages if not compelled, he said he did not know any (p. 302).

Again, some of the free blacks in Jamaica have property, which he supposed they must have got by their exertions; but he persisted in thinking they were "a careless people," not raising more than sufficient for the present, "BECAUSE they are naturally a lazy people" (p. 302).

Captain Williams does not think the slaves in Jamaica will ever rebel again. They are convinced by late events that they cannot succeed. The British army and navy are able to quell any insurrection; but as for the militia, "all the militia together are not able to cope with the slaves" (p. 303).

Being asked whether he had not imbibed his impressions of emancipation and the state of the slaves from his conversations with the white people, Captain Williams said, "Yes, in all the islands." But he corrects himself by adding "from observations of my own also;"

and, when asked to specify what kind of observations, he gave, as the example, his having lived three days upon an estate in Nevis, Mr. Huggins's estate, the speaker at Nevis, where he educates eighty children, and has them taught sewing, reading, and writing, the same as in England.*

Captain Williams believed that flogging was very rare now; and the reason he gives for this belief is that so many persons in England have interested themselves in favour of the slaves. The flogging of women, he believed, however, was still continued; but he did not think that would disgust the men, they were so degraded. Even in this state of degradation, he thought the slaves more happy and comfortable than the English peasant; and he was so far from regarding this state of degradation as incompatible with happiness, that he should say that "it was better to remain in that state than to have it altered" (p. 304).

In the island of Jamaica he believed it was customary for the overseers to live with black and brown women: they had their favourites. He believed this to be the case generally, nor had he ever known a master to interfere with it. It is common when English gentlemen visit an estate to have black girls offered them. A servant offers the girls in the master's name, but there is no constraint: it is a custom; and the master he believes is aware of it. This is the custom "*not only in Jamaica but in all the islands.*" *And the master is aware of it "not only in Jamaica, but in the whole of the West Indies"* (page 305, 306).

At the close of Captain Williams's examination a kind friend stepped in to extricate him from some of his inconsistencies, and drew from him that the labour by which the slaves raise superfluities is so very easy that it cannot be compared to free labour, and furnishes no

* It is no small satisfaction to learn, on such authority as that of Captain Williams, the happy revolution which has taken place in Mr. Huggins's treatment of his slaves, since Lord Liverpool thought it right publicly to characterise his treatment of them as cruel, atrocious, and even murderous.—See House of Commons' Papers for 1814, No. 205, containing the proof of Mr. Huggins having, in the public market-place of Nevis, subjected 21 of his slaves, men and women, to upwards of 3000 lashes of the cart whip, one woman receiving 291, and one man 365.

presumption that they will work on estates even if remunerated ; and that, with regard to flogging females, separating husbands and wives and children, and some other existing evils, they may be got rid of or modified without putting an end to slavery itself.

Such is the evidence of this witness, thrust forward in the van of the apologists and vindicators of slavery. May all who attempt to varnish crime, and to reconcile the people of England to blood and oppression, be equally successful in their advocacy !

II.—WILLIAM ALERS HANKEY, Esq.

WILLIAM ALERS HANKEY, Esq., is the proprietor of a sugar estate in Trelawney, with 300 slaves upon it, yielding about 250 hogsheads, of 14 to 16 cwt. each. He never visited the West Indies. He knows Mr. Knibb, and has corresponded with him about his estate, for two or three years, on the subject of instructing his slaves, being decidedly favourable to their instruction. He felt it to be his duty to do so, a matter of absolute obligation upon himself, and essential to the best interests of the slaves. He should think so if he had merely a regard to his interests as a proprietor, but also from the situation he had held for 16 years as Treasurer of the London Missionary Society, which embraces and employs all denominations of orthodox Christians, including churchmen. The Baptists and Methodists have Societies of their own. His experience led him to believe that religious instruction even increased the value of the slave in the market, and that in no case had an insurrectionary spirit been encouraged, but checked and resisted, by missionaries. The Society does not force reading on proprietors who are averse to it, but they recommend and pursue it wherever they can. He admitted that the slaves when taught to read would read stimulating publications, and that, with the means of doing so, slavery could not long continue ; and yet he was not prepared to anticipate any general measure of emancipation at this moment. He was prepared to follow the course Government meant to pursue. He should feel it rash himself to precipitate the measure. He wished the Government to settle the whole question, and it would be his duty and happiness to forward the views of the Government. His disposition to favour emancipation rested on general views of humanity, and not on any idea of pecuniary advantage from the measure, though he admitted that West India affairs could not well be in a worse state than

at present. Even if his own interests were to be entirely merged in the measure, he trusted that his sense of moral and religious obligation would lead him to say the sacrifice must be made, still hoping it might not prove a sacrifice in the end. At the same time, Mr. Knibb must have misunderstood him, if he supposed him to connect the immediate emancipation of the slaves with Mr. Knibb's undertaking to instruct them. He had undoubtedly expressed himself anxious to see emancipation effected, being ready to express his abhorrence of the system in very strong terms, and he should at all times be ready to concur in any proper plan of effecting emancipation. He had also expressed and certainly felt horror at the treatment the missionaries had received in Jamaica. He had also spoken to Mr. Knibb of his desire to have his own slaves emancipated as soon as they were fully prepared, and he should be well contented, if it were prudent for Mr. Knibb, on other grounds, to return to Jamaica, that he should resume his labours among his slaves, feeling unshaken confidence in Mr. Knibb's integrity and determination to discharge aright his spiritual duties; and, in case of emancipation, he should consider the presence of such a person as highly desirable, if not necessary. He conceived, however, that measures of preparation ought to precede emancipation. Mr. Hankey inherited the estate he now has as a partner in his banking house. He is also a mortgagee of New Hope and Albany estates, and has been through life much connected with West Indian property. The measures Mr. Hankey himself had taken, in the way of preparation, were very slight and incipient. He had instructed the attorney, at his discretion, to stop some of the supplies usually granted to the Negroes, and to give them a compensation in money, that they might have an opportunity of being cognizant of their own wants, and thus take one little step towards the management of themselves under other circumstances; but the step had not yet been taken, the time being not yet come. He carries his notions so far that he conceives there is great moral guilt in slavery, and that, that guilt being national, the nation must be content to bear its share in the atonement it may involve. But he does not think the slaves yet prepared to make a proper use of freedom, and, therefore, to give them freedom immediately would be inexpedient. He has blamed the spirit of the colonists, and he has blamed the spirit shown by the advocates of freedom in this

country. He has never associated himself with either party. He is a friend to the *objects* of the Anti-Slavery Society, but not to the means it employs. He is a decided enemy to slavery in the abstract. But he thinks it a national crime rather than an individual one, and the nation should compensate the planter. He admits, however, that the Negro cannot, in *absolute* justice, be detained in slavery till this question is settled between the Government and the planter, and that the Negro, at least, owes nothing to the planter (p. 307—313).

Mr. Hankey admitted the incompatibility of Christianity with slavery as it now exists. Christianity cannot be so preached to the slave as to suppress the feelings of nature in respect to his own condition. The Negro cannot read the Bible without discovering that his state is incompatible with what the Bible enjoins; and yet he believes that Christianity furnishes the best guard against the evils apprehended from freedom, in the patience which it inspires, and the obedience to authority it requires. A period he conceives must come beyond which the proprietor cannot hold that unjust possession which he now has of his fellow man as a slave. He blames, however, the blazoning the wrongs of the Negro, as calculated to produce excitement in him without corresponding advantage. He thinks that indolence is a natural propensity of man, and that it is aggravated in the case of the Negro by his peculiar circumstances. Were he himself forced to work without remuneration he should do as little as he could. The hostility of the colonists was not caused, as he thought, by a Missionary being of this or that sect: it was directed against the pure and simple preaching of Christianity itself, whether preached by an Episcopalian or a Baptist. In his own case he had preferred the Baptists, because generally they were placed conveniently near his estate. The fundamental principles of all orthodox sects are the same. He had been only three years in possession of this estate, and he immediately began a correspondence on the subject. While Mr. Hankey thought the nation was bound to remunerate the planter for any loss he might sustain by emancipation, he fully admitted that the planter had no claim whatever on the Negro. The case was different with the nation. The nation had sanctioned and encouraged slavery, and the criminality of it was never thought of by his ancestor who advanced money on slave property. The feeling of its moral turpitude was a feeling of

modern growth, although that moral turpitude was always the same* (p. 314—317).

* High as is our respect for the character of Mr. Hankey, and much as we admire the openness and manly frankness with which he has expressed his opinions on this subject, we must confess that we have read some parts of his examination with feelings of deep regret and extreme astonishment. We think it due to him and to the public, as well as to ourselves, to state explicitly the grounds which have produced in our minds these feelings of surprise and regret.

1. Mr. Hankey admits as fully as any one can do “the moral guilt,” “the moral turpitude,” of slavery. He believes it to be “incompatible with Christianity,” and to be “opposed to the injunctions of scripture.” Still he seems to think it not an “individual” but “a national sin.” We had always thought hitherto that “national sins” were neither more nor less than the aggregate of the sins of the individuals composing a nation, and especially of those who, having a conscience of any particular sin, did not at least wash their own hands of it, and heartily concur in employing their influence, by all lawful means, to point out its criminality to others, and to induce them to aid in putting an end to it. We feel utterly at a loss to understand the process of reasoning by which Mr. Hankey, on his own principles, has arrived at his conclusions on this subject. With Mr. Hankey, we admit that the crime is national, and that the suffering for it ought to be national also; but surely it is not enough that we should suffer nationally, and nationally confess our sin, and endeavour to repair it; but that every individual for himself should renounce his share of the “accursed thing,”—should relinquish at least the “Babylonish garment,” and “the wedge of gold,” before he can stand clear in the sight of God or of his own conscience.

2. Mr. Hankey, however, feels some difficulty in pursuing this course, lest he should heap further wrongs on the slaves themselves. They are not “fit,” they are not “prepared,” to receive the measure of justice to which he avows that they are fully entitled. He at least must wait the *fiat* of the Government before he “lets the people go.” Be it so. Then has not Government intimated, in terms that cannot be mistaken, that there are certain measures which ought to be taken by all proprietors, and which they have themselves enforced, as far as they have had it in their power, on all proprietors who are subject to their legislation? Those measures it is in the power of every proprietor to adopt as the rule of his own conduct, whether his slaves are placed in a crown or in a chartered colony. Can Mr. Hankey show that he has gone this length? The wishes of the Government were very clearly and repeatedly announced and urged upon the attention of the colonists; and it is obvious that there was not one of them which any proprietor who chose to do so might not have adopted into his own plan of plantation economy. Did he wish to rescue his slave from all necessity of Sunday labour?

III.—JAMES DE PEYSTER OGDEN, Esq.

JAMES DE PEYSTER OGDEN, Esq., a native of New York. This gentleman proves that emancipation was attended with no danger

He might have done as Mr. Wildman did on his Jamaica estates : he might have given his slave, instead of the twenty-six week-days allowed by law, fifty-two week-days in the year, or, what would have been still better, seventy-eight days. He might also, with Mr. Wildman, have abolished the exhausting night labour of crop. He might have entirely interdicted, with that gentleman, the flogging of females. He might, moreover, have put down the driving whip in the field, as the immediate stimulus to labour. He might have introduced regulations as to marriage. He might have established for his own slaves the principle of compulsory manumission, and aided its operation in a variety of ways. And he might, moreover, have had a regular record of punishments, properly vouched, and transmitted to him from time to time. He might have done all this without going one step beyond the declared wishes of Government, and without infringing any one of the severe and oppressive enactments which load the statute-book of the colonial legislatures. Now which one of all these practicable and approved methods of lightening the oppressive yoke of slavery, and “preparing” the slave for freedom, has Mr. Hankey adopted? Has he adopted one? We fear not; and we fear it because, having been urged to state what preparatory steps he had adopted, he specified only one, and that one which was altogether superfluous and uncalled for. He instructed his attorney, at the beginning of the year 1832, to negotiate with his slaves a substitution of a money payment in lieu of the clothing and other articles of supply annually sent for their use from this country; and he did that in the hope that he might make them in some measure acquainted with the use and value of money. Nothing could have so well illustrated the utter ignorance of Mr. Hankey respecting the state and capacity of his slaves as this most futile and unnecessary project. He will probably have read the preceding part of this analysis before he peruses our present remarks; and he will then have learnt that the Negroes are as fully acquainted with the nature and use of money, and as capable of making a bargain for its acquisition and application, as any banker in Lombard or Fenchurch Street; and that this species of instruction is no more needed by his slaves than it would be to teach him the multiplication table.

3. But this is not half of what he might have done on his own principles. He wholly condemns the opposition of his fellow planters to the diffusion among their slaves of a knowledge of letters. He might, after Mr. Wildman's example, have had at least an elementary school on his estate. He might have found a man and his wife fully competent to the task, at no very heavy annual cost, compared

or inconvenience in the State of New York, the slaves being few, and the free overwhelming in point of number, namely 170 to one, and the process being also gradual. Mr. Ogden has correctly stated

at least with the importance of the object on his own showing, to have taught the young at least, if not also the old, to read the word of God. Above all he might have provided religious instruction, though to this hour nothing effective, we fear, has been done for that paramount object. He has stood at the head of a large religious society, which under his administration, and guided by his zeal, and vigilance, and talents, has been diffusing a knowledge of the saving truths of the gospel to the very ends of the earth. The islands of the South Seas, the myriads of China, the millions of Hindostan, the miserable hordes of Caffraria, and even the slaves of Guiana, have either heard, through this Society's labours of love, the glad tidings of salvation, or been enabled to read, in the Holy Scriptures, and in their own tongues, the wonderful works of God. Until recently, in the midst of all these mighty exertions of benevolence, his own slaves, his own household, seem to have been wholly overlooked. Was it impossible, with all the interest possessed by him and his family in the well being of so many of their fellow creatures, to do something at least to dissipate the heathen gloom which overshadowed them, and to shed some ray of light on their benighted souls? Could not even one solitary catechist be found, one man among the hundreds who have gone forth, under his auspices, throughout the length and breadth of the earth, as the heralds of mercy, who would have undertaken to convey some glimmering of light, some of that moral preparation which Mr. Hankey deems so indispensable, before he shall pay to his slaves the debt of justice which he owes them, by striking off their fetters and admitting them to the rights which God and nature have bestowed on them, but which he withholds on the very ground of their unpreparedness? Mr. Wildman succeeded, for he was in earnest, in procuring the means of religious instruction for his slaves. Was success of the same kind wholly unattainable in the case of Mr. Hankey?

4. But one word more and we have done. Mr. Hankey abjures all association with the Anti-Slavery Society. He does justice indeed to their object, and we thank him. But then their means of accomplishing that laudable object he cannot applaud or concur in. As far as we can guess his meaning, it would seem as if he alluded to their delineation of slavery and their occasional exhibition of its practical effects. "I would not," he says, "give a strong statement to the Negro of his wrongs," even though "those wrongs were grievous and severe. I would practically mitigate them; I would not expose them." Now this language seems to proceed on false assumptions in respect of the Anti-Slavery Society. They have never published a single line, and Mr. Hankey *must* have known that fact, in order to state *to the Negro* his wrongs, but in order to bring

that fact. But he has further stated, though without any data, that the moral habits of the emancipated persons have not improved, and that a great proportion of the petty larcenies are committed by them. The success of the experiment however in New York would be no criterion for judging of the effects of emancipation in the Southern

them to the view of those who could "practically mitigate them." The object of the Society, Mr. Hankey *must* be well aware, was not to address the Negroes, but the public and the parliament of Great Britain. And how were the public and the parliament to be stirred to a due consideration of the subject, or led practically to mitigate the evils of slavery, but by delineating its real nature, and exhibiting its real enormities? It was their best and wisest, nay their only course, and, but for that, the public and parliament might still have slumbered on in listless apathy. They had also another purpose to serve, that of rousing the slumbering consciences of those good men who acknowledged the authority of the Word of God, and who were unfortunately, like Mr. Hankey, owners of slaves, that they might not lay the flattering unction to their souls that they were not guiltless in this thing—that God would not one day require their brothers' blood at their hands, and therefore that they might sleep on and take their rest, leaving it to the nation to *atone* for their guilt, and settle the account for them, not only as a matter of profit and loss in this world, but of awful responsibility in the next. The Anti-Slavery Society might indeed have whispered into the ears of their friends the truths which they have thought it their duty to proclaim as from the house-top; but it may be doubted whether they would have moved a single individual, even Mr. Hankey himself, to take one step towards doing justice to their slaves by freeing them from their bonds. Mr. Hankey will not say that we have not truly described slavery and its effects, nor will he say that our descriptions have had no influence in producing those feelings on the subject, in his own mind, which have drawn from him so many candid admissions of the guilt and criminality, the injustice and moral turpitude, which belong to this most iniquitous system.

We should have been glad to have avoided the necessity of these comments, but we did not dare to decline them; and Mr. Hankey, having come forward at this critical period of our great question, and being in fact the representative of a very large class of West Indian proprietors, who call themselves, and we trust really are, sincere and orthodox Christians, but who, from that very circumstance, are able to accredit in the world both principles and practices which are far more nearly linked with evil than good, and have had the effect of producing, we are sorry to say, especially among many worthy and pious clergymen, and dignitaries of the Church of England, a lukewarmness on this question which has not tended to raise them in public estimation.

States, where the slave population amounts to two millions, being nearly a sixth of the whole population of the United States, estimating that at thirteen millions. The slave States are Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Florida and Arkansa territory. Sugar is grown in Louisiana and the Floridas, rice in these two States and in Georgia and the Carolinas, and cotton in all except Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky. The treatment of the slaves, he thinks, is generally good, and their food abundant. They increase rapidly. They are not allowed land of their own : the master feeds them. The emancipation of the slaves has not been agitated as a practical question in America. As for the Colonization Society, and its plan of transferring the blacks to Liberia, it can do nothing towards that object. The difficulty felt in America is what shall be done with the Negroes when they are freed. It is evident that rice and sugar can be cultivated only by blacks. Besides, slavery is guaranteed by the constitution ; and to indemnify the owners would cost at least four hundred millions of dollars, so that no plan of emancipation has been proposed. All that has been done is to limit the system of slavery to the States in which it now exists. The question of slavery has been discussed occasionally in the Northern States ; but the publications on the subject are not allowed to circulate in the Southern. Nothing has been done with a view to prepare the slaves for emancipation, by education or otherwise. The slave states dread the effects of education, and effectual precautions have been taken by them to prevent the diffusion of lettered knowledge. The Americans admit that personal freedom is more valuable than property ; but they apply that principle only to whites. He does not know that any thing has been done to encourage or to discourage religious instruction among the slaves. He cannot see any benefit the slaves, continuing slaves, could derive from education. He had seen many emancipated slaves who were very good characters, but he thought petty offences were frequent among that class.*

* The difficulty, after all, which the Americans deem so insuperable, that of disposing of the slaves when free, seems to us no difficulty at all. The slaves are now employed in agriculture ; nay, sugar and rice, it is said, cannot be cultivated but by blacks. We can see no good reason why the same persons may

IV.—ROBERT SCOTT, Esq.

ROBERT SCOTT, Esq. This gentleman is a Jamaica proprietor, and had resided in that island from 1802 to 1826, and again for a few months in 1828 and 1829. He had under his management at one time 4000 slaves,* and had visited different parts of the island ;

not cultivate these articles in a state of freedom as in a state of slavery. White men work in America : so do black men when free, and wages are given them for their labour. We are utterly at a loss to discover what there is in this particular problem which can puzzle Mr. Ogden, or raise a single difficulty in the mind of American statesmen, provided only they are willing to act on the principles of eternal justice. But see to what length of wickedness the free, enlightened, and Christian whites of America are driven, to maintain their cruel and usurped dominion over their black brethren. No nation values education and instruction more highly than the United States. Every state has made a point of establishing and supporting seminaries of learning adequate to the wants of its citizens, and common schools are provided “for the education of the poor gratis;” yet the benefits of education are withheld from the slaves, and even from the free Negroes also. South Carolina, as early as 1740, passed a law to punish with a fine of £100 any man who should teach a slave to write. Georgia followed the example. Virginia has enacted “that any meetings of slaves, or free Negroes, or mulattoes, at any school, or teaching them reading or writing, shall be deemed an unlawful assembly, and the magistrate may disperse it and inflict on the offender at his discretion twenty stripes.” South Carolina in a later act has declared any meeting unlawful which consists of slaves and free Negroes, and mulattoes, though there be whites among them, assembling for the purpose of *mental instruction*; and the officers who are required to disperse the meeting may inflict twenty lashes on each slave, free Negro, &c., so as to deter them from the like unlawful assemblage in future. In Savannah any person teaching any person of colour, slave or free, to read or write incurs a fine of thirty dollars for each offence; and every person of colour keeping a school to teach reading or writing to a fine of thirty dollars, or to be imprisoned ten days and flogged with thirty-nine stripes. Nor are they to meet for *religious worship*, but between sunrise and sunset. The only exception to the general bearing of these acts is in Louisiana, where it is enacted that it shall be the duty of the owner to procure for his sick slaves all kinds of temporal and spiritual assistance which their situation may require—a sort of death-bed charity.—

Stroud's Laws of Slavery. Philadelphia, 1827, p. 85—92.

* We cannot find that he is now proprietor of more estates than one, namely, Kinloss, which in 1831 had upon it 249 slaves, and in 1823, eight years before, 296, showing a decrease in that time of 47, or nearly 2 per cent. per annum.

but his concerns lay chiefly in the parishes of Hanover, St. James, Trelawney, and St. Ann. He had consequently great opportunities of becoming acquainted with the Negro character. On most plantations they have as much land as they can cultivate for themselves.—The time allowed them by law, twenty-six days, is not only amply sufficient to supply all their wants, but to enable them to sell great quantities of provisions. The usage, he says, was to give them more time, namely, every Saturday out of crop.* Few of the slaves work at all on Sunday. The market is on Sunday morning.† In Trelawney the distance from the market at Falmouth is generally ten miles; but the people from the town meet the people of the country half way.‡ He gives 100 barrels of herrings in the year to 250 Negroes § (p. 330, 331).

Mr. Scott denies that, on estates of a size to afford only two spells during crop-time (that is, all estates of the size of his own, having 200 to 250 Negroes), the Negroes work eighteen hours a day. || He admits, however, that it does amount to sixteen. He states, as one of

* If that were true, it would raise the number of days, estimating the time of crop at five months, to 30.

† In point of fact the first law which limited the market to Sunday morning, and that at eleven o'clock, was that of 1831, which is only recently in operation.

‡ This is a strange assertion. No market can be held at any place, by a law still in force (Act of 5th William and Mary, c. 6), but by appointment of justices in sessions. Let it be shown that any such intermediate markets are appointed, and what and where they are.

§ That is, less than six herrings a week for each.

|| He takes some pains to mystify a plain matter; for, by what possible arithmetic can it be made out that, where there are only two spells, and where the work of the mill and boiling-house is continuous night and day, and where the cancutting for supplying the mill goes on for twelve hours of the day, each spell, that is, each half of the gang, should not work half the night also, or six hours more, making eighteen in all?—See above, p. 33. Mr. Scott admits the work at the mill and boiling-house to be continuous, and yet he cuts off the two hours from six to eight in the evening, of which he makes no account in his estimate of the slave's sleepless hours; but there must be slaves at work during these hours as well as during all the other hours of the week. In fact the loss of rest amounts to nineteen hours *every* day instead of eighteen, at which we have placed it.

the inconveniences that would arise from the Negroes being free, that they might ruin the master by striking work in crop-time; but he admitted that that was an inconvenience to which the English manufacturer was equally liable, if the labourers, thinking themselves not adequately remunerated, struck for wages (p. 332—335). He admitted that cane-hole digging was hard work, and that, if the people did not do their work, the driver must coerce them. He carried a whip; but he believed he did not now use it, though formerly he did, but rarely, except by the direction of the overseer. He now uses switches for coercion; but seldom even these, if the people are under proper control (p. 336).*

The slaves in Jamaica, Mr. Scott thinks, are much better off than the people of this country have any idea of, nor so ill off as is supposed. Many of them, even of the field Negroes, by selling provisions pigs, and poultry, have a good deal of money. They all have pigs and poultry, and some have cattle. The possession of property unquestionably increases the diligence and industry of the slave. He did not know many slaves who had been emancipated, but he never knew any who hired themselves on an estate, except coopers and carpenters. They regard plantation work as degrading. Large sums, however, he said were annually raised in Trelawney for the relief of people of colour who were paupers. He was quite sure the largest proportion was raised for people of colour, and very little for whites. A return, however, from this very parish of Trelawney, of the distribution of the poor's rate for the five years from 1821 to 1825 inclusive was produced, from which it appeared that the whole sum raised in those five years was £6896; and that of that sum the expense of the poor-house, which is for the accommodation of poor whites, according to Mr. Scott's own testimony (quest. 5064), exhausted £1766; and that, of the remaining £5130, about two-thirds, or about £3420, was paid in pensions to whites, and only about £1690 to free black and coloured paupers—almost all females of the coloured class (probably the cast-

* That is, have been duly coerced into industry (see above, p. 14). But, if the driver has no power to flog but by the overseer's order, what means the clause in the very last slave Act (Act of 1831, § 33), which limits the driver to ten lashes in the absence of the overseer?

off mistresses, with their families, of whites who had died or quitted the country). This account is signed by James Shedden, the vestry clerk. (Papers of 1823, No. 353). Mr. Scott, however, seemed still to doubt the correctness of this return (p. 337 and 341).

Mr. Scott admitted that he had seen punishments inflicted to coerce labour, of which he disapproved, but not frequently. Without the knowledge that there was a power to coerce them, they would not work at all; he was quite certain of that. He thought the females would become excessively troublesome if they could not be flogged. They are much more difficult to manage than the men (p. 337).

When the slaves worked by task-work, they performed their day's work much more expeditiously, finishing it by two o'clock, and having the rest of the day for their own grounds. They did not work hard at any employment, but they will work harder when a task is set, or when they work for their own profit. He had known them carry loads for themselves which no compulsion could have made them carry.—They carry enormous weights to market sometimes (p. 338).

Mr. Scott is questioned as to the probability that the slave, in case of emancipation, would be willing to recognize the master's right to deprive him of the grounds which he had hitherto cultivated for his own use, unless he would consent to pay a rent for it. He doubts whether he would, but he had always known the slaves exceedingly averse to quit the spot where they had been settled: they would regard it as an act of spoliation* (p. 339). Mr. Scott, however, is so impressed with the disadvantage of being under compulsion, that he thinks a slave and a free man are not to be brought into comparison at all (p. 340). The slaves know how to make use of money very

* The main condition of the problem to be solved is here wholly kept out of view. The slave, when free, is to receive fair wages for his work; but would he, in that case, consider it as a spoliation that the master should say to him "If I pay you fair wages you must pay me a fair rent for my land?" When was it ever known that an emancipated plantation slave claimed to have a right to occupy land belonging to his former master? The circumstance of the strong attachment of slaves to their domicile, which Mr. Scott affirms, is the very ground from which we should derive the conviction that the slave, if free, would prefer to continue to occupy his present house and grounds, and to work for his master, paying a part of the wages he would earn, for the sake of retaining possession of them.

well (p. 341). He would not deny that the Negro may, in many cases, be levied upon for taxes, and sold into a distant part of the island, from his family and from his provision grounds; but this seldom happens with sugar estates under mortgage, which most of them are (p. 342).

Mr. Scott admits that he had never contemplated any plan by which it would be practicable to secure the cultivation of sugar in Jamaica by labour for wages, because he could not conceive the thing possible* (p. 342).

He is asked, evidently with a view to abate the force of Mr. Taylor's evidence, whether he should consider a person's experience of two years and a half in the management of 700 Negroes, having, moreover, been upwards of ten years in the island engaged in other pursuits, as competent to pronounce a judgment on such a plan; and answers, very candidly, that though he might regard any such plan with doubt, yet "a man of observation may certainly gain a good deal of experience in two years and a half. He considers, however, Mr. Taylor's plan to be quite chimerical (p. 345---347). His reasons for this conclusion will be found to be of a kind very naturally to be looked for in a man who had never contemplated the subject before; they cut both ways. He thinks that, if the emancipated slaves had grounds of their own, they could not be depended upon for labour; and if their labour were paid for in money, no food would be procurable but from abroad; and yet he admits they might make more profit by cultivating their grounds than by working on sugar estates. He gravely doubts whether the two plans might not be combined of both growing provisions enough as they do now, and yet cultivating sugar for wages; and he strengthens this doubt by a vague reference to history. Sugar lands, this experienced planter tells the committee, are not convertible to any other purpose than sugar. He cannot deny, indeed, that they might be easily converted into pasture; but then, he adds,

* A gentleman is brought forward by the West India body, to represent their views, in a committee appointed to consider the measures most proper for effecting the extinction of slavery, and he tells the committee that he had never even *contemplated* the possibility of any such measure! Where can he have lived for the last ten years

cattle would be of no value if sugar estates were abandoned.* The pens now rear more than the planters require. Sugar lands, he also admits, might grow provisions (p. 348, 349).

Mr. Scott says, confidently, that the Creoles in Jamaica increase, though the Africans may not; but his speculations on population and the theory of labour and wages, which he has evidently contemplated as little as he has plans of emancipation, may be passed over without any injury to his own cause (p. 350, 351). Being further questioned, he was led fully to admit that the slaves, being much attached to their present homesteads, would, if made free, be glad to pay rent for their present lands, and would be disposed to cultivate provisions to the full extent for which they could find a market, and when they had done that, and overstocked the market, they would gladly take wages from the sugar and coffee planter (p. 352).

Mr. Scott knew the maroons, and he admitted they were very well behaved, and required no strong police to keep them in order. With respect to the slaves, he also admitted that if nothing unreasonable were exacted from them they were easily managed, and patient and submissive, although there were ordinarily on an estate of 250 slaves only three or four white persons to govern them and maintain order. If nothing unreasonable is required, they are very obedient

* Thus we learn that in Jamaica cattle are of no value but to draw canes to the mill and sugar to the wharf! These are, doubtless, important uses. But is he not aware that in other countries than Jamaica cattle have other still more important purposes to answer? Is it of no importance to cheapen food? Admiral Fleming was obliged to pay a shilling a pound in Jamaica for meat which he could procure in Hayti for twopence a pound, while the people of Hayti were chiefly fed with beef. Did Mr. Scott never contemplate the effect of 330,000 emancipated slaves being fed with beef reared in Jamaica, instead of being fed with a few miserable salt herrings imported from abroad; or being shod, as in Hayti, with the leather made from the hides of the cattle that were thus eaten? In England, where there is a free population, cattle, he knows, is valuable as food as well as for work. Might it not be so in Jamaica? A sugar planter, like Mr. Scott, of 20 years' experience, has never learnt to think of cattle but for purposes of draught. His views travel only between the cane field and the mill house, and between the curing house and the shipping place. The pens, he says, breed more cattle now than the planters require. He never has meditated, for one moment, what a free population might require in the way of food.

and require no harsh treatment whatever (p. 352). This is an important feature in the Negro character.

Mr. Scott thought the slaves were better treated than formerly. The Creoles require less punishment than savage Africans, and are less frequently punished ; but he thought they worked as much and produced as much as ever. His own slaves received no education whatever. They went to church or chapel if they thought proper. The clergyman of Trelawney superintended the Negroes, if they went to him, and they did frequently go to him. When he first went to Jamaica he cannot say the parochial clergy paid any attention to the slaves : the Bishop made a change, and the clergy became more alert. The slaves he thought very imperfectly instructed indeed. The Negroes were mostly christened ; but it did not follow from this that they knew any thing of Christianity (p. 353).

Mr. Scott, though in charge for many years of 4000 slaves, and now a proprietor of 250, has no idea what is the cost of rearing a slave. He professes to know nothing of the progress of population on sugar estates and pens ; but, he thinks, if the Negroes were educated and civilized they would become more moral and increase faster (p. 354).

Mr. Scott however thought it possible that Negroes might be over educated, though certainly he admitted they were not so as yet, nor likely to be so for some time to come (p. 355).

There is now, he thinks, scarcely any profit at all from West India property ; on the contrary, proprietors, in many instances, are getting deeper and deeper in debt. He attributes this to the low prices of sugar and rum, and these low prices he attributes to over-production : more is made than can be consumed. Being asked whether it is possible to keep up a system of over-production which can profit the planter, and whether land therefore should not be withdrawn from sugar cultivation, he assents to that, but says, the ruin of many must be the consequence.* In case of emancipation land would become valueless : no one would take it. Being asked whether there is any country in the world where there is plenty of land to let and a number of people to be maintained where land did not let, " Yes," says

* If men will embark in hazardous speculations, and continue to pursue them after gain has become hopeless and loss certain, what can follow in any part of the world, or in any mode of employment, but ruin?

Mr. Scott, "but there must be a different description of people to deal with;" and yet he admits (quest. 5387) that Negroes are human creatures, influenced in the same way as whites. He admits too that the Negro is industrious in his own grounds, and raises food for himself and family, and buys comforts, and luxuries, and finery, though compelled to work so many hours for his master; yet now he has the advantage of being under control: if he were free it would be very different.—He is asked whether he thought that the desire of good food, and fine clothing, and the luxuries of life, or the love of money, supposing a man to have earned some as a slave, would cease the moment he became free and had more time to indulge all these desires: he reluctantly, at length, admitted that it was not in nature that they should (p. 536, 537).

Mr. Scott being asked whether provisions, as beef, pork, butter, &c., might not be raised abundantly in Jamaica so as to supersede the necessity of importing them from abroad, replied, he thought not; they must still have salt beef, &c., as fresh beef would not keep.*

He refers to his knowledge of history, and cites St. Domingo (where good beef, according to Admiral Fleming, is always to be had fresh at twopence per pound). He then dwells on the difficulties of increasing the quantity of provisions and cattle. There would be no "labourers except the sugar estates were abandoned." And yet Mr. Scott had before stated that the planters were dying of a plethora of sugar, and this notwithstanding, no labourers could be turned from that ruinous speculation to raise fresh beef at a fourth of the price they pay for wretched salt beef from Cork!! (p. 357.)

Cane-hole digging, Mr. Scott thinks, is not such tremendous work as might be supposed. It is not so hard as digging ditches, cutting down hills, or filling up ravines, as is done by English labourers; but then he admits it to be a little hotter in Jamaica, though the Negroes

* This is certainly one of the most extraordinary reasons ever given by man for voluntarily foregoing the use of wholesome fresh meat and butter, supplied from the daily market, and having recourse to Ireland for stale salted beef, and pork, and butter. Would he not himself prefer good fresh beef at twopence a pound, fresh from the slaughter, to Irish salted beef at sixpence or eightpence a pound, full, as it often is, of rotteness and vermin? And why might not such a daily market exist in every part of Jamaica?

do not dislike the heat; and he admits, also, that the women of Jamaica dig cane-holes as well as the men: he does not say that in England they dig ditches, cut down hills, and fill up ravines.

He concludes his evidence by a statement of the clothing given annually to his 260 slaves. It averages as follows :---About four yards of a coarse narrow woollen cloth called Pennistones, and about nine yards of a coarse stuff made of tow or flax called Osnaburgh, and about two and a half yards of check or long ells; and this is all!

V.—JAMES SIMPSON, Esq.

JAMES SIMPSON, Esq. was engaged in commerce in Jamaica for 24 years nearly. He left it in 1828. He had been the representative of many absent proprietors, being intimately acquainted with the island generally, and particularly with Vere, Clarendon, St. Mary, St. George, St. Andrew, St. David, Port Royal, and St. Thomas in the East, and a little with St. Elizabeth, Manchester, and Hanover. Mr. Taylor had been a partner of his for ten years; and, though he visited some of his estates occasionally, Mr. Simpson was jealous of his designs and projects, and only allowed him to visit those estates where the immediate managers were prudent men, and where there was a high state of discipline. Mr. Simpson, however, admits that he did not take any pains to ascertain what Mr. Taylor's views and purposes were, and he actually knew of them, though Mr. Taylor was ten years his partner, only from hearsay. One project, however, gave him great alarm, a project which he learned, not from Mr. Taylor himself, but from one of the overseers, who, doubtless, had his own private reasons for disliking and distorting the project. The plan was that of "separating the sexes, and taking means to prevent their intercourse; and locking up the women at night to prevent the men from having access to them"* (p. 360).

* We cannot wonder either at the alarm produced by such a scheme among the overseers and attorneys of Jamaica, or at the absurdity of the exaggeration with which Mr. Simpson, without asking Mr. Taylor for any distinct explanation, has thought proper to bring it forward as a grave piece of evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons. Did Mr. T. mean any thing more than that which every man of common morality must desire—that marriage should be encouraged, and concubinage discouraged on plantations, and that, above all, the overseers

Mr. Taylor, it is admitted by Mr. Simpson, disliked Jamaica, its occupations, and society, and wished to quit them all and enter the church. Mr. Simpson opposed his retiring, and entreated him to remain. In 1827, however, Mr. Simpson altered his views respecting Mr. Taylor, and then urged him to retire from the house as strongly as he had before pressed him to remain in it. He even forced him to retire, and the connexion was dissolved* (p. 360, 361).

Mr. Simpson had at one time under his charge from 7000 to 8000 slaves. He had, therefore, every opportunity, he conceives, of forming a correct judgment of the character and circumstances of slaves; and his decided conviction is that, generally speaking, nay, almost universally, with some exceptions, they would not work voluntarily for wages in the cultivation of sugar. He admits that the emancipated slaves, at that part of St. Thomas in the Vale called Above Rocks, do supply the markets of Spanish Town and Kingston with provisions, and that they do frequently carry them thither, a distance of upwards of twenty miles. There are, however, he affirms, intermediate market-places within every five miles, at which they may sell their goods; but he does not mention where or what they are, or give them any name.†

and book-keepers should be positively interdicted from converting each estate into a brothel, and corrupting, by their facilities of intercourse, all the young women upon it, from the earliest age of puberty? Does not Mr. Simpson, in his conscience, believe that this was the extent of Mr. Taylor's non-intercourse scheme? and, if he does believe it, is his evidence fair evidence? It was a grievous mistake in Mr. Simpson to expect that his sneer against such a project would be received in the Committee of a British House of Commons with the derision with which it would have been listened to in a company of attorneys and overseers meeting at his dinner table in Kingston. It furnishes a melancholy exemplification of the state of morals and manners in Jamaica.

* The time, therefore, of this change of feeling towards Mr. Taylor, on the part of Mr. Simpson, seems to have been the very time when Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Wildman had resolved on conducting Mr. Wildman's estates on more humane principles than had hitherto governed planting concerns in Jamaica. (See above, p. 21.)

† This discovery, now first heard of, of intermediate market-places between Above Rocks and Kingston or Spanish Town, is not a little extraordinary. Mr. Simpson, as much stress seems laid on the circumstance, ought to have specified them more clearly, together with the order of the justices in session by which they

He is not aware of any emancipated slaves offering themselves to cultivate sugar on estates. Labourers are often wanted, but *they* never offer themselves. He is persuaded the time allowed to the Negroes for cultivating their grounds is ample, and that there is no necessity for going, and that few slaves do go, to their grounds on Sunday* (p. 362, 363).

Mr. Simpson is next questioned about spell-keeping in crop-time, and he gives the same untenable account of it which has been already exposed, denying that the slaves keeping spell during the night are limited to six hours' rest in the twenty-four, in cases where the population of the estate only allows of two spells (see above, p. 33). The slaves, according to Mr. Simpson, are never exhausted by their labour. Dancing, and performing attitudes and evolutions, and festive nights, when he visited the estates, proved how little they had been exhausted by the labour of the day (p. 364).

Cane-hole digging seldom exceeds a third of the cane land in cultivation, and, in some cases, very little cane-hole digging is required (p. 365).

He is decidedly of opinion that Negroes would certainly not work voluntarily if they had the means of procuring food. They are naturally indolent, and would not be induced to work so long as by plunder or otherwise they could obtain the means of subsistence. It is very difficult to get them to work without some stimulus or other. The whip has been resorted to; but he had been anxious to discontinue its use: he tried to do without it, particularly on one estate called Albion, belonging to Mr. Robert Hibbert, of Chalfont, Bucks, having more than 500 Negroes; but he was forced to resume it, and made

have been appointed, and the name of the clerk of the market by whom its transactions are regulated; for there is a clerk of every *legally* constituted market-place in the island. And let him also state what population there is at each of these market-places, which occur within every five miles, to arrest the progress of the venders of provisions in their way to the markets of Spanish Town and Kingston.

* The *West Indian* evidence to confute this statement is quite overwhelming, independently of what appears in the preceding pages. See *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. ii. No. 41, p. 315; and vol. v. No. 92, p. 24. The unhesitating boldness of such assertions is altogether amusing.

so effectual a use of it for a time that he restored order and re-animated industry ; and now, he understands, it is laid aside. And yet he affirms that the Negroes do not work under the terror of the lash, even when they do not act under its impulse* (p. 365, 366).

Mr. Simpson fully admits that the slaves not only work for their masters, but that they raise sufficient food to supply themselves and all the markets in Jamaica, and thus to buy ornamental clothing and articles of finery, and to acquire considerable property, even to the amount of from £200 to £3000 ; yet he despairs of being able to persuade them of the reasonableness, when they become free, of paying a rent for the use of the land, the master's property. The slave would consider such a demand as an outrage on his own property ; and, therefore, to expect him to work for wages, and pay rent for land, is a scheme wholly chimerical, actually impossible, utterly impracticable† (p. 370, 371).

Then, as to a police composed of the free people of colour and others, in order to preserve the peace of the island, he pronounces in the most positive and unqualified terms on its utter absurdity and impracticability‡ (p. 371). Against Mr. Taylor's proposal of sti-

* Was ever any thing heard from the mouth of a reasoning being at all to be compared to this evidence of the absolute master of the comfort and happiness of 7000 or 8000 human beings ? The Negroes, he affirms, will not work if free for any thing beyond mere food ; and even not that, if they can live by plunder. Yet they work so well at present on Albion estate, without the terror of the lash, that there is no room to complain of either their order or industry. Now what is the stimulus employed ? Is it wages ? He does not say that it is ; and it is evident that the stimulus of wages had never entered his mind at all as a means of exciting industry ;—for, when Mr. Hibbert's 500 Negroes slackened in their industry, he restored it, not by any such means ; no, he restored it by the good old Jamaica way—he “ resumed the whip, and made some examples.” The cart-whip, then (but Mr. Simpson will not allow us to call it the cart-whip), or “ the driver's whip,” for ever ! This is Mr. Simpson's grand specific.

† Is this common sense and common consistency, or is it the mere raving of inveterate and incurable prejudice ?

‡ Mr. Simpson evidently had it in view by this answer to stultify his old friend and partner Mr. Taylor ; but it so happens that he has stultified along with him the Council and Assembly of Jamaica ; for, without any debate, they have embodied into an Act dated April 28, 1832, and which we have reason to be-

pendiary magistrates as protectors he is equally decided ; it is wild and visionary.

Mr. Simpson is also strongly of opinion that the missionaries have no title to give any opinion of the character and disposition of the Negroes : knowledge so limited as theirs could afford no opportunity of judging either of the Negro character or of their treatment and their habits (p. 372).

He considers the Negroes in general as intelligent, and as to be worked upon more by kindness and conciliation than by compulsion ; but he does not think them intelligent enough to understand that they must work in a state of freedom for their own subsistence, or accept of wages for working ; so that emancipation would necessarily be followed by the abandonment of all cultivation, and therefore by the most pernicious consequences to themselves (p. 575).—If Mr. Simpson is himself more intelligent than the Negroes, he certainly has not the faculty of making his views of human nature either intelligible or consistent.

Mr. Simpson has known slaves who were instructed by the ministers of the church of England and Scotland, and he has given them instruction himself, and he has also attended Sunday schools, and he observed that instruction produced a great improvement in their general conduct, and a great superiority in all respects to others. He had also admitted on one of his estates a Wesleyan missionary, with whom he was satisfied. But he supposed, though he had no personal knowledge of any such circumstance, that religious instruction, injudiciously administered, might do harm (p. 376).

When Mr. Simpson left the island Sunday markets were being dis-

lieve has actually received the royal assent, a plan of police as nearly resembling that of Mr. Taylor as could well have been framed. We would advise him to consult that Act forthwith. It is the 28th chapter of the 2nd of William the Fourth. We ask no better, safer, and more efficient police for the purpose of averting all danger from emancipation than that which has been so wisely and providently planned and adopted by the local legislature. The work is done—the machinery is ready ; and it may be considered as furnishing a test for appreciating the respective titles of Mr. Simpson and Mr. Taylor to public confidence, both on this point and on the plan of paying wages to the emancipated slave for his labour, against which Mr. Simpson is equally furious.

continued, and Saturday markets more frequent. The slaves had thus an opportunity of attending worship on Sundays.*

The slaves, whom he knew to possess as much as £3000, were in the habit of hiring other persons to attend to their concerns (p. 377) (a fact, however, not very consistent with other parts of Mr. Simpson's evidence). These hired persons work separately, and, of course, without compulsion. Slaves also often rent themselves of their master, paying to him a certain proportion of their earnings; this is frequently done by slave mechanics by monthly or annual payments; but he never knew it done for field labour.† Mr. Simpson could not recollect any instance of persons of colour possessing property acquired by their own exertions. He found, however, that the slaves, when improved by religious instruction, became more temperate and more industrious, and thus increased their personal property; and, he thinks, this effect of religious instruction is perfectly well known to all planters: they are deeply sensible of it.‡

Mr. Simpson says he was in the habit of giving to his slaves, for the purpose of religious instruction, as much in some cases as one day in the week. This he represents as having been generally done; and he cites the fact as a decisive proof of the universal desire to give religious instruction to the slaves (p. 380).||

Mr. Simpson denies most stoutly that there is any severity in the

* The utter untruth of this statement we shall take another opportunity of exposing more fully.

† And can this be wondered at?

‡ We shall never cease our astonishment at the evidence of this planter.

|| We must frankly say that we greatly doubt this statement. Mr. Simpson must certainly labour under some defect of memory. We, therefore, call upon him to name the estate or estates under his charge on which a day in the week was so given to the slaves for their religious instruction, together with the year or years in which such grants were made, and the person whom he employed, on the day thus appropriated, to convey to the slaves this religious instruction, and who, we presume, must have been some minister or missionary. We are willing to stake the accuracy of the whole of Mr. Simpson's evidence on the correctness or incorrectness of this one fact, when established by adequate proof. The original plantation journals must still be in existence; and we are willing to submit to their inspection as the test of its truth.

treatment of slaves, or that there is any difficulty in their obtaining redress for any well-founded complaint; but that they are very apt to complain on slight or no grounds. And, in illustration of this fact, he tells a long story of a complaint preferred, not by a slave, but by a white medical gentleman, against an overseer with whom he had quarrelled, and which, on investigation, proved to have had no foundation in truth. This story brings out incidentally a circumstance of some importance. It is admitted that formerly it was very possible for masters or overseers to employ force to subject the slaves under them to their licentious appetites. But, adds Mr. Simpson, such a thing would now be impossible: no man would dare to attempt it; or if he did the female, on repairing to a magistrate, would obtain instant redress* (p. 381).

There then follows, in pages 382 to 390, an examination of Mr. Simpson on West Indian economics, in which we shall not attempt to follow him, because to us it is utterly unintelligible; in many parts, we can say with truth, most inaccurate; and totally at variance with notorious facts (p. 382—386).

The value of the clothing given to the slaves, Mr. Simpson esti-

* Mr. Simpson may possibly have been acquainted with the Rev. Mr. Trew, the late Rector of St. Thomas in the East, in Jamaica. Let him, then, turn to the testimony of that gentleman, as he will find it in the 4th volume of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 76, pp. 107 and 108, for a contradiction of every part of his present apologetical statement; and he has only to consult the Index to that work for numerous proofs of the inaccuracy of the assertion so confidently made by him of the certainty of redress for even undisputed acts of cruelty. The contrary stands on official documents, which cannot be contradicted, and all of recent occurrence. Besides, let us ask Mr. Simpson to point out a single clause in any one act of the Jamaica statute book which, down to the year 1832, inflicts the very slightest penalty on any overseer who puts a female slave in the stocks all night, and works her all day in the field for weeks together; or who orders that same female to have her limbs exposed naked to the gaze of the whole gang, and to receive, upon her bared posteriors, 39 lashes of the cart-whip, and even to repeat these 39 lacerations the moment the former wounds are healed. We challenge him (and we permit him to call Mr. Burge, the late Attorney-General of Jamaica, to aid him in making out his case) to point out any such law.

mates at 35s. or 40s. a head. On turning to Mr. Scott's evidence (see above, p. 146), we find his account (not one of mere estimate, but of actual distribution) to be somewhat different. It may be thus stated:—4 yards of pennistones, 5s.; 9 yards of Osnaburgh, 4s. 6d.; $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards of check, 2s.: in all 11s. 6d. But let it be taken with all charges at 15s., and we shall still be very far below Mr. Simpson's estimate (p. 386).

One of the allowances Mr. Simpson states to be regularly made to the slave on an estate is about three shillings' worth weekly of sugar and rum, all the year round. This of itself would make for each slave £7. 16s. a year; and would amount to about 3 cwt. of sugar and 50 gallons of rum to each in a year. Can this possibly be true?—There must be some strange habit of miscalculation or some singular defect of memory about this witness. It must be admitted that Mr. Simpson has guarded against the charge of wilful inaccuracy; for he has told us (quest. 5756 and 5757) that it is utterly out of his power (though he has had charge of upwards of 7000 Negroes belonging to absent proprietors, and still, we presume, has charge, by means of his commercial house in Kingston, of a considerable number) to give information respecting the various items of expense attending West Indian estates. Of one thing, indeed, he seems to be quite certain, namely, that on the Duke of Buckingham's estate of Hope the Negroes have the opportunity of realizing about £125 annually for every three acres of land they may be able to cultivate on the 1000 acres of land attached to that estate, and appropriated to their use; so that, supposing the number of able slaves upon it to be one-third of its population, that population being, in 1830, 368, the annual income within their reach would amount to about £15,500. Is this quite credible?

There follows, at pages 391 and 392, a not very seemly attempt to put the credit due to the representations of Admiral Fleming in competition with those of Admiral Halsted and of Mr. Simpson; but, we apprehend, with pretty much the same success which we have already shown to have attended the attempt to discredit the statements of Mr. Taylor: but we pass over that part of the evidence as wholly immaterial to the real objects of the enquiry.

Mr. Simpson farther testifies that from the time he had taken charge of estates, which was about the year 1817 or 1818, he had

done all he could to encourage marriage amongst the slaves; and that marriage was accordingly frequent* (p. 394).

The emancipated Negroes employ themselves in different ways. They are seldom seen in distress. Then come some admissions of the comforts and luxuries that slaves are enabled to procure, but which they would not, according to Mr. Simpson, have the same facilities of procuring when they are free.—There is such an utter extravagance in supposing that a man whose seven days in the week are his own should have fewer facilities of accumulating property than the man who has only twenty-six week-days in the year and his Sundays, that we are at some loss to divine Mr. Simpson's end in giving such evidence. He cannot expect it to be received as true (quest. 5931). But what are those facilities? The horses, and cattle, and waggons, and wains of their masters and of themselves. And this is said by one who, living in Kingston for twenty-four years, must have been the weekly witness how few of the slaves coming to the Kingston market had any means of conveyance but their heads, on which their loads were brought into town on the Sunday morning (p. 398, 399).

Mr. Simpson does not believe in the efficacy of wages to induce the slaves to work. He admits, however, that during his twenty-four years' stay in Jamaica, and with his extensive means of making experi-

* The parishes in which Mr. Simpson states himself to have been chiefly concerned are Vere, Clarendon, St. Mary, St. George, St. Andrew, St. David, Port Royal, and St. Thomas in the East. Now we have parliamentary returns of the marriages which took place in these parishes of Jamaica, from 1808 to 1825 inclusive, the very period during which Mr. Simpson exercised his large powers; and the results during those seventeen years are as follows, showing clearly that marriages cannot have been very frequent, and that in some parishes they have been remarkably rare, viz.—

Vere	containing 8,000 slaves	marriages in seventeen years	2
Clarendon	„ 17,000 „	„	3
St. Mary	„ 25,000 „	„	176
St. George	„ 12,000 „	„	161
St. David	„ 8,000 „	„	201
Port Royal	„ 6,000 „	„	27
St. Thomas in the East	„ 26,000 „	„	2643

From St. Andrew the returns are wanting for the last five years (see the Parliamentary Papers for 1823, No. 347, and for 1826, No. 353). The result in St. Thomas in the East is owing to the zeal of the Rev. Mr. Trew.

ments, he had never tried the effect of wages on the slave, nor endeavoured to ascertain whether he might not work for remuneration as well as from compulsion. This is a remarkable fact, and at least explains Mr. Simpson's prejudice against free labour. He says, cane-hole digging and the whole work of a sugar estate is far from laborious; for women perform it as well as men: and yet he is quite confident that Negroes, when free, will never be prevailed upon, by any inducement, to cultivate sugar (p. 400)!

Mr. Simpson is again examined about night work and spell keeping in crop, and again puzzles himself and the committee most completely. It is evident that Mr. Simpson never kept spell himself, or he would have been able to make the matter intelligible.

Mr. Simpson states the fact of a naval officer having gone on an estate as a guest, and having drawn up a long string of questions, which he addressed to one of the book-keepers to be answered, and the book-keeper answered many of them; and this fact is produced as proving the liberality of the planters of Jamaica (p. 402). Mr. Simpson, however, ought in fairness to have given the sequel of this affair, which the reader will find in a note below.*

Mr. Simpson affirms (quest. 6011) that he, the attorney of 7000 slaves, never knew of *any* whip being used in the field in Jamaica.—This is certainly a most extraordinary assertion; and it proves most incontestibly either that Mr. Simpson has lost his memory or that he is determined at all hazards to whitewash slavery. The assertion, we

* The book-keeper in question lived in the year 1824 on Yarmouth, in Vere, an estate belonging to Lord Dudley, and was a very warm partizan of the pro-slavery cause. He wrote many papers in the Royal Gazette, during the years 1823 and 1824, under the assumed signature of "The Hermit in Vere," for which Mr. Simpson may refer to the files of those Gazettes at the Colonial club-room. A naval officer visited Yarmouth, and certainly gave to this book-keeper a long list of very pertinent questions, which the book-keeper undertook to answer. A copy of those questions is now in this country. They were brought hither by the book-keeper himself, who was deprived of his employment, and forced to quit Jamaica, for having dared to listen for one moment to such an application. His previous services to the pro-slavery cause availed him nothing; and he was actually persecuted to such a degree that he was forced to return to England, in consequence of the determination of the planters to refuse him employment. He convinced some planter in this country, we believe Mr. Watson Taylor, that all

take it upon us to say, is so manifestly untrue as of itself to render the whole of his evidence absolutely valueless.*

VI.—WILLIAM MIER, Esq.

Mr. MIER is a native of the United States. He possessed in Georgia 500 slaves; and, from his knowledge of the Negro character, is led to doubt whether they would be disposed to work for wages. Slaves are very seldom emancipated in Georgia. The Americans are very tenacious of this species of property. They value it more than gold itself. No publications relative to slavery are permitted in Georgia. Though half of the Georgia slaves are Africans, yet they increase at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum; and the increase continued to 1822. The labour of growing and pounding rice was particularly hard (p. 366—369).

this persecution was unmerited, and he was sent back by him to one of his estates, where he soon after died. And this is Mr. Simpson's exemplification of the liberality of Jamaica planters!

* We need go no further to prove the utter falsehood of Mr. Simpson's statements on this point than the pages of the Royal Gazette, and other papers of Jamaica, during the session of the Assembly in 1826, when the disallowed slave act of that year was under discussion. It was not even proposed on that occasion that the *driving-whip* in the field should be abolished, but merely that the cat should be substituted for the cart-whip in the coercion of labour. "If we adopt such an innovation," said Mr. Hilton, "in the *established usages* of the colony, now that the Duke of Manchester is about to leave the island, the slaves will imagine that our conduct has been disapproved by the king, and that we have been compelled to relinquish the whip, and with it every means of punishment and restraint." Mr. Mair declared that the slaves preferred "the cart-whip" to every other instrument of punishment, as being more manly, switches, &c., being only fit for children. Others confirmed the fact of the preference of "the cart-whip" to switches, as in the case of that instrument there were limits, but not to the use of switches. Many of our readers will recollect Mr. Barrett's speech on that occasion. The whole of it turns on the use of the "cart-whip," which he declares to be a horrid instrument. Mr. Barrett is now in England, and he and Mr. Simpson may settle the matter between them. Mr. Simpson's words are, "I never knew of the cart-whip being used." This is a most complete stultification both of Mr. Barrett and of the Jamaica Assembly, if it be not rather a complete stultification of Mr. Simpson himself.

VII.—THE REV. JOHN SHIPMAN.

VII. The Rev. JOHN SHIPMAN, a Wesleyan Missionary.—The whole of this gentleman's examination turned on the wholly unimportant resolutions adopted by some of the Wesleyan Missionaries in Jamaica in 1824, and afterwards disallowed by their superiors at home (p. 405—416).

VIII.—THE REV. ROBERT YOUNG.

The Rev. ROBERT YOUNG, another Wesleyan Missionary.—This gentleman's examination is also chiefly directed to that which forms the subject of Mr. Shipman's examination. Mr. Young gives it as his opinion that the justice, mercy, brotherly kindness, and charity of the Gospel are unfriendly to slavery, and in their full development must put an end to every system of oppression, and liberate every slave. He did not think that, with the knowledge the slaves now possessed, they could be detained in bondage much longer. Slavery is the parent of numberless vices; it corrupts both the master and the slave; the principles of Christianity are therefore directly opposed to it, and without abolishing slavery altogether he did not think its evils could be obviated. At the time that he was in the island there was perfect impunity for any outrage committed on a slave, if there was no evidence to prove it but that of slaves. He was five years in Jamaica, and left it in 1826. The flogging of females he regards as an outrage on all decency, directly opposed to every feeling of Christianity, and calculated to sour and brutalize the minds of all concerned.

IX.—WILLIAM SHAND, Esq.

WILLIAM SHAND, Esq., went first to Jamaica in 1791, left it in 1823, returned in January 1825, and quitted it finally in May 1826. The number of slaves under his charge was from 18,000 to 20,000, on estates in almost every parish in the island. He resided for a considerable part of the time in Vere, Clarendon, St. Andrew's, and St. Catherine's. He was long engaged in the management of estates and had therefore an opportunity of being acquainted with the Negro character. Mr. Shand begins with affirming that six days are quite sufficient to enable the slave to raise more than is necessary for

him for the whole year, so that he has twenty week days, three holidays, and all the Sundays, to do what he pleases with. The allowance of salt fish is about 450 or 500 barrels for 1230 Negroes.* The old and infirm are generally attended to by their own families. If they have no families, the master provides.

Mr. Shand mystifies the subject of spell and night work in the same extraordinary way in which we have seen it already done by his brother planters; but we need not recur to that topic (p. 430).

Mr. Shand never saw any gloom in the slaves. They are more contented and better provided for than the lower classes in this country and Scotland, and their labour is much lighter. The great mass of emancipated slaves are very idle, frequently keep slave women, and are in a great measure supported by them. They generally remain on the master's estate, living with women upon it. He never knew any of them work in the field. He knew no instance of freed slaves working for wages. They live very much by pilfering their neighbours' coffee. A man of observation in three years may learn a good deal; but Mr. Taylor's plans were not much liked in Jamaica. He thought differently of slaves from all around him, and treated them differently. He was not, in Mr. Shand's opinion, competent to be a witness respecting the Negro's situation and character. He had not been regularly bred a planter (p. 431—434).

In many situations the Negro, after he has established a certain quantity of provisions, may rear food for himself by one day's labour in the year, and he knew of no situations where he might not do so by a week's labour or even less. A Negro, indeed, may almost subsist on what nature produces, with merely the slight trouble of collecting it. Every Negro may have all kinds of articles if he chooses to be industrious, but very few have the luxuries they might have. They would not be generally disposed to work in order to gratify artificial wants. Emancipated Negroes do not, either in Jamaica, or in St. Domingo, or in Trinidad, acquire industrious habits, nor are they useful and industrious. In Jamaica, some are tradesmen; some live with slave women on estates, and are extremely idle; and others by receiving stolen goods. If the slaves were made free, they would be exactly in the state of the Negroes of St. Domingo. He never knew any

*. That is only, on the average, four or five herrings a week to each.

Negro work in the field after being made free : nothing useful is to be expected from them, and least of all sugar planting. Those who live in towns acquire no property : what they have has been bequeathed to them. He does not recollect an instance of any who have acquired property by their own exertions. If the blacks are made free, neither white nor coloured persons can remain there. Nothing could be done by a police to preserve due subordination (p. 434—437).

Several years ago the established church was doubled in Jamaica, and many places of worship, both of the churches of England and Scotland and of dissenters, built. He believes the motives for doing so were very sincere. The slave population of Jamaica have since made very great advances. He knew none of the missionaries, and was not for encouraging them ; some of them he believed to be bad men, though there may be good men among them. It is most impolitic for the slave to be of one religion and the master of another. He employed the curate of Clarendon, at £100 a year, to teach the people on his two properties and to read prayers twice a week. He does not believe it is much the practice to employ curates in this way, but he always told his overseers to bring up the Negroes when the clergyman chose to come. The planters are well disposed to give religious instruction to the slaves, but their means are very limited. The imposts on them are so heavy that they cannot afford additional expense. He objects, however, to any but oral instruction. If prudently conducted, religion would not be hostile to slavery. He himself gave no encouragement to missionaries, or to any but duly authorized teachers. Negroes are so prone to complain, that it was necessary to restrain his feelings lest mischief should follow from encouraging them. He found it scarcely possible to carry into effect any plan of task work. Sugar land is not applicable to any other purpose, and, as for converting it to pasture, there would be no demand for cattle without sugar to occasion it. The infirm slaves are generally provided for by their relations, who act very kindly to each other, and are willing to work for their support. If relations cannot support them, then the master supports them (p. 438---440).

When Mr. Shand was a book-keeper, he had to be on duty in crop-time for eighteen hours and a half. Even though in crop-time the Negro should work six hours of each night as well as all day, this does not equal the labour performed by people in this country, who work much harder than in Jamaica. The boatswain of the mill carries his

whip with him. Mr. Shand maintains that to work twelve hours of the day the whole year, and six hours more during crop, is lighter work than that of labourers in this country, who, in many cases, work longer than the Negro does even in crop-time. His own cart-man in this country works longer and harder. He has, it is true, no driver at his back; and glad would Mr. S. be to get rid of the driver and his whip (p. 441).

Mr. Shand differs not only from all the witnesses opposed to him on principle, but from the West Indians who have preceded him, in his views of the Negro's taste for luxuries and conveniences, and the pains he would take to acquire them. He concedes such a taste to very few, and denies it to the mass. He thinks them not equal to the Europeans in intellect, and this because they are not inventors. Yet he admits they are quick in acquiring knowledge, and acute in making a bargain. He admits, likewise, that few slaves are content with the clothing given them by their masters, but purchase better clothing for themselves. Mr. Shand's effort, however, throughout his evidence, is to reduce the measure of the slave's ideas of comfort and convenience to almost the lowest point that can support life; few do more. Contrary to the testimony of all his brother colonists, he says the slave does far less for himself than for his master; taking twenty days in his own grounds to do the work of one. In short, if Mr. Shand is to be believed, we must bid adieu to all those tales of comfort and happiness by which the slave is raised so high above the British peasant, and view him as a gay, unthinking, reckless being, making no provision beyond the merest necessities of animal life. He admits there are, or rather may be, exceptions; but such is the general view he labours to convey, except when surprised into facts at total variance with the theory that a Negro will do nothing from the desire of bettering and improving his condition, but merely from a desire to satisfy his hunger and escape the lash of the cart-whip. It would be endless to follow him in all his vague, tortuous, inconsistent, and inconsequential statements on this subject: we can only convey, as we have endeavoured, a general impression of their character and bearing (p. 459—461).

Mr. Shand says he is friendly to religious instruction, but he would have it given by the established church. He distrusts the missionaries, although he is acquainted with none of them personally. He has heard of their misconduct only from others; he knows himself nothing against any of them (463).

Mr. Shand affects to know something of the statistics of Hayti, though it does not appear that he has visited it as Admiral Fleming has done ; but he states that the blacks in Hayti earn only 7s. a year each, for the only way of valuing wealth, according to him, is to divide the value of exports from any country by the number of its inhabitants ! He concludes, therefore, with singular acuteness, that they not only are not clothed with British manufactures, but with *any* manufactures at all. He believes, in short, that the cultivators of Hayti are in a state of the most degraded poverty that can be conceived, next to savage life (p. 464).

Is it possible for the blindness of ignorance and prejudice combined to go beyond this, which we presume will be dignified with the name of testimony ? After reading it, let any one who wishes to see the full force of the distortions of prejudice turn to the evidence of Admiral Fleming respecting Hayti (see above, p. 95).

Mr. Shand, who has made his fortune by being the attorney of absentee proprietors, pleads for the profitableness of absenteeism, and thinks an owner may gain by living on one side of the Atlantic, and leaving it to an agent to manage his plantation on the other. The case of Mr. Wildman he considers an example of the danger of owners visiting and managing their own properties. A practised attorney, like Mr. Shand, would not have been guilty of the folly of preferring the comfort and happiness of the slaves as his first object, and the owner's gain as merely secondary. And yet he cannot deny the advantage generally of a man's managing his own concerns ; but he thinks the case of the West Indies peculiar. The business of a Jamaica agent requires a high degree of information, so that the fruits of such agency may be highly beneficial to the employer, notwithstanding the expense that may attend it, and the absolute freedom from all effectual control of the employer, arising from distance (p. 465, 466).

Mr. Shand says, he is himself at present the proprietor of 1200 slaves. He does not know whether they have increased or decreased, but he *thinks* they have increased on some properties and decreased on others.*

* It must strike our readers with some surprise that this experienced planter, Mr. Shand, should be able to give no more satisfactory account of the progress of population on his own estate, and that, on that very point to which every man of the commonest feeling of humanity would look with intense anxiety, as the only

He cannot state any satisfactory reason why slaves should increase in the United States and not increase in Jamaica (p. 466, 467).

The drivers, who are slaves themselves, possess, according to Mr. Shand, to a certain extent, the power of correction (p. 469).

Mr. Shand admits that the time allowed the slave by law is only

sure criterion of the well-being and comfort of his dependents, he should scarcely be able to give a single definite answer,—nay that, even in matters on which a perfect stranger to his concerns might acquire information, he himself should be most miserably uninformed. What then must have been the state of information possessed by the proprietors of the 18,000 or 20,000 slaves who, during Mr. Shand's residence, entrusted him with their management? Before we conclude this note, our readers will have discovered our reasons for these remarks.

Mr. Shand says that he is now the possessor of 1200 slaves. In the month of March, 1831, the number he appears to have had in Clarendon (and he has not said that he has estates elsewhere), was 881, namely, on Kellett's 433, on the Burn 135, on St. Tooley's 206, and on Mammee Gully 107. Three years earlier, that is in March, 1828, the numbers on the same properties were, on Kellett's 464, on the Burn 151, on St. Tooley's 210, and on Mammee Gully 118: the whole number being then 943, exhibiting a decrease in these three years of 62, or at the enormous rate of upwards of 2 per cent. per annum. Now surely Mr. Shand ought to have known this. And there is not only this aggregate decrease, but there is a decrease of each separate estate, though he affirms there has been an increase on some of them. The decrease on Kellett's is 31, or nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum; on the Burn 16, or upwards of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum; on Mammee Gully 11, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum; and only on St. Tooley's as low as $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum. What a dreadful waste of human life have we here! Had Mr. Shand's slaves increased at the rate of the slaves in the United States, or of the maroons in Jamaica, the number in 1828 of 943, in 1831 would have grown to 1012, instead of having sunk to 881, making an actual destruction of human life among this gentleman's Clarendon slaves of 131 in three years!! Now, after this, what reliance is to be placed on Mr. Shand's representations? He evidently can have no title to claim the weight of a single feather to be given to his evidence, or deducted from that of Mr. Taylor or any other witness, on the ground of his experience or local knowledge. And, as for his attempt to apologise for the decrease of his slaves, on the ground that some are Africans, he has only to turn to the evidence of Mr. Mier, which states that in Georgia, with a population half African, the slaves increased at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum, and yet that their employment was the hardest of all, namely, growing and pounding rice (see the evidence of Mr. Mier, p. 156).

26 week-days, with three or four holidays, in the year, besides Sundays. The master may sometimes give them a few more days. He admits that all sorts of necessary food may be raised in Jamaica, without resorting to any foreign supply. There could be no starvation or any want of food in case of emancipation, if people chose to labour. He never applied to any emancipated slave to work on an estate for wages. He is asked, since slaves, he admits, often labour voluntarily, why he thinks they would cease to labour when they become free, and his answer is that he really cannot tell, but such is the practical fact : he is sure few of them live by industry (p. 470, 471).

There are few slaves in Jamaica, however old and infirm, who cannot raise their own food ; and, if they should not, their relations help them, or, failing that, the master supports them (p. 474). Mr. Shand speaks of his having 1230 slaves. In what part of the island are the 350 placed who are over and above his 880 in Clarendon ? (p. 474.)

Mr. Shand preferred the English and Scotch church to the Methodists, for this reason, among others, that the Methodists teach predestination, and the Church of Scotland does not ! He knew nothing personally of the Missionaries, but he had heard much against them (p. 477, 478).

Mr. Shand had very frequently, on the complaints of slaves, dismissed overseers for misconduct, severity, and harsh treatment (p. 480).

The visionary views he attributed to Mr. Taylor were " his fancying that he could manage the slaves in a different way from others, without using the whip or punishing them." *In the present state of things* he doubted very much whether they could be managed, either for the advantage of the master or of the slave, without the whip, or some such means as the whip. It has been tried to do without it ; but it is found impossible to get labour without it, especially since the excitement caused by the discussions on slavery in England, which create discontent, and give occasion to punishments which would not otherwise be necessary. He thinks the excitement thus caused has increased punishments ; and he does not believe that any thing can now be done by the Colonial legislature to ameliorate the condition of the slaves, their excitement making increased severity necessary.

When Mr. Shand made the extravagant statements that a day in some situations, and in others six days in the year, were quite sufficient to provide food for a slave and his family, he must have had in

view an established plantain-walk of adequate extent. He entirely omitted, however, all consideration of the time required for clearing wood land for such a purpose, for digging holes, and for bringing and planting the shoots; and further, that a year of careful attention must precede his reaping any fruit from it, besides considerable labour afterwards in keeping it in order. All this he seemed to have overlooked. But, at the close of his evidence, we find him referring to the starvation and ruin which might ensue if the Negro were to depend on this easy mode of providing for his wants. "If the slaves cultivate that species of provision which is most liable to injury by a hurricane, the consequences would be very serious indeed, and the loss very great."

We conclude with very heartily thanking Mr. Shand, as well as Mr. Simpson and Mr. Scott, not only for their concessions and contradictions, but for the invaluable light they have thrown on the whole subject of West Indian plantership. They have done more for the Negro race in the space of a very few days than they ever dreamt of doing, and have much more effectually promoted the cause of that emancipation they so seriously dread than the stoutest anti-slavery witness who came before the committee.

X.—BRYAN ADAMS, Esq.

BRYAN ADAMS, Esq.—This witness is brought forward, we presume, in the hope of shaking, if not overturning, the powerful and convincing evidence of Admiral Fleming. He quitted the Caraccas in May 1832, after a residence there of about eighteen months. He had gone 500 miles into the interior and visited the finest plantations of cocoa, coffee, and sugar in that country. The finest he saw, Elisendas, is cultivated in coffee by 375 slaves. He is not aware of any estates cultivated by free blacks. One estate, Belmont, within three miles of Caraccas, has 50,000 coffee trees and fifty acres of cane land, all under irrigation, and more than 1000 acres of wood land, and there are upon it twenty-three slaves.* The next question however is deci-

* It is obvious that Mr. Adams must have made some mistake here, and indeed contradicts himself afterwards about estates not being cultivated by free persons. The twenty-three slaves on Belmont could not possibly perform a tithe of the work upon it: 50,000 coffee trees would require 400 acres of

sive of the extent of this gentleman's intelligence ; for, being asked whether he knew of any emancipation of slaves having occurred at the Caraccas, he replies, " I recollect something about it ; but I do not believe it ever did take place" (p. 444).

Sugar is exported from the Caraccas in increasing quantities. He saw 2000 barrels come in from one estate, of 6 or 7 cwt., each for shipment to the United States ; it was very excellent sugar. He had been impressed with the idea that unless severity were used with the slaves they would not work ; but he found, on the contrary, that where no severity was used things went on better, and he instances Elisendas estate.* He saw however a whip in use at Tapatapa, an estate of an Englishman, Mr. Alderson (p. 444).

He contradicts himself however about free labour ; for he says, those who have not labourers enough of their own hire peons and native persons of colour, who are hardly to be distinguished from the slaves. The native Indians are very industrious and very faithful. The slave possesses the power of demanding to purchase his freedom, or he may change his master. The soil is fertile and provisions very abundant. They have as much ground as they can cultivate, are clothed, and have a pound of beef a day. He does not think the present slaves would be disposed to work if emancipated. He thinks a general rising would follow emancipation. He afterwards frankly admitted that he was quite incompetent to speak about questions of freedom and slavery. He had not investigated them. He had seen numbers of labourers working on plantations ; but he never asked the question whether they were slaves or free. If the labourers had been chiefly free, they might have been so without his knowing it. He admitted that Admiral Fleming had been very diligent, and that he had access to the very best sources of information. The people of colour associate generally on good terms with the whites. The people of colour are generally the friends of order. On an estate which he

land ; does he mean to say that twenty-three slaves planted, and weeded, and pruned these, gathered the coffee and pulped it, besides cultivating fifty acres of cane ? It is utterly impossible.

* If he mistook about Belmont, as he evidently must have done, he may also mistake about Elisendas, and there may have been on that estate also only a small proportion who were slaves.

attempted to purchase, formerly belonging to Bolivar, there were a very few slaves working conjointly with free persons. They worked together without difficulty or confusion (p. 444—452).

XI.—MR. JOHN FORD PIKE.

This gentleman had been in Cuba at different times since 1819, but he had only been for two days in the interior, and he had no opportunity of knowing any thing of free labour, nor of the cultivation of the island. He had been brought from Wales all the way to London to give evidence; but he said he knew nothing of the matter (p. 452).

XII.—WILLIAM WATSON, Esq.

WILLIAM WATSON, Esq., had been in the Caraccas from 1810 to 1814. Estates were then cultivated partly by slave labour and partly by free. The free worked with the slaves when they were wanted, which was chiefly in crop time. He had known many instances where slaves were managed wholly by persons who had themselves been slaves. The managers of estates were mostly coloured or black persons, who had been emancipated. This was common in the Vale of Chaldo, five or six miles from the town. He has had no connection with the Caraccas since 1814. But while he was there he thought the free blacks were generally employed in cultivation, and that they were a better sort of people than he had seen in our islands. Great confidence was placed in them. The whole system of Spanish slavery is different from ours: it is much milder, and the consequence of this mildness is an improvement of character. He had no doubt at all that the blacks were, when well treated, susceptible of the same motives which influence other men. The most powerful stimulus in the world to a man is labouring to gain his freedom. In Louisiana the planters say that they get a great deal more work when they put the slaves on task work; and, if the stimulus of freedom were generally tried, and men were allowed to free themselves by their exertions, they would be much more industrious, and would not cease to be so when free, though, in a country furnishing easily the comforts and conveniences of life, many might relax when free. He noticed the slaves after emancipation generally at work, raising provisions and other things. In his time the estates had slaves enough to keep the fields

in order, except in crop time, when they called in free labourers. There was a very considerable free coloured population in the Caraccas, who were in general very industrious. He had been in Mexico, but had never seen any slaves there. The great mass of the population are a mixed race, and those of the Africans were deemed as industrious as the rest. They were not more degraded, or more idle, than the others. The people of Mexico generally do not exert themselves much. The stimulus of want could not be made very strong in that country. There was no import of sugar into Mexico, nor any export of sugar from it. A great deal of sugar is consumed in the country, and it is dear (p. 452—457).

XIII.—HERBERT TOWNSEND BOWEN, Esq.

HERBERT TOWNSEND BOWEN, Esq., had been in Trinidad, but his attention was not directed to cultivation, or to the state of the slave population. He had nothing to do but with one plantation, and on that he did not reside; it was a plantation of cocoa, and coffee, and cinnamon, and cloves. He paid an overseer 400 dollars for managing, and he hired six or seven peons, but the speculation was not successful. The emancipated slaves there mostly employed themselves as tradesmen, or in raising Guinea grass, or provisions. It appeared, from the reports of the protector, that a considerable number of slaves had purchased their freedom. The peons were paid wages, at the rate of half a dollar a day (p. 457—459).

XIV.—RICHARD GARRETT AMYOT, Esq.

RICHARD GARRETT AMYOT, the Colonial registrar of slaves, produced certain tables of population, to which we shall hereafter advert more particularly (p. 484, 485, and p. 519—522).

XV.—SAMUEL BAKER, Esq.

SAMUEL BAKER, Esq., had visited Jamaica in 1816, and afterwards in 1817, and for a short time in January, 1832. He landed in Manchester, and went afterwards to the north side of the island. He thought the slaves much improved, since his former visits, in their clothing and comforts. He had thought them comfortable before, but now they were better dressed on Sundays. He talked with the head man of Dumfries estate, in St. James (an estate in the hands of

the trustees of William Fairclough, with 198 slaves upon it). This man had distinguished himself by defending the property in the absence of the whites, and Mr. Baker made him a recompense for his conduct. This man was reluctant to give any opinion as to the cause of the rebellion. He was a Baptist, and attended the Baptist chapel built in that neighbourhood. He expressed himself as comfortable and satisfied, and as not desiring any change. He gave Mr. Baker to understand, however, that the general feeling of the slaves was towards revolt, and that they could not be depended upon. Mr. B. also conversed with the Negro, a respectable man, who attended him as servant; but he could give no information, for the people had never left the place, but staid at home to defend it. The Negroes generally were sulky, and did not choose to answer his questions. He thinks that there was a general disposition in the slaves to be content with their lot, till the late excitement. The head man on Dumfries told him the Missionaries received certain sums from the Negroes who attended them. He paid for his seat in chapel, and also paid a macaroni, or quarter dollar, when he attended the sacrament: he did not say how frequently. Mr. B. had heard nothing of the part the Baptists took in the insurrection, except that it was called the Baptist war. He had never heard the slaves say any thing, good or bad, of the Missionaries. He had attended the Scotch place of worship in St. James, and found it well attended by decent, orderly slaves (p. 485—487).

The chief object of bringing Mr. Baker forward appears to have been to falsify the statement of Mr. Knibb that he had been employed by the custos, Mr. Miller, to examine some rebel prisoners; but Mr. Baker could say was that Mr. Miller had not told *him* so, and at, from what he knew of Mr. Miller and his character, he did not believe he could have done so (p. 487).

Mr. Baker doubted much whether the slaves if free would war for wages. But he had no doubt that if left alone, and not excited they would be quiet. The means of their obtaining information were much more general now than formerly, as many can now read. I saw twelve or fourteen executed; and there appeared in them a most determined determination to meet their fate. He thought it showed a purpose of taking any opportunity which might occur of gaining the freedom by force. Mr. Baker takes it upon him positively to say that the slaves were influenced in their rebellion by the fear of be-

transferred to America ; and yet he says he could get no answers from them. Then how was he to know their minds, so as to make this positive assertion ? (p. 489.)

Mr. Baker never even heard the rebellion attributed in any degree to the parochial meetings in the fall of 1831. But how should Mr. Baker hear of that, or of the transfer of the island to America, as causes of the rebellion ? The slaves, who were the best witnesses, would not open their mouths, and the whites would not, of course, accuse themselves either in the one case or in the other. He had heard of two murders by the blacks, and of fourteen white ladies having been violated ; but the ladies all denied it ! He never heard any effect attributed to Mr. Beaumont's motion on manumission in the Assembly. He was in the island in all, this last time, about three months, and during that time he visited Manchester, Westmoreland, Hanover, St. James, Trelawney, St. Ann, St. Mary, Spanish Town, and Kingston. The improvements he alluded to in the condition of the slaves, since 1816, were increased luxuries, and a much better style of dress. Some have horses of their own. His servant had a horse of his own (p. 490).

Mr. Baker knew Mr. Manderson, a gentleman of colour, and of great respectability, a man of great intelligence and honour (p. 490).

He thinks the slaves are in a state of comfort, and, if their comforts were increased, they would be disposed to be luxurious and turbulent. As to time, they have as much as they want, and, if industrious, might be rich. As to the whip, good slaves should not have it, and never did have it ; and the bad require it. Corporal punishment might be put an end to without any great mischief to the slave, but there would be mischief to the proprietors. The idle will not work without the whip. The slaves have already as much comfort as they want : if they had more time, the active would add luxuries to their comforts, the others would not (p. 491, 492).

He did not perceive any strong sensation produced among the Negroes by the burning of the chapels. The Baptist Negroes in the towns were offended by it. He did not think they were in the country. The African Negroes are generally indolent ; but many of the Creoles are active. As they are improved by education, they improve in activity. He knew many men of colour. Whites now associate with them more than they did formerly. They are generally persons of

education and understanding. Many of them are fully competent to act as overseers on estates, and do so act. Some are quite as competent as any white men (p. 493, 494).

There was occasionally a talk, among persons meeting together, about throwing off their allegiance, on account of the general dissatisfaction with the oppressions of the mother country. He was aware of the resolutions passed in August and September, 1831. The Negroes must have known of them; and it may have added to their excitement. The people of colour, he thinks, would be disposed to go with the whites; but he does not believe *they* have any general wish to throw off their allegiance. The free coloured population would not be willing to subject Jamaica to the United States. They would not consent to be separated from this country; they are much attached to it. He had heard that about 100 rebels were executed, about 1000 killed, or missing, in various ways. He supposed about 100 might have been flogged. Five white persons, he believes, were about the number put to death by the Negroes. The women, who were in possession of the Negroes, have always denied having been violated by them (p. 495).

A great part of the respectable Negroes can read, and he conceives it is quite impossible to put a stop to the diffusion of knowledge among them. Fresh insubordination can only be prevented by a different disposition, and a change of principles, in this country: this Mr. Baker regards as the only hope; without this, the colony cannot be saved (p. 495).

The Negroes, who were executed, generally suffered in a very short time after trial (p. 497).

He was persuaded that much of the excitement among the slaves proceeded from irritating communications from this country. He does not, however, know any of the Anti-Slavery party in this country (p. 498).

XVI.—ANDREW GRAHAM DIGNUM, Esq.

Mr. ANDREW GRAHAM DIGNUM resided in Jamaica from June 1818 to May 1832, and acted there as a solicitor, and was named in 1827 protector of slaves in two parishes. The protectors were paid by salaries varying from £70 to £250, and were appointed to defend slaves charged with criminal offences. He was employed for

St. Dorothy and St. John, and acted as a barrister would have done. His duty was to see that the slaves had a fair trial. He recollects the discussions that took place on Mr. Beaumont's motion in 1831. It produced some sensation among the slaves in St. Thomas in the Vale. He also recollects the concession of white privileges to the people of colour in 1830. He does not think that any excitement was produced by that, or by the meetings held in the different parishes in 1831. He does not believe that any excitement whatever was caused by the idea of being transferred to the United States: he heard of that now for the first time. He visited the disturbed districts soon after the insurrection. The impression made on his mind by conversing with the slaves was that they believed the British government had made them free, and that they were to be relieved from all labour after Christmas; and their finding the case not so caused the insurrection. When he saw them afterwards they seemed ashamed and sorry for what they had done. None of the slaves spoke to him of the missionaries; but he was told by an officer that he could always cause an excitement among a body of Negroes by mentioning the name of Mr. Burchell, the missionary, who they seemed to think had brought them into this trouble. What they said to himself was that they did not know what had made them rebel, but the devil must have got into their heads. He was impressed, as early as July 1831, with an idea that they had even then an expectation of being free after Christmas (p. 500). He thinks the plot was deeply laid, and he draws this conclusion from a conversation he had with Mr. Panton, a barrister, whose servant had committed suicide; but the connection of that fact with such a plot is very lamely made out.—He thought it very improbable that Mr. Miller, the Custos, should have authorised Mr. Knibb to examine the rebel prisoners in confinement* (p. 557).

Mr. Dignum says that the law of slave evidence is now so altered, by the act of 1831, that an overseer may be punished for inflicting

* Surely nothing could have been more probable than that Mr. Miller, who is represented as a sensible man, and who was commissioned to obtain information about the causes of the insurrection, for the governor, should have employed that very person to confer with the prisoners in whom they were most likely to repose confidence.

even less than 39 lashes on a slave if he cannot show that an offence was committed by the slave adequate to the punishment inflicted.—If that were true, it would have been easy for Mr. Dignum to have produced examples, but he has not produced one; and till such examples are produced, duly authenticated, we shall continue to view the opinion of Mr. Dignum as a mere *gratis dictum* (p. 557, 558).

Mr. Dignum tells an absurd story in proof that the slaves did not desire freedom. He entered an estate with an armed force, and while surrounding the negro houses asked the inmates if they wished to be free; and they said, No. What else could they have said under such circumstances?

Mr. Dignum further gave it as his opinion, that to prevent any further insurrection it was necessary that masters should no more be interfered with by the government in the way of Orders in Council, or by discussions; in short that the masters should be left to themselves (p. 559).

Mr. Dignum admitted that in strictness of construction he had no right to interfere in the defence of slaves, as protector, but in cases where they were tried for capital crimes. He had no right to interfere for their defence in cases of plantation discipline, or cruel treatment, but only where slaves were tried for capital crimes committed by themselves. He had no right to interfere in any case arising under the 33rd section of the Act of 1831, which authorises overseers to inflict thirty-nine lashes. He had only seen one workhouse, and never saw a Negro punished there. He said magistrates appeared to him to be authorised to cite an overseer before them to answer for inflicting even less than thirty-nine lashes; and, if the offence were of a very trifling nature, the magistrate might say to the overseer, "You may give thirty-nine lashes for aggravated offences, but you have over-stepped the law in this instance," and inflict a fine upon him in consequence. He had known such cases, but he could only cite one, being the first overseer convicted on slave evidence. The man's name he thinks was Ellis, and the trial occurred in November, 1831. He was overseer of Nightingale Grove (an estate of Lord Harewood's). Mr. Dignum, however, was not present, and does not tell us whether the offence was his exceeding thirty-nine lashes, or whether the punishment might not have been cruel as well as wanton. The case ought to be called for with the evidence (p. 560).

Mr. D. had seen slaves at work, and had seen the driver give them one or two cuts over the shoulder to make them work. The cat was introduced in place of the cart-whip on some estates, but the slaves were dissatisfied with it ; they preferred the cart-whip. The driver's whip has a stout handle, about two feet long ; the lash he thinks is four or five yards long ; the upper part is thick, but does not touch the Negro : it is the lash at the end which strikes the Negro* (p. 501, 502).

XVII.—VICE-ADMIRAL SIR CHARLES ROWLEY, K. C. B.

Vice-Admiral Sir CHARLES ROWLEY knows much of the West India Islands, and commanded on the Jamaica station from 1820 to 1823. He frequently visited the estates in various parts of the islands, and he did not find that any thing was at all concealed from him, any more than by a farmer in this country on paying a visit to his farm. In one case he had gone upon an estate and staid there all night, without being known as the admiral on the station, and he was much pleased with all he saw. He had gone also into the negro huts and found every thing comfortable there. He had no slaves himself, but he hired some. He offered his freedom to one man, but he declined it. He was a mulatto, who acted as his valet. Two negresses belonging to his brother had been freed some years before ; and when he went out, in 1820, he sent for them to assist in the house till he could get servants, and they said they regretted having been made free, because they could not get work constantly. If asked whether the slave was happier than the labourer in this country, he had no hesitation in saying that, if he had been born to labour, he would sooner have been a black in Jamaica, than a white man in this country or any other. He stated this as the result of his own observations. There may be harsh treatment sometimes ; but, taking all chances, he thought they were a much happier race than the poorer

* The reason of this is plain. The lash is the part which *cuts*. The thick part is chiefly of use to give its momentum to the cutting part. The whip altogether, including the length of the driver's arm which wields it, with the handle, and the thick heavy part, forms a lever of great power, which enables the small, hard, flexible lash at the extremity, to make its incisions, drawing blood from the buttocks, at every stroke, in cases where they have not been made callous by previous inflictions.

class in this country. He saw little of demoralization there any more than here, yet he would not go to a tropical climate for virtue; people are some wicked and some virtuous there as elsewhere. He does not think that, if emancipated, the slave would work for wages on sugar estates: no man of whatever colour would work hard in a tropical climate if he could live without it. A man who can get food enough at an easy rate will not be anxious for much more, if he remains in darkness; but if his mind is enlightened he will exert himself more. In general he thought the overseers attentive, the hospitals good, and the little plantations of the slaves well kept. They appeared to be a very happy race of men. He had seen runaway Negroes punished and worked in chains, but no cruelty inflicted. He never saw any thing to impress his mind that the treatment of the Negroes was cruel. He had thought otherwise formerly, but after having seen them he altered his view, and now he doubted whether they would be happier if emancipation were granted to them. He once saw a Negro man flogging another Negro severely, and he stopped and desired the man to be released, saying he would complain to the agent Mr. Simpson or Mr. Shand, and the overseer was dismissed. Being asked if he thought the cart-whip a cruel instrument of torture, he said that if it were laid on his back he should say it was uncommon torture; yet many seamen suffer more from the cat-o'-nine-tails. He admitted it was very bad that the whip should be inflicted at the pleasure of an individual, and thought it ought not to be allowed. Certainly when he was in Jamaica an overseer might inflict to the extent of thirty-nine lashes, without being answerable for it by law. When he compared the Negro with the English peasant he thought of apprenticeships in this country which were attended with as much harshness and cruelty as slavery. The slave might not have the same facility of redress by law as the apprentice; but, in the case of severity he had mentioned, the overseer, on his representation, was dismissed by the attorney. Had it been his lot to be born to labour, he should prefer the certainty of the black labourer for food, clothing, lodging, care, &c., to the uncertainty of the labourer procuring work, severity of climate, and other evils. He knew an apprentice might have his indentures cancelled if he were ill treated, but he did not know that a Negro might be emancipated if he were ill used (pp. 501—505).

Being asked whether he went on estates to obtain information respecting the Negroes, he answers, “decidedly not,” but to gain information as to working sugar, and general management, as he would visit a farm here. He thinks marriage is more protected in Jamaica than in England ! Being asked whether a wife or daughter may not be flogged by the overseer before her husband’s or father’s eyes, and whether he would prefer being a labourer on these terms rather in Jamaica than in England ; he said he had not thought, in making his answer, of wife and children, or any fine feelings about them, but about food. As to immorality and concubinage, never being guilty of these things himself, he made it a rule never to enquire into the doings of others. He did not think the Negro would work for wages if wages were given him : he could get enough by working on his own grounds, and he does not think it natural that a man, in a warm climate, should exert himself for more. With respect to the Negroes who worked at his pen, he admitted that he offered them pay for extra work, and, the pay being their own, they did it. (Now what is this but working for wages?)—The Negroes are a very cheerful people, much more happy than labourers here : that made him say he should prefer being a labourer there. He thinks Mr. Barrett has misnamed the driver’s whip, in calling it a cart-whip ; it is more like a postillion’s whip on the continent ; but, whatever be its proper name, Sir Charles adds, “decidedly the whip is a very cruel whip ; there is no doubt of that.” He knew many gentlemen in Jamaica, but he knew none more competent to give evidence than Mr. Shand and Mr. Simpson (p. 506—508).

XVIII.—JAMES BECKFORD WILDMAN, Esq.

JAMES BECKFORD WILDMAN, Esq., has three estates in Jamaica, with 640 slaves upon them. He was there in 1825 ; and in 1826 he went out again and staid two years and a half. When he went he found the slaves perfectly destitute of all religious instruction, but by no means inferior in intellect to the labouring classes in this country. They were particularly astute in driving bargains, and perfectly acquainted with the proper prices of commodities. Between domestics and field Negroes there was a difference ; but it was of the kind which exists between our servants in the house, and a ploughman or a girl taken out of a cottage. The first step he took was to give

them religious instruction. He watched its progress, and the effect far surpassed any thing he had expected, and was quite as satisfactory as any thing that could be found in this country. Their morals also have improved under religious instruction. When he first went out there was not one slave that was married on the estate ; by a letter lately received from a young man sent out by the Church Missionary Society as a teacher, there are only two living in concubinage. The change for the better from religious instruction was decided, and there was as great eagerness for it, if not more, in many instances, than he found in his own village in England. And not on his own estates only, but throughout the island, the desire for both religious and general knowledge is too strong to be eradicated. It cannot be eradicated. They will have it some way or other. If there were encouragement given to it, it would spread rapidly. At present it is not only not encouraged, but thwarted. There is a decided hostility to instructing the slaves in letters. Many will give nothing but oral instruction, which he regards as a farce and deception. An hour is fixed for visiting the estate to give oral instruction ; the Negroes may have a mile or a mile and a half to walk home ; the teacher gets them together slowly enough, and begins catechising them, but they have scarcely entered on business when the hour is expended, and away they go again. He regards it not only as wholly inefficient in itself, but as carried on by most unfit agents, by book-keepers generally, who are themselves living in the grossest immorality, and who thus bring religion into contempt.

To employ persons living in open immorality to inculcate morality is surely a gross absurdity. In the case of his own people the effect of instruction was very gratifying in respect to their exertions in the labour of the estate : it was all done in a gratifying way. Looking only at his own interest, and without any higher motive, the proprietor will best promote those interests by the religious instruction of his slaves. His first object was to do away with the driving whip as a stimulus to labour, and he found that a most valuable change. The whip was used, not as a stimulus to labour, but only as a corrective of crime : and he thought all proprietors might pursue this course with advantage, if they would only treat their slaves as Christians would naturally treat their fellow-christians. The estates have certainly been less productive since he went out ; but for that he thus accounts :—The system, when he arrived, was severe to a degree that was quite

revolting and horrible, and, when he went to the other extreme, the Negroes relaxed altogether, and therefore at first little work was done; but, when they found that work must be done, though in a different way, they came into his plan, and it went on perfectly well. He effected this by talking to them, and making them understand that, if their work was not done, they must be punished for neglect of duty: and this lenient mode of proceeding had a great influence upon them. The hire of a field Negro in Jamaica is 3*s.* 4*d.* currency, or nearly 2*s.* 6*d.* sterling, a day. Now, what is actually given to the slave by the master is very little, as in fact he maintains himself by his provision grounds. Herrings are the chief allowance besides, in the way of food. All charges included, the cost of a slave to the master may be about £5 a head, besides the rent of house and grounds. This calculation includes the women and children. Hired labour is dear; for there is none to be got but that of jobbing gangs. And certainly a most miserable life is that which is led by those who compose such gangs. He tried the plan of giving allowances to his slaves for extra work, but he never could get overseers to enter heartily into the plan: the slaves were most ready to adopt it. His experience led him to say that they were quite disposed, while slaves, to work for money; but he was not equally convinced that they would do it when perfectly free; for then the stimulus to labour, which now operates, would be entirely lost. He talked with one of his head men on the subject, and explained the circumstances in which the slaves would be placed, giving up their grounds, and supporting entirely themselves and families. He shrunk back from the change, and this led him to think they would rather remain as they are than be free, if compelled to work. The impression on his driver's mind evidently was that he might lose all he now possessed, and lose, besides, the protection and friendship of his master, and gain nothing* (p. 509—513).

The chief difficulty which Mr. Wildman had seen in the plan of wages was the want of a circulating medium. The only feasible plan

* The case could hardly have been stated quite fairly to this slave, if such was his impression. He was not led to contemplate the possibility of retaining his house and land, paying a reasonable rent for them, and having wages besides—and all this, as might be the case, without losing his master's friendship, as his landlord, though no longer his master.

that had occurred to him (for he had not looked to entire emancipation) was to bring the slaves into something like the condition of our labourers, but withholding the name of freedom, freedom implying in their view an exemption from labour. The admission of slave evidence has now been effected, which is most material; for the slave's life was in the master's hand before. He would totally put an end to trafficking on Sunday, and give him another day in lieu of it; for the master has now the whole seven days; and, if the slave does not work on Sunday, he starves. It would thus be in his power to 'keep the Sabbath. He would also provide a paid magistracy, it being absolutely essential that the magistrates should be wholly unconnected with the island. In that case the slave would get redress, which he cannot get now. The same should be the case with *all* judges, as the system now pursued of appointing planters to be judges is a mere farce. He would take away all power of corporal punishment from the master, and place it with the magistrate; and he would protect the slave from being separated from relations, or dispossessed of property, and make them in all respects like the peasantry of this country, except as to the name of freedom, being unwilling to break the link which now connects the master and slave with each other. Mr. Wildman's impression is that the only thing the slave sees valuable in freedom is exemption from labour; and he will be able to maintain himself on a piece of ground so easily that he will not be stimulated to labour beyond a bare subsistence,—a course to which he would be encouraged by the example of the low whites, and the free black and coloured classes also* (p. 514, 515).

* We must here make a few remarks on these views of Mr. Wildman. In much of what he says we entirely acquiesce; but surely he sees difficulties where none really exist, if he deems that arising from the deficiency of a circulating medium to be insuperable.—But is Mr. Wildman quite correct in the view he has taken of the law as to slave evidence? He has not, we apprehend, read that law: he would otherwise have passed a very different judgment upon it. He is perhaps not aware that the present law on the subject, that of 1831, clauses 130, 131, and 132, are almost verbatim the same with the corresponding clauses of the Act of 1826, which was disallowed by Mr. Huskisson. Mr. Huskisson's observations upon it are as follows:—"This law appears to contemplate the admission of the evidence of slaves *in those cases of crime only* in which they are usually either the actors or the sufferers, *excluding the evidence in other cases*; a distinction

Mr. Wildman was then questioned about Mr. Taylor's management and its effects on his property. He complained of it, saying that Mr. Taylor was so carried away by his feelings and his scruples that great

which does not seem to rest on any solid foundation." "The rule which requires that two slaves at the least shall consistently depose to the same fact on being examined apart, before any free person can be convicted on slave testimony, will greatly diminish the value of the general rule. In the case of rape, for example, such restriction might secure impunity to offenders of the worst description. The rejection of the testimony of slaves twelve months after the commission of the crime would be fatal to the ends of justice in many cases; nor is it easy to see what solid advantage could result from it in any case. If the owner of a slave is convicted of any crime on the testimony of that slave, the court has no power to declare that slave free, although it may exercise the power when it proceeds on other evidence. Highly important as it is to deprive a slave of any motive for giving false evidence against his owner, that object might be secured without incurring the inconvenience of leaving the slave in the power of an owner convicted of the extreme abuse of his authority." In these remarks of Mr. Huskisson, Lord Goderich entirely concurs. But neither of them pointedly notices the defect that the evidence of slaves is wholly excluded in *all civil* cases, and in all matters of wrong affecting their persons and property, and not involving certain crimes that are specifically mentioned in it. The whole range, therefore, of plantation discipline, not involving those specified crimes, is wholly excluded from the operation of this boasted law of slave evidence.

As it is of the very utmost importance that this subject should be fully understood, both as it respects the unintentional misapprehensions of such a man as Mr. Wildman, and the intentional sophistications of such men as Mr. Dignum and Mr. Burge, we will give the law as it actually stands in the statute-book at this moment.

"CXXX. And be it further enacted, That from and after the commencement of this act, upon any complaint made before a justice of the peace of any *murder, felony, burglary, robbery, rebellion, or rebellious conspiracy, treason, or traitorous conspiracy, rape, mutilation, branding, dismembering, or cruelly beating, or confining without sufficient support, a slave or slaves; or in any cases of seditious meetings, or of harbouring or concealing runaway slaves, or giving false tickets or letters to such runaway slaves, to enable them to elude detection; or on any inquisition before a coroner; the evidence of any slave or slaves, respecting such complaint and inquisition, shall be received and taken by such justice of the peace or coroner; and on any prosecution in any of the courts of this island, for any of the crimes before mentioned, the evidence of a slave or slaves shall also be admitted and received: provided always, that, before such evidence shall be re-*

loss ensued, and he should have lost all had Mr. Taylor remained; as, conceiving that slavery was a crime, he neglected to maintain due discipline: indeed, there was a total relaxation of discipline. The

ceived, the justice of the peace, coroner, or court, shall be satisfied, on due examination had, that such slave comprehends the nature and obligation of an oath. And provided also, that nothing herein contained shall prevent the court from receiving objections as to the competency of such witness, or from receiving evidence as to the credibility of such witness, in like manner as they would receive the same as to free persons. And provided also, that no free person shall be convicted of any of the crimes aforesaid, whenever the evidence of any slave shall be admitted, *unless* two slaves at least clearly and consistently deposed to the same fact or circumstance, such slaves being examined apart and out of the hearing of each other, or *unless* the evidence of one slave shall be corroborated by some free person deposing clearly and distinctly to the same fact or circumstance, such free person and slave to be examined separately and apart from each other. And provided also, that no free person shall be convicted on the testimony of any slave or slaves of any crime or offence, as aforesaid, unless the complaint shall have been made within twelve months after the commission thereof, and unless the crime or offence shall have been committed subsequent to the commencement of this act. And provided also, that no free person, accused of *any crimes herein before mentioned*, shall be committed for trial, or required to enter into any recognizance to appear and take his or her trial upon the evidence of any slave, *unless* such evidence shall be corroborated by some other slave or free person clearly and consistently deposing to the same fact, being examined apart as aforesaid."

The next clause, 131, refers merely to technical matters of form, and the allowances to be made to slave witnesses, and the compensation to be made to their owners; and it is therefore omitted.

"CXXXII. And, in order to remove as much as possible any temptation to commit perjury by those slaves who shall be required to give evidence, be it enacted, that the court *shall not be at liberty* to exercise the power given by this act for declaring any slave free and discharged from all manner of servitude, where the owner of such slave has been convicted of particular offences, if *any slave* shall have been sworn upon the trial as a witness on the part of the prosecution."

The reader will here observe that this last provision debars the liberation of a suffering slave from his cruel master, not only when he himself is a witness, but when *any slave*, and consequently when 20 or 100 slaves testify to the same fact. We would further observe that now, for the first time, is the *branding* of a slave made penal by the law of Jamaica.

year before Mr. Taylor came into the management he had realised £2000; the year Mr. Taylor left he was deficient £1400. He remonstrated with him on the change; and his answers turned almost exclusively on the right or wrong of slavery (p. 515 and 517).

Mr. Wildman's own plan was, that, when a slave behaved decidedly ill, he punished him. He flogged only three, however, during the whole time he was there. One was a young man belonging to Salt Savannah, who absconded once for three days, and afterwards for a week. On his return Mr. Wildman talked with him, and told him if he continued thus to run away he would be of no use to him; and, rather than allow him to set so bad an example to the other slaves, he should part with him. The slave urged him impudently to do so. Mr. W. then had him punished with sixteen or seventeen stripes, when he begged very hard, and promised not to repeat the offence. The driver told Mr. Wildman that the young man was particularly quiet and well-disposed, and that he had doubtless been set on by the other slaves to try the experiment how far they might venture to go, in behaving ill, with impunity. Though the use of the whip, therefore, was practically discontinued, it was not extinguished, when crime was committed. The instances in which it was used (and he was thankful they were so few) was in cases in which the man would have been sent to gaol in this country by a magistrate. Mr. Wildman said that had he stuck to the law, which is not usually done either on one side or the other, he might have given, in each of these cases, 39 lashes. He had it in his power by law to give to the extent of 39 lashes, if any thing displeased him, even a look: that was decidedly the law. The

Now we can have no doubt that Mr. Wildman will agree with us that the admission of slave evidence is most inadequately and elusively effected by this law.

We must wholly differ also from Mr. Wildman in thinking that all the slave sees in freedom is an exemption from labour. He cannot have given a correct account of the intelligence of the slaves, if this be true; for the slave himself, if he opens his eyes and looks around him, must see that no human being, whether slave or free, is exempted from labour. Let Mr. Wildman only read the evidence of Admiral Fleming on the Caraccas, Cuba, and Hayti, given above, p. 86—102, and he must see that, if he continues to maintain his present views of this subject, it can only be from his labouring under the influence of some unsuspected prejudice.

master was the sole judge when a man should be punished, and to what extent, provided it was not beyond 39 lashes. To that nominal number he was restricted by law, but persons went constantly far beyond the law. If a slave did any thing to offend his owner or overseer, even by a look, he might be punished with 39 lashes, and the owner was answerable to no one for doing so. The whip was abolished on Mr. W.'s estates as a stimulus to labour, but retained as a punishment for offences, on the principle that if a farmer in his parish in England had complained to him of his servant neglecting his labours, he would have sent him to the tread-mill for a certain time (p. 516, 517).

Mr. Wildman does not think that, if the slaves were free, any sugar at all would be cultivated, or that any labour could be hired for that purpose. He does not believe that degradation attaches to sugar cultivation on account of its being the work of slaves. The taunt is not that a man has, but that he has not a master on whom to depend.* A free brown man, married to one of his own slaves, lives on Papine, and the slaves speak of him quite sneeringly.—There is the greatest possible distinction between domestic slavery and field labour. If a domestic slave is turned into the field, he views it as a great degradation; but the field labourer does not so view it. Before he came away he turned all his domestic slaves into the field, on purpose to do away the impression of any disgrace in field labour.—Cavaliers was inhabited by free people, who rented small portions of land, but who led very dissolute lives, cultivating a little coffee, to enable them to tempt the slaves on the coffee estates around them to steal it, and sell it to them; and, when the time came for paying their rent, they sold their crops, and were off, and did not return again. Their houses were inferior to those of his own slaves on Papine, and even to the houses of *industrious* slaves generally on other estates, though, on estates, some huts were worse than theirs. Their *ordinary* clothing was superior to that of the slaves; but, when the slaves put on their best, they were better clothed than those people. Their furniture was better than that of some of the slaves, but inferior to that of the head people on estates. The people of colour, however,

* Surely Mr. Wildman's philosophy is at fault here. He is misled by the circumstances of his own particular case, and the affection his own slaves bear to him.

in general are better clothed than the best clothed of the slaves ; but the people in Cavaliers were certainly not so well off as respectable slaves on estates. The persons who resorted thither were probably servants, to whom gentlemen had given freedom on their quitting the island ; and, being close to Kingston, and the land rich which they had an opportunity of hiring, it became a favourite resort of such persons. The free people on Pedro plains are much better off than the Cavaliers people : they have cattle. Those at Cavaliers keep much out of sight. They are less frank and bold in their manners than the slaves, which he attributes to their predatory habits. They had women and families with them, but he did not think they were married. They had no religious worship or instruction whatever. He endeavoured to establish, before he came away, both divine service and a school among them ; the reports he has since received are favourable : and he has a confidence that they and their children will avail themselves of instruction, and will improve by it ; but he was fearful of freedom without the restraint of religious feeling.—The people at Cavaliers mostly built their own huts ; and the land was rented to them at about £2 an acre (p. 518, 519).

Mr. Wildman was decidedly of opinion that the slaves, on the existing system, could not employ Sunday in religious instruction. “They must employ it in their maintenance, or starve” (p. 519).

Mr. Wildman had stated that four slaves, whom he had tempted to work for hire as an experiment, had overworked themselves, and he was asked to reconcile that fact with his opinion that they would not work for hire when free : he replied, “The slaves knew they were compellable to work, therefore any reward given them was a boon for which they exerted themselves.” He had tried this experiment, to see whether they would work for the inducement of gain : no threat or compulsion was used, and at the end of the day they were found to have overworked themselves. This was not the only experiment he tried. In other cases he gave money to have work done, and always with success. Mr. Wildman, notwithstanding this universal success of his experiments, does not think it a proof that the slave if free will so work. As a slave, a man must labour for a certain time, and any reward he can get is a bonus ; but if free he may choose to work at all or not, as it pleases him. He had no doubt that the fear of want, if he could be made to feel it, would induce

him to work ; but Mr. Wildman apprehends that if made free, as he could support himself with a little labour, he would do no more than was needful to that end. He thinks, therefore, if a state of villainage could be substituted for slavery, instead of perfect freedom, he has no doubt it might be made to answer. His notion is simply this : If the planter could command his Negroes as the farmer can his labourers through the magistrate in England, the thing could be done. The cottager here may be compelled to work to support his family, and if he does not he is punishable. Now if the slave was in the same state, and his wants compelled him to work every day in the week as the cottager does, then the same system might be adopted there as here.

In crop time the practice is for the slave to be in the field and begin work before sunrise and to continue at work till twelve ; and to return to it again at two, and continue till dark. The practice on one of his estates, when he first went out, was to keep what is called the long spell : that is to say, one spell at the mill and boiling house continued to work there from noon on Monday, for example, till noon on Tuesday, when it was relieved by the other spell from the field that had been at work from day dawn in the morning, and then remained at the mill and boiling house till Wednesday at noon, and so alternately throughout the week ; so that there were thirty-six hours of continuous labour, and from ten to twelve hours of continuous rest, in each forty-eight hours. But on his other estates, where the short spell was kept, there were eighteen hours of continuous labour and five or six hours of rest, in each twenty-four hours. The long spell appeared to Mr. Wildman to be a very dreadful system, and when he discovered it on going out, he resolved to put an end to it ; but he found, to his surprise, that his attorney was actually ignorant of the existence of any such practice till he pointed it out and convinced him of it. That system was put an end to, and in place of it the mill was stopped every night at eight o'clock ; and when the sugar was boiled off, which took an hour and a half or two hours, the whole of the people went home ; and the mill began again at four in the morning, so that they might all have if they chose seven or eight hours' rest in the twenty-four. He did not consider this change as any loss to himself ; for it was plainly utterly impossible for human life to stand such long interruptions of rest, whether at hard work or not. It was wholly

incompatible with the health of the slave. He therefore put a stop to it ; but he was thwarted on all sides in his endeavours to do so, not only by the overseers, but by the slaves themselves ; for where the long spell had been established they preferred it to the short spell, which calls them up at midnight to divide the night work between them. They pleaded that, when called up at midnight to go to the mill, they were so sleepy that they were often late and so got flogged. But when Mr. Wildman explained his plan, which was to secure to them a continuous sleep of seven or eight hours in the twenty-four, they were glad of the change (p. 523—525).

Mr. Wildman mentioned that one of the disadvantages attending this protracted labour was the manifest injury to the health of the persons, among others, who fed the mill with canes : they got wet from the spurting out of the cane juice over them, and then at the end of their protracted labours, throwing themselves down to sleep without due precaution, they caught severe colds, the nights in the early part of crop time being excessively cold. He had seen this with his own eyes, and had even fed the mill himself to satisfy himself of the reality of the evil. Though well clothed he was wet, and should have been ill had he not changed his dress. He considers this as one great cause of the loss of Negroes on sugar estates ; and it is one of which it is quite impossible that any person who had to manage a boiling house could be ignorant. In this case what was gained in produce was lost in the life and health of the slaves.

He found this remission of night labour to be beneficial in another way. A very fine woman came to him to complain of her loss of children. She never could, as she expressed it, hold a child in her arms. When he quitted Jamaica the last time, this woman had got three children in four years. There were other similar cases. Indeed the slaves became far more prolific under the new system. Before he went out first the returns exhibited only three births in a year out of 280 slaves on Papine. The years that succeeded his going out and acting on this plan exhibit from nine to eleven births annually. In general the returns in Jamaica exhibit only the children who attain the age of twelve months, but the number who die before that age is very considerable, in spite of the utmost care. As for the losses by abortion, they are never reckoned at all. The necessity of night work, in order to working off the crop in time to take advantage of the

seasons for putting in the new plant, is such that night work is again resumed on the plan of double spells, or of dividing the night; but he has directed that, to obviate the evil of the system, the spell which has to take the duty from 6 to 12 at night shall not repair to the field in the afternoon; but have the period from shell-blow, that is from twelve at noon to six, for sleep, or any thing else they may choose (p. 524, 525).

In forming a police for preserving due order and enforcing industry, it ought to be kept in view that the blacks are much less apt to be jealous of authority exercised over them by persons of their own colour than by browns (p. 526).

Negroes will, like all other people, sometimes make frivolous or exaggerated complaints; but this is by no means always the case. He has known his own people severely punished when he has himself been on the estate, and has not heard of it for months, and then casually (p. 526).

Mr. Wildman had spoken of book-keepers being employed on estates as catechists; he is asked whether there are not catechists and clergymen sent out by the Conversion Society, and also island curates; to which he replies that some of the island curates exert themselves very properly in instructing the slaves; but others do not at all. The Catechists do not give lettered instruction, but that is only one objection to the system: it is inefficient in other ways; for, while it is oral only, the time allotted is so wholly inadequate that no benefit can be derived from it. He spoke generally, and of what fell within his own observation. He does not say there are no exceptions; there are clergymen in the island whose exertions are beyond all praise. The time allotted for instruction by catechists is almost universally *one* hour a week. He has known estates visited on this system, and he pronounces it to be totally inadequate; he saw no beneficial effects, no progress at all to justify what has been said of it. He knew of two estates attended by the zealous clergymen to whom he referred, which were not in the rebellion. On many estates the Negroes carried on the cultivation in the absence of the overseers (p. 527).

Mr. Wildman was then asked about a slave of his, named Eleanor James, who had been most barbarously punished by the proprietor of a neighbouring estate, but for which no redress whatever was obtained, nor any penalty incurred by anyone. He laid the case before the Colonial

Office. (See the account in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. IV. No. 83, p. 317.) Mr. Wildman is quite satisfied a man may live a month on an estate and be as ignorant of what goes on there as if he were in England. He could only enquire of overseers and book-keepers. If he were to enquire of the slaves, it would be resented. He has himself gone upon an estate at the wish of the proprietor, and with the authority of the attorney, and been round it with the overseer, and yet failed in seeing the people. Without the employment of any particular caution, it is almost impossible for strangers to find out what is doing on estates. An attorney or overseer may most unquestionably exercise severe and tyrannical power without its being known to the public, even as far as to the sacrifice of Negro life. He had reason to know instances of this, slave evidence not being then admissible. (Mr. Wildman erroneously conceives, as we have shown, that there is any material change in the law of slave evidence as affecting plantation discipline.) From his own experience, he knows it to be perfectly absurd to suppose that a commander-in-chief visiting an estate, unless he took very particular pains indeed (and even then it would be difficult), could obtain any knowledge of the condition of the slaves upon it (p. 528).

Mr. Wildman's own slaves were perfectly quiet during the insurrection (*ibid.*).

He began his system of instruction immediately on returning to the island, after his first visit; but he was assailed in the newspapers as an enemy to the colony: he was told that if he meant to set fire to his own estate, he had no right to burn down those of others. The most infamous, ribaldrous, libels were published against him and his family: a more filthy libel was never published against an unoffending lady than one of them (*ibid.*).

He has had the most gratifying proofs of the gratitude of his slaves in their exertions by labour to bring up his estates from the low state to which they had fallen. The slaves on Salt Savannah voluntarily offered to give up their own time to repair the waste on that estate. When Mr. Farquharson, his present attorney and friend, took possession, the Negroes came to him in a body, and said they were ashamed and hurt he should see its condition; and at night they came to him again in a body, to say that they would give up their whole time till

the estate was put in order again; and since that time the work has been carried on to Mr. Farquharson's entire satisfaction (p. 528).

Mr. Wildman mentioned one instance of the extraordinary voluntary diligence of his slaves. They had become subjects of taunt in the neighbourhood—"There goes one of Massa Wildman's Niggers"—and some of them were made wretched by these taunts about their freedom and laziness. On one occasion, however, they had to execute some hard work in digging a trench between his estate and Pusey Hall, and it was allotted in equal portions to the same number of slaves of the two gangs. The overseer said to them, "You are called worthless; you will not work, your master having done away with the whip. The Pusey Hall people work with the whip. Let them see what you can do." They set to work in such good earnest that, before the day was out, the Pusey Hall people complained that the Salt Savannah people would kill them if they went on so.—The whip in the field is now disused on Mr. Wildman's estates. Though not used, it was still carried in the field while he was there. The driver, a very old Negro, begged not to be deprived of it, but promised that it should not be used; for he deemed its appearance necessary to keep up his authority. Mr. Taylor put it down entirely; and Mr. Farquharson, who has as great a horror of the whip as Mr. Wildman, has not resumed it. It is still used for crimes, but not for deficiency of labour; but he cannot tell what the understanding of the Negroes is upon that point. If a slave quitted the field, or did not perform his fair task, he was punished, but not by the whip; by some privation, or by confinement; but it was fully understood that the whip was retained, though in practice only used for crimes or offences. He thought, from all his experience, and the circumstances he had stated, that the Negroes were operated upon by the same feelings of gratitude and affection as other human beings. He still thinks, however, that, if emancipated, they would be unwilling to work; and this he attributes to the facility with which they could support themselves if free, to their natural indolence, and to the climate. He had himself worked in his garden with a stout Negro, who told him that, if he made his slaves to work as he had done, he would kill them all in three months: but it would have been utterly impossible for him to have gone on working in that way for any length of time. He has

known Negroes to carry loads to market which they could not be induced, even by force, to carry for their master ; but it was voluntarily done for their own benefit : and, in point of fact, it is true that the Negroes do exert themselves, with great energy, for the purpose of obtaining, not only food, but comforts and luxuries.

Mr. Wildman admitted that if the slaves, who had now only 26 days in the year during which to provide for themselves and their families, occupied themselves diligently in their own grounds, they would do so, supposing the number to be increased to 35, or any larger number ; nor did he believe that there was any limit to which it might not be extended with advantage, and even with increased energy on their parts, with a view to the acquisition of wealth ; and especially if their moral habits were improved by religious instruction. Of this he was so well persuaded that he should not feel the least disinclination, in the course of a few years, that government should proclaim freedom to all slaves. He saw no reason to suppose that there would be any difference in their conduct and that of manufacturers and artisans at home, except as religion, and as the means of providing for every essential gratification with less labour, made a difference. But he thought that, if emancipation took place in their present uninformed state, it would be the destruction of the slaves and of the island too. Four or five years might be sufficient for preparation, especially if a good example were set them, and they were not corrupted, as now, by the licentious lives of their superiors. The overseers now are generally not married men. At present married men are refused employment, simply because they are married. Married men meet with general discouragement from the planters. What the objection really is to employing them he cannot precisely say, but it is almost insuperable. The present profligacy of the whites is certainly very prejudicial to the interests of proprietors ; and why it is not put down it is difficult to say. In fact the system of Jamaica, from beginning to end, is so very corrupt that the moral instruction of the Negro is hindered by it. If the Negro is taught morality, he can point to his master and say, “ You tell me to do so and so ; but what do you do yourself ? ” He was of opinion, however, that the interests of the owner and of the attorney are often diametrically opposed to each other, and this is one of the sources of destruction to West Indian property. The cause of the preference given to unmarried men it is

difficult to assign : it certainly is not the expense. At the same time it is obvious that a dissolute attorney would not feel at ease where the overseers or book-keepers were living morally as married men. Many of the attorneys are said to keep women on every estate they go to ; but he does not say this of his own knowledge. There are many cases in which, independently of this, the interests of attorneys and owners are directly at variance. Attorneys are often paid according to the returns they make ; and they may not care one penny if it be made by the sacrifice of human life. He does not believe that a better system prevailed, even when there were proprietors, married men, residing in the island. In fact, all the young men who go out to Jamaica, go out there under the idea of again returning to England : and they also know that they may at any time be turned out of their situations at a moment's warning ; and that, while out of employment, they would be obliged to depend on the hospitality of neighbouring overseers ; and that, if deprived of that resource, they might be ruined (p. 530—532).

Mr. Wildman's plan of instruction for his slaves was as follows :— He established an infant school, and kept the little children there all day. The gang or class above them in age he took for two hours in the morning, and two hours in the afternoon. The second gang he took for one hour a day out of his (Mr. Wildman's) time, and endeavoured to induce them to stay one hour of their own time ; for, as they did not work for themselves then, it would be comparative rest being in school. Then the adults were under no regular plan of instruction, except on Sunday : but many of them would come during their mid-day interval, and also at night, voluntarily, for instruction. And this abstraction of time he did not regard as any loss to the owner ; and he was firmly convinced that, on that plan, at the end of seven years, the master would be no poorer (p. 532, 533).

One emancipated slave of his own worked for hire on his estate ; but it was the only instance he knew. He was acquainted with the general condition of the free blacks. He thought them increasing in wealth and prosperity, through the medium of their own industry. He had the same view of the condition of the free people of colour, except that they acquired more from gifts and bequests than the blacks ; for it is common for white men who have lived with women in this way, when they quit the island, to give them a house and

some property; and a great proportion of their property may have come to them from that source (p. 533).

Mr. Wildman could not venture to say what time it might take, under a system of active instruction, to prepare the slaves for emancipation. His own, he thought, were not yet fit, though he had been at work since 1826. The same pains had not been taken on other estates; indeed, few admitted education at all. When he said that five years might suffice to prepare the slaves for emancipation, he assumed that a plan universally adopted would be carried on with more care than an individual, thwarted at every turn, could take. Under existing circumstances, he was decidedly of opinion that no provision for instruction could be made effectual in any short time. He alluded to the objection felt to instruction on the part of the planters; and, even if that were overcome, he does not think that the population would be so changed in five years as to make emancipation safe. He considers that, before being exposed to the chances of such a transition, they should have a decided knowledge of religious principles and practice, and a habit of acting accordingly. He hoped by such means to counteract the temptations to indolence in a country where the necessities and superfluities of life are so easily acquired, and the climate inclines to indolence. Mr. Wildman conceives also that a slave has no adequate idea what freedom is; but the illustration he adduces to support the position is certainly as remote from any thing like a logical deduction as can well be imagined. He says, "When I came from Jamaica, a little girl, whom my sister brought home from the island, was astonished to see a white woman selling fish. They cannot fancy a white woman working" (p. 534).

If the resolutions of Parliament in 1823 had been followed up, as they ought to have been, by adequate means of instruction, Mr. Wildman would not have the slightest objection to the slaves being now declared free. Unfortunately no great increase of exertion in supplying the means of instruction in Jamaica has taken place since that time. The Church Missionary Society and the Sectarians alone have been efficiently active during the interval. By the established church, through the Bishop, little has been done. The Bishop has even materially impeded the progress of instruction. He says this, though he himself is a zealous member of the establishment, and much opposed in some respects to Dissenters. Instruction under the church of England

has certainly not advanced in any degree adequate to the expense. The bishop has unhappily thought it dangerous to interfere with the prevailing vices. He has not assailed the great immoralities he witnessed, and has deemed it necessary to temporize, and leave them untouched. In saying this he alluded to the whole population, white and black. When he has known instances of gross immorality, he has not set his face against them as a Christian Bishop ought to have done. Of all the teachers of religion in Jamaica the Sectarians are decidedly the most efficient. They give themselves up devotedly to their work, and in many instances have been eminently successful. Comparing the Sectarians with the established clergy, he knew of no case of immorality among the Sectarians. Of the clergy he could not say the same; of that he spoke without doubt. The Church Missionary Society's missionaries are far superior; they also employ respectable moral men of colour when they can get them. Their exertions emanate solely from members of the Church of England. They do not employ Dissenters. Their exertions have been very considerable and very successful (p. 535).

Mr. Wildman did not mean to apply what he had said of immorality to the clergy generally. But he spoke of individuals both now and heretofore, and certainly the proportion of immoral men among them was greater than in this country. The clergy were by no means under the necessity of confining their pastoral care to the whites. Mr. Trew, of St. Thomas in the East, was most active, and the change he produced in the population of his parish was almost incredible. His system was to direct his morning service chiefly to the whites, and, after the service, he kept a school for the blacks, and for any who liked to come. The afternoon service was addressed almost exclusively to the blacks and browns; and, after that service, there was again a school. Had there been a Mr. Trew in every parish the effect would have been very great. Once, when staying at Mr. Trew's house, five or six head men from different estates came, and, a report being current of an insurrection which was likely to involve St. Thomas in the East, he asked their opinion: they, one and all, said, "Fear nothing of the kind in this parish; we will not only not suffer our own people to commit any excess, but we will not suffer any slave from other parts to interfere with us." This Mr. Wildman heard with his own ears. And yet Mr. Trew drew more malice and envy upon him than any other man in the

island. He quitted Jamaica on account of his health. Had there been a Mr. Trew in every parish he should not have had the slightest fear of emancipation as to its safety ; though he might still doubt the slaves continuing to labour (p. 536).

Mr. Trew, in his efforts to spread instruction, obtained the aid of many whites in his own parish ; but nevertheless the ill will he drew on himself was very general, and that was increased after the Bishop came out : for he used to hold up Mr. Trew as an example to his clergy, which made him a marked man, at the same time that he himself thwarted Mr. Trew in an extraordinary way. He praised him and his exertions in his charges ; but at the same time he was much opposed to Mr. Trew. Mr. Trew was assailed by slander, and met with opposition even in his own parish. He was even effectually thwarted on estates on which proprietors and attorneys authorized him to attend ; for a clergyman in Jamaica cannot go upon an estate in his own parish without permission, and the Bishop even restricted his clergy from doing so without leave ; so that it would have been impossible for Mr. Trew, or any clergyman, to instruct the slaves of his own parish : even if the slaves were willing to give up to him their two hours at noon, and he were to come to instruct them, the overseer might still absolutely refuse permission.* Mr. Wildman thinks the class of instructors sent out by the Church Missionary Society and the Dissenting Missionaries much better suited to the work of instructing negroes than educated university men. The morals and doctrines of those missionaries he believed to be sound and good, and their conduct exemplary.

And yet he should decidedly prefer pious clergyman of the church of England if to be had, feeling that there is inconvenience in the want of responsibility on the part of Sectarians, and that a clergyman must, at least, be possessed of general education and character (p. 537, 538).

* The words of the Curates' Act of 1816 were express on this point : The Rectors and Curates were required to instruct the slaves who may be desirous to be instructed : "*Provided always that the consent and approbation of the person in possession of the estate or plantation to be visited be first had and obtained for that purpose.*"

Mr. Wildman has always understood that the greater part of the poor rate, raised in Jamaica, was expended on the whites.

Mr. Wildman being asked whether, in the conversation he had had with his driver about freedom, as mentioned above, he told him that, though free, he would still be at liberty to live on the estate, paying rent, but receiving wages, replied that he had not mentioned wages. He certainly thought that they could be made to understand that freedom was not an exemption from labour, but a state in which they should have the benefit of their own labour. He admits fully (and it is important to note this after the strong opinions expressed by Mr. Wildman as to the present unfitness of the slaves for freedom) that the slaves could be made to understand that continuing attached to their residences and grounds, and paying rent for them, while they received reasonable wages, they might thus live in ease by the exercise of moderate industry, and enjoy the blessings and comforts of life. He thinks certainly that the present state of things cannot continue long, as they are now, without proceeding from bad to worse. If the present system goes on, the Negroes, he thinks, will not remain quiet.

The punishments in use in Jamaica now are very cruel punishments. "The general system is to give them a certain number of stripes with a long whip, which inflicts either a dreadful laceration, or a dreadful contusion, and then they follow up that by a very severe flogging with ebony switches: the ebony being a very strong wiry plant, with small leaves, like a myrtle leaf, and under every leaf a very sharp, tough, thorn; and then after that they are rubbed with brine." He never himself saw it done: he could not have borne it; but he knew it to be practised in every part of the island. He had seen the persons of the slaves after they had been so punished, and has had to listen to the complaints of his own people, who complained wofully of it. They are struck a number of times with one of these switches, or rather bushes, which is thrown away when worn and another taken. Slaves are also punished in the bilboes in the most unmerciful manner. An iron fetter goes round the feet, and is made to run on a long iron bar, fixed on an inclined plane, to which a dozen individuals are often fixed. They are confined here all night, lying back on the inclined plane, which is a hard board, and let out in the morning to go to work, this kind of punishment being often continued for weeks together.

The punishments also in the workhouses are dreadful. He had never been in any of the gaols but one, and that was extremely filthy. It was that of St. Andrew, at Half-way Tree, near Papine. He had had occasion to commit a Negress there, and she was reported to be in so bad a state that he went to inspect the gaol, and he found it in a most filthy state, and the punishments little short of those of the inquisition: they were actually tortured there. The mode of flogging was to put a rope round each wrist, and a rope round each ankle, and then they were what the sailors call “bowed out” with a tackle and pulley. He never saw this performed, but knew that it was done from his own Negroes, who had been sent there. He complained to the custos and magistrates of the parish of these proceedings. The result was, that the block and tackle system was defended as a humane practice, as it prevented the sufferer from turning in his agony, and getting a blow on a tender part. When he went to examine the gaol, a Negro was called to lie down and show how it was done. A skin was stretched on the ground, and he lay upon the skin, and then this tackle was applied to him; and, though Mr. W. and several others were looking, yet when the rope was tightened by another Negro, the man who was operated upon gave a yell, which made Mr. Wildman quite start. The yell was not from apprehension; but from actual pain. He represented all this to the custos, Mr. Mais; but no notice whatever was taken of it at that time, which was just before he last quitted Jamaica (p. 339, 340).

Being further questioned as to his views of the effect of emancipation upon the slaves, he said he thought the Negro, though he would work, would not so work as to carry on the cultivation of sugar. A want of religious instruction was another obstacle. The Conversion Society, he said, had by no means been actively conducted.—He thought that, in case of emancipation, masters might be relieved from all responsibility as to the food both of old and young. The old people are now taken care of without the master, by the Negroes themselves. Old and young might be left to the operation of natural affection. The feelings of kindred, and the love of parents and children, he thinks, are as strong in the Negro as in the white. They even carry it beyond this, to those who came over from Africa in the same ship, whom they call shipmates, and always address with regard. There is no doubt they would support their sickly children and their aged parents. Their families now support them, with the exception

of the master's allowance of clothing, &c. When old and decrepit, and wholly incapable of labour, the master provides for them, the relations aiding. The propriety and advantage of emancipation, he still thought, would turn on the slaves' being instructed. He candidly confessed that he thought all profit to him as a proprietor would cease from that time. He admitted, however, that he might be mistaken in his expectations on this point. He certainly conceived free labour to be as cheap as slave labour; but he did not think that sugar would be cultivated by free labour, unless all the land could be ploughed—(and why not all ploughed?)—then cane might be cultivated; but not if the ground is to be dug, as now. The plough could not be applied, he thinks, to two-thirds of the island; but he does not assent to the injury caused to the land by ploughing and exposure to the sun. The digging of cane-holes is the most severe labour he knows, except, perhaps, felling trees with the axe. He would sooner dig an acre of hops than an acre of canes* (p. 541, 542).

XIX.—THE REV. JONATHAN TYERS BARRETT, D.D.

The REV. DR. JONATHAN TYERS BARRETT is Secretary to the Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction of the Negro

* It is true that there is a great deal of mountain land in Jamaica where the plough could not conveniently be used; but there are very extensive tracts of level and fair lying land in that island, more than sufficient for all its present sugar growth; and we can have no doubt that there are in Jamaica at least a million of acres on which the plough could be made to move as easily as in England.

But the point to which we chiefly object in the generally able, luminous, and truly interesting evidence of Mr. Wildman, is the strong opinion he has formed that full and effective religious instruction should and must precede emancipation, in order to render that measure a safe one. Mr. Wildman will not suppose that we undervalue the extreme, the paramount importance of religion in all states and circumstances of life. But to affirm, as he does, that the influence of real Christianity must precede a man's restoration to the enjoyment of his natural, and civil, and even political rights, is a proposition which we find it very difficult to understand how any man so intelligent and so observant as Mr. Wildman should have permitted himself for one moment to entertain. Would he then propose that men's natural and civil rights should be restrained in proportion to their want of Christian knowledge and Christian practice? One effect of this would be that the masters in Jamaica would soon have to change

slaves. He has held the situation since 1822. He has corresponded with the Bishops of Jamaica and Barbadoes, and received from them various communications. Before the appointment of bishops, there were nine persons employed by the Society in all the West Indies. Since that time they do not send missionaries or chaplains, but only catechists. One chaplain was sent to Lord Seaford's estates, but he died. The bishops are averse to having chaplains of the Society in their dioceses, as it caused a collision of authorities, and was not quite

places with at least an equal number of their slaves. Besides, what man, or set of men, or what legislature, would Mr. Wildman entrust with the exercise of this vague and anomalous power of deciding the point when the influence of Christian faith shall have attained the measure that shall entitle a slave to freedom?—Look at the mighty masses which float along the streets of London, and of other great towns, and fill our villages throughout the length and breadth of this Christian land,—how many of these would Mr. Wildman reckon to have reached the degree of religious knowledge which, if he were the absolute arbiter of their destiny, would constitute their title to freedom, or leave them still to fetters and the whip? Look, moreover, at the state and progress of society in all ages, and in all countries; in the present times as well as in the past; in states highly civilized, as well as in those advancing from barbarism; in polished France, or in less favoured portions of the globe. What statesman or even divine has ever supposed that, however religion might advance the well-being of states and individuals, the capacity to fulfil the ordinary duties of civil life, the exercise of a man's own limbs and faculties, the admission to the rights of nature and the protection of law, were to be suspended on the efficacy of certain schools, and the success of certain preachers of the Gospel? Some West Indians, and we are sorry to say some bishops of the church, have wished to suspend the marriage tie, which from the creation has been enjoined by the Creator on the whole race of man, on their being able to understand the matrimonial service of the Church of England; but, if we understand Mr. Wildman correctly (and we should be sorry to do him wrong, for few men have a larger share of our esteem, and even admiration), his principle goes much farther even than this; and we might have slavery to endure for ever, if only the professors and teachers of Christianity shall be supine, or obstacles to their success shall be wickedly interposed. Surely, also, Mr. Wildman knows better than any man what indifferent lessons either of morality or religion are likely to be learned in a state of slavery; and that, though freedom may be, and too often is, abused, yet that, of all the impediments to the diffusion of the influence of moral and religious truth which are not common to the whole race of man, slavery is the worst.

compatible with ecclesiastical discipline.* Dr. Barrett then delivered in several reports, remarking that the late accounts were scanty, owing to the hurricane in Barbadoes, and the rebellion in Jamaica; the communications at no time being copious. The persons now employed by the Society are lay catechists. There are about fifty in all the islands. These are appointed by the bishops, and the Society at home knows little of them. In Jamaica, some of them are book-keepers, and some are persons of colour. He knows little about them, and does not even know the principle on which they are selected. Infant schools, on the plan of Mr. Wildman, were recommended by the bishop, but none have been established by the Society, though some have by a Ladies' Society, under the Duchess of Beaufort. Dr. Barrett thinks the bishops have not generally complained of obstructions, but, on the contrary, have spoken favourably of the disposition of the planters towards instruction. He cannot tell the number of slaves under instruction in Jamaica, nor can he furnish any return. Marriages are stated to have increased. He does not know whether the book-keepers employed by the Bishop of Jamaica are moral men or not. He does not believe that the Bishop thinks of extending that system; Dr. Barrett says, he believes that reading is taught in all the schools of the diocese of Barbadoes, but not to the same extent in that of Jamaica.†

All this is sufficiently frigid and unsatisfactory.

XX.—WILLIAM BURGE, Esq.

Mr. BURGE merely gave in a paper containing an account of the expenditure in Jamaica for ecclesiastical or charitable purposes, amounting, for the clergy of all descriptions, to £23,600 currency; for presbyterian teachers, to £1206; and for a Roman Catholic Priest, to £200; besides £6000 for the Kingston Hospital, and about £8650 for free schools and charitable seminaries, chiefly intended for poor whites.

* Thus the spiritual interests of the slave population are to be postponed to some ecclesiastical punctilio.

† The fact is that, in Jamaica, the slaves who were taught reading by the Conversion Society amounted, in 1829, to the mighty number of 210. Neither is it true that in all the schools under the Bishop of Barbadoes reading is taught. His own reports show the contrary.

XXI.—JOHN MACGREGOR, Esq.

This gentleman has never been in the West Indies, and knows nothing of them; but he has been in North America, and has written a book entitled “British America,” which contains a chapter about free Negroes, in which he gives an unfavourable view of the state of some of that class, refugees from the United States, who are settled in Canada; but, as it contains nothing which at all tends to throw light on the present enquiry, we pass it over in silence.

We have now gone through the whole of the *oral* evidence taken before this Committee. There still remains, however, some documentary evidence to be considered. Of the population tables presented by Mr. Amyot, we defer the consideration for the present, until we have it in our power to exhibit a more full view of that whole subject than these partial documents would enable us to do; and, in the mean time, we refer our readers to the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 100, as containing a comprehensive view of the slave population of the British Colonies, wholly unaffected by the tables now before us.

We omit also the meagre details extracted by Dr. Barrett from the Conversion Society's Reports, as the substance of them is already to be found in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, and there is nothing therefore to be drawn thence either new or interesting.

But we cannot pass over so lightly the remainder of the documentary evidence contained in the appendix to this bulky volume. One of them is entitled “FREE AND SLAVE LABOUR,” and contains “an extract from the examination of Annasamy (a native of Madras, settled in the Mauritius), by the Commissioners who visited the Eastern Colonies, to enquire into the means of improving those Colonies.” It is dated 16th August, 1827. We extract a few passages from this document (p. 588, 589).

“What was the condition of the slaves on the estate of Bon Espoir, when you purchased it in 1822?—Many of them were in bad health: Did they appear to have been hard worked?—It appeared to me that they had; but I do not know the fact, as I had not been on the estate before I purchased it. It appears that, between 1822 and 1825, there were fifty deaths on the estate, or one-sixth of the

whole number; will you explain the cause of this mortality?—I have stated that many of them were in bad health. Did you manage the estate yourself within those periods?—I did; but there were overseers (European and Creole). Have you been accustomed to regulate the quantity of work on your estate?—I have. What number of hours a day do the slaves work?—From half-past four or five o'clock in the morning till half past seven, and from eight till twelve o'clock, and from half-past one till seven o'clock, Sundays excepted.* Do the women perform the same work that the men do?—Except the children and the pregnant women, they perform the same field-work. The women are not employed in the sugar house. Are women taken off work during the whole period of their pregnancy?—From the third month to the period of their delivery. How soon do they go to work after the child is born?—They perform light work after three months, making mats and such things, and after nine months they return to the pioche (hoeing). Do many of the slave children die?—I have more than eighty Negresses on the estate, and of those, not more than ten bear children; and I reckon about four children born in a year, and about two that may live to five years old. Then there has been a constant decrease on the numbers, from the excess of deaths over births?—There has.” “You are acquainted with the condition of the labouring class in India?—I am. Do you consider that the condition of the labourers in India is better or worse than that of the labouring slaves in this country?—It is worse here. In what respect is it worse?—Because in India the labourers are paid for their labour, even those that are attached to the land; I speak of those parts that I have known. They also plough in India, and here they work with the hand. Do the women labour in India as they do here?—In cleansing and transplanting, but not in ploughing. Has it ever occurred to you to cultivate your estate by free labourers from India?—I thought of it at one time; but I altered my intention.” “Do you conceive that it would answer to employ them upon a property where there were no slaves?—If they were treated well, it would. Will you explain what you consider to be the treatment which would be calculated to reconcile them to the employment?—They would need such treatment and indulgences as they are accustomed to in their own country, and I do not think they could expect to meet with them in this colony.” “Are you acquainted with the cultivation of sugar in India?—I have seen it cultivated, but the mode of preparing the sugar is very inferior. Do you consider that, by improved methods, as good sugar might be grown in India as is grown at Mauritius?—I think by the introduction of machinery and of iron boilers, and also by cultivating the sugar canes in a better way, that better sugar might be made in India. Have you an intention of returning to India?—I have; and it is my intention to cultivate sugar in India in the same manner that is practised here. Would you employ slaves in the cultivation in India?—No;

* Nineteen hours a day!

only free labourers. What part of India that you are acquainted with do you conceive best adapted to the production of sugar?—Bengal is best suited, but I think of first trying the cultivation upon the Coromandel coast, near my native country. What capital would you consider necessary to enable you to form an establishment for the cultivation and preparation of sugar in India, upon the scale of that which you possess in this colony?—If I select good land and well watered, farming it either from Government or individuals, I conceive that 50,000 rupees or £5000, would enable me to form a complete establishment on the same scale; and the profits would be very considerable, if the rents were settled not too high. Do you consider that the profits of your capital would be much greater than those you derive from your present estate?—They would certainly be much greater, as there would be profit and no loss, either from interest of capital invested in land or slaves, or by death of slaves. What do you reckon would be the difference in the cost of maintaining your slaves, and of maintaining hired labourers in India? If I buy a slave for 400 dollars, and as interest here is 12 per cent. per annum, the interest on 400 dollars is four dollars a month, and reckoning the food and clothing at $1\frac{1}{2}$ dollar a month, the expense on each slave is $5\frac{1}{2}$ dollars; and I could hire a labourer in India at 2 dollars, or 4 rupees, including his food. Do you consider that an Indian labourer will do as much work as a Mozambique slave? The Indians have more skill and intelligence, and will do more work in their own country than the slaves.”

(Signed) *W. M. S. Colebrook,* } Commissioners of Enquiry.
W. Blair, }

The next document is entitled “remarks on the means of improving the system by which labour is exacted in the Slave Colonies, by Captain Elliott, R. N., Protector of slaves for British Guiana, 18th January, 1832.” We must be content with extracts from it, premising that we introduce them chiefly, not under any idea that the present brutal system of forced labour as it exists in Guiana is to be continued, even for a single year, under the very best modifications which Captain Elliott has felt himself at liberty to suggest, but that our readers may see the enormous extent of the evil, the cruel and grinding oppression, which the people of this country, through their representatives, are now called upon to redress, or rather wholly to extinguish.

“*Guiana, January 18, 1832.*”

“In the general remarks appended to the Report which I have to-day had the honour to deliver to his Excellency the Governor, I felt it necessary to abstain from entering into any explanation of the causes to which I attribute the *deplorable increase in the Punishment Returns* for the half year ending on June 30th, 1831.”

"The largely increasing Punishment Returns clearly prove that the actual system of coercion, extensively as it is used, is perfectly inadequate to ensure the completion of the quantum of labour, which it is loudly declared the slaves could easily finish, if they were disposed to make the effort; and a further consideration of the punishments recorded for non-completion of work, during the last eighteen months, must lead to the inference that at least a fifth of the work allotted has fallen short under the inefficacy of the present mode of securing its performance.

"Either this position must be admitted, or the painful conclusion will present itself, that the punishments have been inflicted to a great extent for the non-completion of work which circumstances of unfavourable weather and other causes of difficulty rendered impossible of performance."

"It is not my purpose to contend that the slaves will work *regularly* for wages, and I am perfectly aware that regularity of work is absolutely necessary in the cultivation of the ordinary produce of these countries; but if they know that the power to coerce them be left, surely it is rational to conclude that they would rather choose to work industriously, with a hope to acquire profit and gain time, than they would perversely determine to work ill and late, to the exclusion of all chance of advantage, and under a strong apprehension of receiving punishment.

"A great love of money, a passionate admiration of dress and finery, and a remarkable proneness to imitate all the habits of expense of the whites, are the well known characteristics of the Negro race; and certainly such qualities present the most favourable means for powerfully seconding the efficacy of a safe and judiciously directed course of encouragement, involving the immediate and great modification and eventually the complete disuse of a system at once degrading, irritating, and inefficacious."

"Considering the subject in this light, let it be supposed that each person who produced, at the end of every week, a certificate from the manager or overseer that he had been employed the whole of the week, and had each day completed the task allotted to him, should be entitled to his proportion of the value of the produce of that week's labour. In the early institution of such a system, it is obvious that the payments should be very prompt, and, above all, it should be carefully insisted upon that no approach to the payment of wages by truck should be admissible; the amount should vary according to the strength and skill of the labourers, dividing them for that purpose into two or three gangs, according to the extent of the population and its state.

"To those who are employed in the more responsible situations, and in those parts of the process which require adroitness and attention, proportionably larger wages should be paid.

"Such a mode of regulating the scale of distribution would induce a disposition to deserve reputation for fidelity and care, and would beget an industrious inclination to acquire a knowledge of the more skilful branches of the business.

“Those who could produce certificates that they had performed *more* than their allotted tasks should receive payment, according to a just estimate of the *surplus* labour they had performed.”

After mentioning a few of the advantages which would necessarily result from this modified system of wages, Captain Elliott thus proceeds :—

“If the slaves resorted to their daily labour, impelled by the hope of acquiring profit, I am satisfied that, one day in the week taken with another, they would perform in the course of *six* days at least a *third* more work than can be procured from them under actual circumstances : and as soon too as they began to touch the means of extending their comforts, and enjoying the conveniences of life, by the honest efforts of their own industry, great and advantageous changes would be effected in the whole structure of society. Small retail dealers would find it worth their while to establish themselves in the vicinity of the large estates, and the proprietors would gladly encourage them to do so ; because it would have the effect of keeping their slaves at home, and enable them to direct and control their habits of expense, besides, in other respects, greatly improving the value of their properties. Villages would gradually grow up in the populous neighbourhoods for the location of tradesmen and rural artisans ; district markets would be established ; industrious competition would take place in all species of profitable occupation ; the price of labour would diminish with the price of provisions, and the whole machinery of civilization would fall into vigorous action.

“The present mode of endeavouring to insure the performance of labour is every day becoming more distinctly inadequate, and, upon the whole, when the utterly inefficacious nature of the system is considered,—when it is remembered that, under such circumstances, the rapidly advancing intelligence of the Negro must principally develope itself in an increasing dexterity, by all manner of means, to evade and defeat it,—I cannot refrain from declaring it to be no source of astonishment to me that the punishment returns for the half-year ending June 30, 1831, are so large as it has been my painful duty to record them to be. That they will continue to increase may be taken as certain ; and I am convinced I speak the sentiments of the most reflecting gentlemen in the country in saying that this state of things cannot continue to subsist. The slave has advanced beyond such a system of government, and the attempt to overtake and arrest him in his career by an increasing degree of severity, would be fatal indeed ; but, docile and forbearing, it would be a work of little difficulty beneficially to direct his energies and uses by the immediate and judicious substitution of better means.”—p. 590, 591.

“It is a great mistake to suppose that the respectable and reflecting portion of society in this country do not clearly perceive that the slave population is much

improved ; but perhaps the very greatest misfortune of slavery is its inaptitude to adapt itself to those changes which it is in its very nature to insist upon. The system stands still, while it forces the slave into a state of intelligence demanding a form of government of much more extended resource for his safe direction.— To yield any thing, it is said, is to abandon all ; but this is an extremely unsatisfactory ground for resisting the legal sanction, and rejecting the direction of improvement which it is impossible to prevent ; and, in short, to modify nothing in the shape of slavery, would be to manifest the semblance of complete power, risking, in reality, all the tremendous consequences of perfect weakness.

“ It is a source of bitter complaint in this country, that the constant expectation of legislation from England is calculated to produce the most unfortunate effects on the minds of the slaves ; and it is represented that the consequences of such a state of vague impatience on the one hand, and of alarm and consequent disinclination on the other, are calculated seriously to retard the progress of amelioration.

“ If all had been done and were still doing, which might have been effected by the proprietors themselves, with real advantage to their own interests, to meet the feelings of the country, so unequivocally expressed in Mr. Canning’s Resolutions of 1823, unanimously adopted by both Houses of Parliament, there would have been as little necessity, as there can have been little inclination, to legislate upon this subject at all.

“ I am convinced, however, that no thinking man of experience in the West Indies could deny, upon calm and deliberate reflection, that, if there had been no legislation at all on the subject of amelioration, the difficulties of this question, so far as they regard the state of the people, would be much greater than they are at present. The increased intelligence of the slave would have daily demanded an increasing degree of vigour to coerce him to work ; but consider the actual condition of this population, and then let it be fairly answered, whether such a state of things could have continued to exist without, long ere this, having produced some fatal and irreparable convulsion.

“ The necessity of ameliorating legislation of a progressive tendency has, unfortunately, been forced upon the government by the disinclination to legislate effectively with such a view on this side of the Atlantic. It is superfluous to say that there is very little disposition in this country frankly to accept these laws ; and the painful consequence is that the slave has not derived all the advantage from them which it has been the object of His Majesty’s Government to extend to him. Men read them carefully indeed, rather to cavil at, and with a view to evade, than to conform to them. However zealous His Majesty’s officers may be in all branches of the public service charged with their administration, it must be obvious that, in this unfavourable state of feeling upon the part of the proprietary, and with a slave population dispersed over a vast tract of country, the

means of insuring and insisting upon the observance of a body of law (necessarily very detailed in its nature) are small and slow of operation.

“ Such legislation, however excellent it may be, cannot provide for every exigency in the relative transactions of master and slave ; and it is difficult to doubt that the least omission, or dubious construction, until the point can be submitted to legal interpretation, will be made to press against the slave. Nay, in too many cases (the truth ought not be concealed), the very letter of the law will be executed in such a temper of irritation as will render it rather a source of inconvenience than of relief. Here then is the slave population clearly convinced of the benevolent intentions of His Majesty’s Government and the British public in their behalf, and perfectly sensible, on the other hand, that these intentions are frustrated to no inconsiderable extent by the feeling with which the laws are received and acted upon in this country. The probable consequence of this unfortunate state of things is seriously to be dreaded.”

“ It is impossible to observe the actual condition and habits of the Negro race in the West Indies, even in the most casual manner, and to consider the state of public feeling in England on the subject of slavery, without being powerfully struck by the reflection not only that the necessity for a great change is ripe, but with how little cheerful co-operation immensely beneficial modifications, involving progressive and rapid advancement, might at once be safely produced.

“ In conclusion, I cannot help expressing my conviction that, by the concession of a reasonable share of the profits of their own exertions to these people, they would in no long lapse of time have tranquilly and legally possessed themselves of a deep interest in the maintenance of peace and order, and in the increase of the wealth and importance of the colonies.”—p. 592, 593.

The only remaining document consists of answers returned by Captain Elliott to questions addressed by Viscount Goderich, relating to the treatment of slaves in British Guiana.

“ 1. At what hour in the morning is the daily task commenced ?”

“ The legal hours for *field* labour are from six in the morning till six in the evening, with two hours of interval allowed for rest and meals. The first signal of preparation is made ordinarily by a bell at four to half-past four. The time of departure from home depends on the nearness or remoteness of the field ; but the daily task may be said to have fairly commenced at from six to seven, A. M. There is no habitual work done by the slaves before they set out for the field, except preparing and eating their breakfast.”—p. 594.

“ 2. At what hour in the evening is the work usually finished ?”

“ It would be futile to attempt to deduce,” says Captain Elliott, “ any general average hours in the evening when the task of all the slaves is finished.”

But he goes on to state as follows :—

“ When the whip was no longer allowed to be kept in the field, as a stimulus

to labour, it became absolutely necessary to substitute some other motive for the completion of work."

"In the absence then of immediate coercive stimulus [and in this point the amelioration has been complete, and the advantage to all parties convincing] the performance of labour by 'task' was the most obvious means of presenting a sufficient inducement to industrious application; and certainly, exercised as such a system ought to be, it is difficult to doubt that it would be alike efficacious, both for the prevention of punishment and the completion of as large a quantity of work as it is reasonable can be completed; that is to say, reasonable, considered with relation to the amount and strength of the population employed, and the extent of the soil to be maintained in a state of cultivation.

"It is certainly natural to conjecture that, for the successful institution of the performance of labour by task, the system should have been minutely explained to the slaves, and its advantages made obviously manifest to them. In short, it was to be supposed that the adoption of the system was the result of an agreement between the master and his slave.

"'The law,' under this view, would the master have said to his slave, 'allows me to employ you for ten hours in the field, between six in the morning and six in the evening, and it allows you two hours of that interval for rest and meals; now, would you rather that I should insist upon your employment for the ten hours the law has permitted without fixing any stated portion of work, punishing you if I were not satisfied with the amount you had completed, or, on the other hand, would you prefer to have a certain portion of work allotted to you, which, by reasonable vigorous exertion, you may complete in much less time than ten hours?'

"'In this last case, if you choose to work continuously, all the time that you do gain upon the ten hours allowed to me by law (and you need only triflingly encroach upon the other two hours to refresh yourselves from time to time) may be added to the time you have economised of your own, and thus, at the close of your work, you will have a large portion of the afternoon wholly for yourselves.'

"It does not appear that the adoption of the task system has been the result of such explanation and agreement as I have adverted to. I cannot discover that the work is performed by task because the slave has been led to perceive it was most advantageous for him that it should be so performed.

"After very attentive enquiry, it does not seem to me that any option was left to him on the subject. Certain portions of work are allotted to him, and he has been broadly told, 'I know you can do that quantity of work, and if you do not, you shall be punished.' This is indeed to give a task; but it is not the allotment of work accompanied by an obvious motive to encourage its completion; it is surely not the adoption of the task system in the manner the subject was alluded to by the Memorialists (connected with these Colonies) to the King in Council in the year 1825.

“ The manner in which the slave will naturally regard the matter is this : can he complete the task in such a portion of time as makes it worth his while to work vigorously ? If he can complete it by about 3 P. M., it is because in that case he would gain at least an hour upon the lawful period for his employment allowed to his master ; but if the task will occupy him (the strength of one person considered with regard to that of another) till four, or perhaps five in the afternoon, what does he gain by such a system of portioning the labour ? Where is his encouragement to endeavour to complete the work ? It would be better for him that no fixed quantity of work should be allotted, but that his master should exact the ten hours of his employment in the field which the law has sanctioned, and that the slave should enjoy the two hours of remission between six in the morning and six in the evening.

“ It is true that the quantum of the different species of field labour allotted to each person on sugar estates is nominally not very dissimilar ; but is it always similarly judiciously modified according to the state of the field, the weather, the health, strength, and sex of the labourer ? I greatly fear it is not.

“ In the fact that the system is perfectly and successfully practised on certain estates, is to be found the most convincing proof of its complete efficacy ; and I know that in those estates the great principle of the rule is, to take especial care that the labour of each day is proportioned according to all the circumstances demanding consideration. The task allotted to each person is such a quantum as it is quite clear can be performed by that person in eight, or eight hours and a half of reasonably vigorous labour ; and the result of this simple and excellent principle is apparent in a diminished return of punishment, and a sustained, if not an increased return of produce.

“ The task system, efficaciously practised, is the dawning of the production of sugar by the payment of wages. The master who pursues it humanely and skilfully finds it his interest, upon every account, to offer the slave the payment of an hour or two hours of the time allowed him by law for the employment of that slave, and, if this last finds that the work is so proportioned that he really can gain the offered price, he will be sufficiently disposed to make the effort ; but in too many cases that offered price is unattainable, and therefore, of course, the effort is not made.”—p. 594, 595.

“ The task must not be increased because the slave, by dint of industrious practice, comes to perform it sooner than he did at first. It is obvious that, if the strictest faith be not unfailingly kept with the slave in this respect, he will be little disposed to work industriously.

“ I should be glad to believe that such a case has not occurred ; but at all events, if it has, it cannot be matter of surprise that such a practice of the task system has failed of success. The slave would be little inclined to work industriously if he felt that the early completion of his labour to-day would produce the allotment of a larger task to-morrow.”

“ On those estates where the task system is practised as it seems to be *just* to the slave, and *advantageous* to the master that it should be practised, the slaves employed in agricultural labour (one day taken with another throughout the year) have completed their task in the field at some time before 3 P. M.

“ On many estates in this Colony, under present circumstances, the slaves employed in agricultural labour (one day with another throughout the year) *leave off* their work in the field (task is rarely ever *completed*) some time between the hours of 4 and 6 P. M., and usually nearer 6 than 4.

“ I will not close these remarks without observing that in a recent conversation with a highly sensible gentleman (a proprietor in this Colony), on the mistaken policy of allotting such large portions of work to the slaves, or at all events not attending sufficiently to the modification of it according to circumstances, he said to me, that he was so satisfied of the truth of that view, that whenever his manager complained to him that the people did not complete their work, he was persuaded, and always discovered, that more had been allotted than it was reasonable to expect the slaves would strive vigorously to complete. In fact, it appeared either that there was no motive for industry, or that it was not sufficiently encouraging.

“ This gentleman’s return of punishment and return of produce are demonstrative of the truth of his opinions, and the advantage of his practice.”

“ It must be admitted that there is no cordial disposition frankly to accept and execute such legislation, and the means of enforcing an enactment of this kind, which could not fail to be generally obnoxious, are small, and extremely slow of operation.”—p. 596.

“ 3. What is the ordinary length of the intervals of rest allowed during the day? and is that rest generally complete, or are there any duties to be performed either for the owner or for the more immediate advantage of the slave himself?”

“ The slaves on those estates where the task system is properly practised take what rest they please in the field as it suits them, but, as they surely complete their tasks (one day with another throughout the year) some time before 3 P. M., they are always certain to gain an hour *more* than the time allowed them by law for rest and meals.

“ The slaves upon most estates in this Colony, under present circumstances, probably enjoy about two hours of uninterrupted time for rest and meals during the period of their occupation in the field.

“ It is almost the universal practice in this Colony to require that each field slave should collect a bundle of grass, and deposit it in the yard of the buildings, after the day’s labour be closed. This bundle weighs, on a fair average, perhaps about eight pounds, and it is probably most frequently collected during the course of the day’s work in the fields.”

“ In allotting the day’s task to a slave, I think it would be fair to give him half an hour for the collection, bringing home, and depositing of his grass; pro-

portioning the agricultural part of the task so that it could be finished in seven hours and a half; and for the collection, &c. &c., of the grass, half an hour more.

The slave has of course to attend afterwards to all his ordinary domestic and culinary offices.

“4. To what extent is labour required by night? how many nights or parts of nights is the same slave usually employed, and during what part of the year is nocturnal labour in use?”

The law provides that the slave shall enjoy at least eight hours' rest in the twenty-four.

In this country there is no regular time of crop. It occupies about ten days in every month, or about a third of the year. About twenty-four slaves are always about the works. The fire is lighted about four A.M., and extinguished about ten P.M. The slave, therefore, may enjoy eight hours of uninterrupted rest. Capt. Elliott alludes to the practice of having four or five people of the field during the night employed the whole year round as watchmen, and who are allowed no extra time either for preparation before the watch begins, or for rest after it is finished. The practice, he says, is not defensible, and ought to be prohibited (p. 597, 598).

“5. What is the average nature, amount, weight, and quality of the food allowed to plantation slaves, male and female, adults and children respectively?”

We know the schedule of the food and clothing required by law in Demerara; and it is miserably scanty (see *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. IV. No. 82, p. 294). “But,” observes Captain Elliott,

“It would be unjust to omit to remark, that the amount of the food allowed is, in general, less than the amount provided. Indeed I cannot help thinking that the slave has gained nothing by the enactment of this portion of the law. The proprietors of the large estates are generally liberal in these points, and their poorer neighbours are almost constrained to conform to their practice.”—p. 598.

He adds that much has been done to diminish the amount, and facilitate the performance of manual labour. Cattle have been substituted for men to tow punts on the canals. Rail-roads have been constructed for removing the megass from the mill, an alleviation of an extremely pressing species of labour, principally performed by the women, and frequently with injurious consequences. And other improvements have been introduced to alleviate labour; and credit is due to the humanity of those who have promoted these changes (p. 598).

Having now given to the public a faithful abstract of the voluminous evidence laid before the Committee of the House of Commons in the last Session, before we proceed to lay before them the still more voluminous evidence taken by the Committee of the House of Lords, we would beg to make a few brief observations on the present state of the Slavery Question.

That the abolitionists have fully established their case in evidence, no disinterested and candid man who reads the preceding pages with attention will venture to deny. They have shown, not only that the slaves will incur no risk of suffering want by emancipation, but that their speedy emancipation affords the only rational prospect of preserving the public peace, and of securing the permanent interests of the planters themselves.

That this view of the subject will not be shaken, but, on the contrary, will be amply confirmed by the result of the evidence, which, under far different auspices, and with far different objects, was laid before the Committee of the House of Lords, we take it upon us most unhesitatingly to assert. And to this result we should come, even if we were to confine our view solely and exclusively to the pro-slavery part of the case as by them exhibited.---A pamphlet, however, has just appeared, certainly the production of no feeble pen, which, meanwhile, may be perused by every man who feels an interest in this great question; and it will at least render the unavoidable delay that must take place in abstracting the whole of the evidence of the House of Lords, containing 1394 closely printed folio pages, less a subject of regret than it otherwise would be. And here the West Indians will have no right to complain, because, though the review of our anonymous author be *ex parte*, it is nevertheless an exhibition of *their own evidence* exclusively, leaving out of view the adverse testimony.

The pamphlet to which we allude, and to which we leave, in the mean time, the task of repelling the objection that we have produced only a part of the evidence brought before parliament, bears the quaint and questionable signature of *Legion*—and is entitled “A Letter to His Grace the Duke of Richmond, Chairman of the Slavery Committee of the House of Lords, containing an Exposure of the

Character of the Evidence on the Colonial side produced before the Committee.”—It is printed for Bagster, 15, Paternoster Row.

Now, we mean not to be considered as justifying either the style or certain expressions of this able and caustic writer ; but what we mean confidently to affirm is this, that he has completely overthrown the whole weight and credit of the pro-slavery evidence brought forward in the Committee of the House of Lords ; so that we may argue on the basis of that produced before the Committee of the House of Commons, without the slightest apprehension that any inference, which may be fairly deducible thence, shall be refuted by that of the Lords’ Committee.

If, then, we are right in affirming that the abolitionists have proved their case, and that colonial slavery, admitted to be a crime of the deepest dye, may be abolished forthwith without injury to the great sufferers by that crime, and without danger either to the public peace or, but by their own fault, to the persons and property of the planters, there can then exist no adequate motive for a day’s delay in proceeding to its extinction. Such delay, indeed, is to be deprecated, not more on account of the slaves than on that of their masters ; the prolongation of the miseries of the former being only an increase of the risks, both as to life and property, of the latter.

The simple ground, however, on which we are disposed, and indeed can alone consent to place the question is this :—Colonial Slavery is in itself a CRIME of the greatest enormity, besides being the parent of innumerable other crimes. It is an outrage on every principle of humanity and justice, and a flagrant violation of the spirit and precepts of Christianity. From the moment that this, its real nature, has been recognised there could exist no plea for permitting it to continue for an hour, but a well founded apprehension of injury to its victims from abolishing it. This apprehension, however, the offspring, not of reason, but of mere prejudice, has now been demonstrated to be unfounded, and that with a clearness and force of evidence which cannot be resisted. What remains therefore for a Christian Government and Parliament to do but to pronounce its immediate and utter extinction, accompanying the measure by such wise and just precautions as may obviate the alarms of the most timid ?

We are perfectly borne out in this view of the nation's duty by the often repeated and unequivocal declarations of not a few of his Majesty's present ministers :—

“ I consider,” says one who, though not actually a Cabinet minister, speaks on this particular point with the authority of one, we mean Lord Howick,—“ I consider the whole system of slavery one of such deep oppression, and iniquity, and cruelty, that, if I could be satisfied it was safe to emancipate the slaves now, I would say, ‘ Do so ; and do it at once ;’ and we will settle scores among ourselves afterwards, and determine in what proportion the penalty of our guilt is to be paid. But the victims of that guilt *must not continue for one hour to suffer*, while we are haggling about pounds, shillings, and pence.”

To this course, then, of taking immediate measures for the extinction of slavery, we can conceive but one possible objection on the part of the West Indians. It may be said that the examination of evidence in the two Committees was not completed at the close of the last session. But that examination, be it remembered, was wrung from the Government by the clamorous importunities of the whole West India body ; and, before it commenced, Lord Goderich had already, in his circular despatch to the colonial governors of the 5th November, 1831, adduced the most conclusive and unanswerable reasons against the necessity of instituting any such enquiry. But, now that the opportunity has been reluctantly conceded to the colonists of bringing forward the best evidence which the whole range of the West Indies could supply, and that the result has been such as we have seen, we cannot believe that any government or any parliament will listen to a single plea for a moment's farther delay on that score. There can be no real pretence for hearing farther evidence (Lord Goderich himself being our witness), but DELAY ; and therefore, on those who shall consent on that ground to renew so perfectly useless an enquiry, we must charge, before God and their country, all the awful responsibility that may follow such postponement. Neither the Government nor the Parliament, we are persuaded, will assent a second time to any such unreasonable proposition ; but if, unhappily, our expectations in this respect should be disappointed, the people of the United Kingdom will not be satisfied with the decision, and will regard it as

a virtual deviation from the numerous pledges so solemnly given on the hustings, at the late elections, and of which they will naturally demand a strict fulfilment.

Let the bill, therefore, which is to seal the death-warrant of slavery in every corner of the British empire, be brought in without any unnecessary delay, and let the irreversible decree go forth that that foul stain on the national character shall be effaced for ever.

When that too long delayed act of unquestionable justice shall have been performed, we shall then, with Lord Howick, deem it full time to consider, with every regard to equity, the question of the indemnities which ought to follow it.

January, 1833.

7
A

LETTER

TO

M. JEAN-BAPTISTE SAY,

ON THE

COMPARATIVE EXPENSE

OF

FREE AND SLAVE LABOUR

By ADAM HODGSON.

THE SECOND EDITION.

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1823.

This Pamphlet is reprinted at the request of the "London Society for Mitigating and gradually Abolishing the state of Slavery throughout the British dominions," and at their suggestion, the extracts from Foreign Authors have been translated.

TO
WILLIAM ROSCOE, ESQ. PRESIDENT,
AND TO
THE OTHER MEMBERS
OF
THE LIVERPOOL SOCIETY
FOR THE MITIGATION AND GRADUAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY,
THE FOLLOWING LETTER,
PRESENTED TO THEM,
AND PUBLISHED AT THEIR REQUEST,
IS MOST RESPECTFULLY
INSCRIBED.

LETTER, &c.

SIR,

IT is with much concern that I observe, in your excellent and popular work on Political Economy, the sentiments you express on the subject of the comparative expense of free and slave labour. Accustomed to respect you highly, as an enlightened advocate of liberal principles, and to admire the philanthropic spirit which pervades your writings, I cannot but regret deeply, that opinions so much calculated to perpetuate slavery should have the sanction of your authority; and that, while you denounce the slave-system as unjustifiable, you admit that in a pecuniary point of view it may be the most profitable.

As this subject is of peculiar importance at the present moment, when efforts are making, both in this country and in France, to effect the gradual abolition of slavery in the Colonies, I will not apologize for addressing you. The same regard to truth and candour, which secured your reluctant assent to an opinion little in unison, I am sure, with your feelings, will lead you to examine with impartiality any facts or arguments which I may adduce in my attempt to controvert it. Many of them, I am aware, must be familiar to you, but possibly even these may appear in a new light, and derive some additional force from their con-

nection with others which have not fallen under your observation.

The expense of slave-labour resolves itself into the annual sum which, in the average term of the productive years of a slave's life, will liquidate the cost of purchase or rearing, and support in old age, if he attain it, with interest, and the sum annually expended in his maintenance.

If we omit the case of purchased slaves, and suppose them to be bred on the estate, (and as breeding is now admitted to be, under ordinary circumstances, the cheapest mode of supply, your argument will gain by the supposition,) the expense of free labour will resolve itself into precisely the same elements, since the wages paid to free labourers of every kind, must be such as to enable them, one with another, to bring up a family, and continue their race.

Now it is observed by Adam Smith, "The wear and tear of a free servant is equally at the expense of his master, and it generally costs him much less than that of a slave. The fund destined for replacing and repairing, if I may say so, the wear and tear of a slave, is commonly managed by a negligent master, or careless overseer. That destined for performing the same office with regard to the free man, is managed by the free man himself. The disorders which generally prevail in the economy of the rich, naturally introduce themselves into the management of the former; the strict frugality and parsimonious attention of the poor, as naturally establish themselves in that of the latter." The Russian political economist, Storch, who had carefully examined the system of slavery in that extensive Empire, makes the same remark, almost in the same words. Hume expresses a similar opinion in decided terms; and I have now before me a statement from one of the slave districts in the United States, in which it is estimated that, taking the purchase-money or the expense

of rearing a slave, with the cost of his maintenance, at their actual rates, and allowing fifteen years of health and strength, during which to liquidate the first cost, his labour will be at least 25 per cent dearer than that of the free labourer in the neighbouring districts.

It is observed by a planter, in a letter published by the Hon. Joshua Steele, a member of the council in Barbadoes, under the signature of Philo Xylon, "The truth is, that although we plant much more ground than should be sufficient to produce provisions to feed our labouring slaves, yet the negroes, feeling that they have no direct property in these crops, and that we must buy more to supply them if those crops fall short, the cultivation is negligently performed by them, and the produce is afterwards stolen by the negro watchmen or their confederates, so that we seldom reap a third part of what should be the natural and probable produce. But if we could depend on their diligence and economy, in cultivating rented tenements and carefully storing their crops, they might undoubtedly be maintained better than they are, and at a much smaller expense than it costs us at present; not only by our wasting three times as much land as might be necessary for that purpose, but also by our cultivating it with a reluctant gang to our loss." From inquiries made with reference to this subject, it appears that the average weekly expense in the Liverpool Workhouse, for provisions, including ale, wine, spirits, tea, sugar, butter, &c. given to the sick, is 2s 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ d per head, exclusive of rent; while the average weekly expenditure of seven families, taken from among the labourers of a respectable commercial house, is only 1s 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d per head, exclusive of rent.

From the preceding particulars, it appears highly probable, that the cost of rearing and maintaining a slave,

would render his labour, under ordinary circumstances, at least as expensive as that of the free labourer. Let us next examine which is the most productive.

And here I shall again avail myself of the observations of Storch, the Russian economist:—"The slave, working always for another, and never for himself, being limited to a bare subsistence, and seeing no prospect of improving his condition, loses all stimulus to exertion, he becomes a machine, often very obstinate and very difficult to manage. A man who is not rewarded in proportion to the labour he performs, works as little as he can; this is an acknowledged truth, which the experience of every day confirms. Let a free labourer work by the day, he will be indolent; pay him by the piece, he will often work to excess, and ruin his health. If this observation is just in the case of the free labourer, it must be still more so in that of the slave."

"Whilst the ancient Romans cultivated their lands themselves, Italy was renowned for fertility and abundance, but agriculture declined when abandoned to slaves. Then, the land, instead of being brought under the plough, was transformed into meadows, and the inhabitants of this fine country became dependent for their subsistence on provinces situated beyond the sea. The small proprietors and farmers disappeared, and the same country which had formerly presented the smiling aspect of a crowd of villages, peopled with free men in easy circumstances, became a vast solitude, in which were scattered here and there, some magnificent palaces, which formed the most striking contrast with those miserable cabins and subterranean dens in which the slaves were shut up. These facts, related by the Roman historians, are attested and explained by Pliny, Columella, and Varro. 'What was the cause of these abundant harvests?' asks Pliny,

“ speaking of the early periods of the republic. ‘ It is,
 “ that at that time, men of consular dignity devoted them-
 “ selves to the cultivation of their fields, which are now
 “ abandoned to wretches loaded with irons, and bearing on
 “ their forehead the brand of their degraded condition.’
 “ The superiority of free over slave labourers, is even
 “ acknowledged by the masters, when they have sufficient
 “ intelligence to judge of the difference, and sufficient
 “ honesty to avow their sentiments. Recollect on this
 “ subject the passage of Columella, which I have already
 “ quoted, and in which he depicts the negligence and
 “ perverseness of slave labourers; in the same chapter,
 “ he advances as a fundamental principle, that whatever
 “ be the nature of the cultivation, the labour of the free
 “ cultivator is always to be preferred to that of the slave.
 “ Pliny is of the same opinion.”

“ Observe, that this testimony in favour of free labour, is
 “ given by Romans, who were at once proprietors of slaves
 “ and the most eminent writers on agriculture of their time.”
 “ In manufactures, the superiority of the free labourer over
 “ the slave is still more obvious than in agriculture. The
 “ more manufactures extend in Russia, the more people
 “ begin to feel the truth of this remark. In 1805, M.
 “ Panteleyef, a manufacturer in the district of Moscow,
 “ gave liberty to all his workmen who were slaves, the
 “ number of whom amounted to 84. The same year,
 “ M. Milioutin did the same.”

Brougham, in his Colonial Policy, fully concurs in these
 sentiments: “ It requires very little argument to prove,
 “ that the quantity of work which may be obtained from a
 “ labourer or drudge, is liable to be affected as much by
 “ the injurious treatment he receives, as by the idleness
 “ in which he may be permitted to indulge. When this
 “ drudge is a slave, no motive but fear can operate on his

“diligence and attention. A constant inspection is, therefore, absolutely necessary, and a perpetual terror of the lash the only prevention of indolence; but there are certain bounds perscribed, even to the power of the lash; it may force the unhappy victim to move, because the line of distinction between motion and rest, action and repose, is definite; but no punishment can compel the labourer to strenuous exertions, because there is no measure or standard of activity. A state of despair, and not of industry, is the never-failing consequence of severe chastisement; and the constant repetition of the torture only serves to blunt the sensibility of the nerves, and disarm punishment of its terrors. The body is injured, and the mind becomes as little willing as the limbs are able to exert.”

Hume remarks, “I shall add, from the experience of our planters, that slavery is as little advantageous to the master as to the man. The fear of punishment will never draw so much labour from a slave, as the dread of being turned off, and not getting another service, will give a free man.

Burke observes, in his treatise on European Settlements, “I am the more convinced of the necessity of these indulgences, as slaves certainly cannot go through so much work as free men. The mind goes a great way in every thing, and when a man knows that his labour is for himself, and that the more he labours, the more he is to acquire; this consciousness carries him through, and supports him beneath fatigues, under which he would otherwise have sunk.”

“That the proprietors of West India estates,” observes Dr. Beattie, “would be in any respect materially injured by employing free servants (if these could be had) in their several manufactures, is highly improbable, and has,

“ indeed, been absolutely denied by those who were well
 “ informed on this subject. A clergyman of Virginia
 “ assured me, that a white man does double the work of a
 “ slave ; which will not seem wonderful, if we consider that
 “ the former works for himself, and the latter for another ;
 “ that by the law, one is protected, the other oppressed ;
 “ and that in the articles of food and clothing, relaxation
 “ and rest, the free man has innumerable advantages. It
 “ may, therefore, be presumed, that if all who serve in the
 “ Colonies were free, the same work would be performed
 “ by half the number, which is now performed by the
 “ whole. The very soil becomes more fertile under the
 “ hands of free men, so says an intelligent French author,
 “ (Le Poivre,) who, after observing that the products of
 “ Cochin China are the same in kind with those of the West
 “ Indies, but of better quality, and in greater abundance,
 “ gives for a reason, that ‘ the former are cultivated by
 “ free men, and the latter by slaves ;’ and therefore argues,
 “ ‘ that the negroes beyond the Atlantic ought to be made
 “ free.’ ‘ The earth,’ says he, ‘ which multiplies her pro-
 “ ductions with profusion under the hands of a free-born
 “ labourer, seems to shrink into barrenness under the sweat
 “ of the slave.’ ”

“ It is an ill-grounded opinion,” says Franklin, in his
 “ Essay on the Peopling of Countries, “ that by the labour
 “ of slaves America may possibly vie in cheapness of manu-
 “ tures with Great Britain. The labour of slaves can never
 “ be so cheap here, as the labour of working men is in
 “ Great Britain. Any one may compute it. Reckon,
 “ then, the interest of the first purchase of a slave, the in-
 “ surance or risk on his life, his clothing and diet, expenses
 “ in his sickness and loss of time, loss by his neglect of
 “ business, (neglect which is natural to the man who is not
 “ to be benefited by his own care or diligence,) expense of

“a driver to keep him at work, and his pilfering from time to time, (almost every slave being, from the nature of slavery, a thief,) and compare the whole amount with the wages of a manufacturer of iron or wool, in England; you will see that labour is much cheaper there, than it ever can be by negroes here.”

Koster, in his *Travels in the Brazils*, observes, “The slave-trade is impolitic, on the broad principle that a man, in a state of bondage, will not be so serviceable to the community as one who acts for himself, and whose whole exertions are directed to the advancement of his own fortune; the creation of which, by regular means, adds to the general prosperity of the society to which he belongs. This undoubted and indisputable fact must be still more strongly impressed on the mind of every one who has been in the habit of seeing the manner in which slaves perform their daily labour. This indifference, and the extreme slowness of every movement, plainly point out the trifling interest which they have in the advancement of the work. I have watched two parties labouring in the same field, one of free persons, the other of slaves, which occasionally, though very seldom, occurs. The former are singing, joking, and laughing, and are always actively turning hand and foot; whilst the latter are silent, and if they are viewed from a little distance, their movements are scarcely to be perceived.”

Hall, adverting to the pernicious effects of slavery on the southern states of North America, observes, “Experience shows, that the quantity of labour performed by slaves, is much below that of an equal number of free cultivators.”

An intelligent American gentleman, to whom queries on this subject were sent out, remarks, “I have in one of my answers, exposed the effect of slave-cultivation on the soil of our country, and on the value of real estate. I

“ will here further observe, that independently of this, there
 “ is no fact more certainly believed by every sound mind in
 “ this country, than that slave labour is abstractedly in
 “ itself, as it regards us, a great deal dearer than labour
 “ performed by free men; this is susceptible of clear proofs.”

It is observed by Mr. Ramsay, who had twenty years' experience in the West Indies, “ I am firmly of opinion,
 “ that a sugar plantation might be cultivated to more
 “ advantage, and at much less expense, by labourers who
 “ were free men than by slaves.” Dr. Dickson, who resided in Barbadoes as secretary to the late Hon. Edward Hay, the Governor of that island, observes, in a letter published in his valuable work, on the Mitigation of Slavery, “ You
 “ need not be informed, that it has been known for many
 “ ages, by men of reflection, that the labour of slaves,
 “ whether bought or bred, though apparently cheaper, is
 “ really far dearer in general than that of free men.”
 “ The arguments which support this conclusion, as applicable to modern Colonial slavery, were long ago assented
 “ to and exemplified by men intimately acquainted with and
 “ interested in the subject.” In another letter in the same work, he gives “ a calculation made under the guidance of
 “ M. Coulomb, an able mathematician and experienced
 “ engineer, who for many years conducted extensive military
 “ works both in France and the West Indies, and has
 “ published the result of his observations.” From this he infers, “ that field slaves do only between a third and a
 “ half of the work despatched by reluctant French
 “ soldiers, and probably not more than a third of what
 “ those very slaves would do if urged by their own interest,
 “ instead of brute force, as Mr. Steele experienced.” In speaking of Mr. Steele's experience in another place, he remarks, “ He has ascertained as a fact, what was before
 “ known to the learned as a theory, and to practical men as

“ a paradox, *That the paying of slaves for their labour, does actually produce a very great profit to their owners.*” Again, this able and experienced writer observes, “ The planters do not take the right way to make human beings put forth their strength. They apply main force where they should apply moral motives, and punishments alone where rewards should be judiciously intermixed. And yet, strange to tell, those very men affirm, and affirm truly, that a slave will do more work for himself in an afternoon, than he can be made to do for his owner in a whole day or more. Now what is the plain inference? Mr. Steele, though a stranger in the West Indies, saw it at once, and resolved to turn it to account. He saw that the negroes, like all other human beings, were to be stimulated to permanent exertion only by a sense of their own interests, in providing for their own wants and those of their offspring. He therefore tried rewards, which immediately roused the most indolent to exertion. His experiments ended in regular wages, which the industry he had excited among his whole gang, enabled him to pay. Here was a natural, efficient, and profitable reciprocity of interests. His people became contented; his mind was freed from that perpetual vexation, and that load of anxiety, which are inseparable from the vulgar system, and in *little better than four years, the annual nett clearance of his property was more than tripled.*”

“ I must additionally refer,” remarks the same intelligent writer in another place, “ to an excellent pamphlet, entitled *Observations on Slavery*, (published in 1788, and now out of print,) by my late worthy friend Dr. James Anderson, who shows that the labour of a West India slave costs about thrice as much as it would cost if executed by a free man. Taking another case, he demonstrates that the labour of certain colliers in Scotland, who, till our own

“ times, were subjected to a mild kind of vassalage, regulated
 “ by law, was twice as dear as that of the free men who
 “ wrought other coal-mines in the the same country, and
 “ thrice as dear as common day labour.”

It is observed by Mr. Botham, “ It may be desirable to
 “ know that sugar, better and cheaper than in our Island,
 “ is produced in the East Indies by free labourers. China,
 “ Bengal, and Malabar produce quantities of sugar and
 “ spirits, but the most considerable estates are near Batavia.
 “ The proprietor is generally a rich Dutchman, who builds
 “ on it substantial works. He rents the estate off (of 300
 “ or more acres) to a Chinese, who superintends it, and
 “ re-lets it to free men in parcels of 50 or 60 acres, which
 “ they plant at so much per pecul (133½¹/₁₆) of the sugar
 “ produced. The superintendant collects people to take
 “ off the crop. One set, with their carts and buffaloes, cut
 “ the canes, carry them to the mill, and grind them; a
 “ second set boils the sugar, and a third set clays and
 “ baskets it for the market; all at so much per pecul.
 “ Thus the renter knows what every pecul will cost
 “ him. He has no unnecessary expense; for when the
 “ crop is over, the last men go home; and for seven months
 “ in the year, the cane-planters only remain, preparing the
 “ next crop. By dividing the labour, it is cheaper and
 “ better done. *After spending two years in the West*
 “ *Indies*, I returned to the East in 1776, and conducted
 “ sugar-works in Bencoolen on similar principles with the
 “ Dutch. Having experienced the difference of labourers
 “ for profit and labourers from force, I can assert that the
 “ savings by the former are very considerable. By follow-
 “ ing as nearly as possible the East India mode, and con-
 “ solidating the distilleries, I do suppose *our sugar Islands*
 “ *might be better worked than they now are, by two-thirds,*
 “ *or indeed one-half, of the present force.* Let it be con-

“sidered how much labour is lost by overseeing the forced labourer, which is saved when he works for his own profit. *I have stated, with the strictest veracity, the plain matter of fact, that sugar-estates can be worked cheaper by free persons than slaves.*”

“Marsden, in his history of Sumatra,” says Dr. Dickson, “highly commends Mr. Botham’s management of the sugar-works at Bencoolen by free labourers, and says that the expenses, *particularly of the slaves*, frustrated many former attempts of the English to cultivate the sugar-cane profitably at that place.”

I think we might safely infer, from the preceding particulars, that, under ordinary circumstances, the labour of free men is cheaper than that of slaves; but there are many other considerations which strongly confirm this conclusion.

If slave labour were cheaper than free labour, we should naturally expect that, in a state where slavery was allowed, land, *ceteris paribus*, would be most valuable in the districts where that system prevailed; and that in two adjoining states, in the one of which slavery was allowed, and in the other prohibited, land would be least valuable in the latter; but the contrary is notoriously the fact. In a late communication from America on this subject, from an intelligent observer, it is remarked: “The system of slave cultivation, as practised in the United States of America, has likewise a most destructive effect on the soil of our country. The state of Maryland, though a slave state, has comparatively but few slaves in the upper or western part of it; the land, in this upper district, is generally more broken by hills and stones, and is not so fertile as that on the southern and eastern parts. The latter has also the advantage of being situated upon the navigable rivers that flow into the Chesapeake Bay, and its produce can be conveyed to market at one-third of the average expense

“ of that from the upper parts of the state ; yet, with all
 “ these advantages of soil, situation, and climate, the land
 “ within the slave district will not, upon a general average,
 “ sell for half as much per acre as that in the upper dis-
 “ tricts, which is cultivated principally by free men. This
 “ fact may be also further and more strikingly illustrated
 “ by the comparative value of land within the states of
 “ Virginia and Pennsylvania, the one lying on the south,
 “ and the other on the north side of Maryland ; the one a
 “ slave, the other a free state. In Virginia, land of the
 “ same natural soil and local advantages, will not sell for
 “ one-third as high a price as the same description of land
 “ will command in Pennsylvania. This single, plain,
 “ incontrovertible fact speaks volumes upon the relative
 “ value of slave and free labour, and it is presumed renders
 “ any further illustration unnecessary.”

If slave labour were cheaper than free labour, we might fairly infer that, in a state in which slavery was allowed, free labour would be reduced by competition to a level with the labour of slaves, and not slave labour to a level with the labour of freemen ; and that in two adjoining states, in the one of which slavery was allowed, and in the other prohibited, labour would be highest, *ceteris paribus*, in that in which slavery was proscribed. But experience proves the reverse.—Storch observes, that those who hire slaves in Russia, are obliged to pay more than they who hire free men, “ Unless they live in a place where the com-
 “ petition of free labourers reduces to a level the hire of
 “ slaves and the wages of free labourers. The interior of
 “ Russia, and the capitals of that empire, furnish proofs of
 “ the truth of this observation. In the capital, the compe-
 “ titon of free labourers is the greatest, and although the
 “ wages of free labour are very high there, the hire of slaves
 “ is, notwithstanding, less than in the interior.” Thus it

appears, that in those parts of Russia, where free and slave labour are brought into competition, slave labour is only reduced to a level with free labour by sinking below the average rate which it maintains in the rest of the empire. When in Norfolk, Virginia, in the winter of 1820, I was told, that many slaves gave their masters two dollars, or nine shillings per week, for permission to work for themselves, and retain the surplus. I also found, that the common wages of slaves who are hired, were 20s 3d per week and their food, at the very time when flour was 4 dollars, or 18s, per barrel of 196lbs, and beef and mutton 3d to 4d per lb. Five days afterwards, in travelling through the rich agricultural districts of the free state of Pennsylvania, I found able-bodied white men willing to work for their food only. This, indeed, was in the winter months, and during a period of extraordinary pressure. I was told, however, that the average agricultural wages, in this free state, were 5 or 6 dollars per month, and food; while, in Norfolk, at the time I allude to, they were 18 dollars per month, and food. If it should be replied, that in the town of Norfolk, the price of slave labour was likely to be much higher than in the country, I would ask, why it is not so in the principal towns of Russia?

If slave labour were cheaper than free labour, we should naturally expect to find it employed in the cultivation of those articles in which extended competition had reduced profits to the lowest point. On the contrary, however, we find that slave labour is gradually exterminated when brought into competition with free labour, except where legislative protection, or peculiarity of soil and climate, establish such a monopoly as to admit of an expensive system of management. The cultivation of indigo by slaves in Carolina, has been abandoned, and the price of cotton reduced one-half, since these articles have had to compete

in the European markets with the productions of free labour; and notwithstanding a transportation of three times the distance, the West India planters declare that they shall be ruined, if sugar from the East Indies shall be admitted at the same duty as from the West.

If slave labour were cheaper than free labour, we might reasonably infer, that in proportion as the circumstances of the cultivators rendered economy indispensable, either from the difficulty of obtaining slaves, or other causes, the peculiar features of slavery would be more firmly established, and that every approach to freedom would be more sedulously shunned in the system of culture. But it is found, by the experience of both ancient and modern times, that nothing has tended more to assimilate the condition of the slave to that of the free labourer, or actually to effect his emancipation, than the necessity imposed by circumstances of adopting the most economical mode of cultivation.

“In ancient times,” says Brougham, “a great part of
 “the population of the most polished states, was the
 “personal property of the rest. These slaves were chiefly
 “captives taken directly in war, or purchased from other
 “warlike nations who had obtained them in this way. The
 “constant hostilities which at that time divided the people
 “of all countries, rendered this a very fruitful source
 “of supply. During the rise of Athens and Rome,
 “accordingly, when many foreign nations were by rapid
 “steps conquered, and when others, still unsubdued, could
 “sell the persons of their weaker neighbours, there was
 “never any scarcity of men in the great slave-markets.
 “The cruelty of the treatment which those unhappy men
 “experienced, was proportioned to the ease with which they
 “were procured; and we have already remarked how in-
 “tolerable their lot was, among the very people who called
 “every foreigner a barbarian. As war became less common,

“ and the arts of peace were more cultivated, this supply
 “ of slaves, of course, decreased; and when the Roman
 “ empire, tottering under its own weight, could think of
 “ nothing less than new conquests, there was an end of
 “ importing slaves. Accordingly, with the progress of real
 “ civilization, but still more with the diminution of wars
 “ and conquests, was introduced a milder system of domes-
 “ tic government, a greater humanity towards the slaves,
 “ and a more careful attention to breeding, when the stock
 “ could neither be kept up nor increased by other means.
 “ The laws added their sanction to this salutary change,
 “ which no laws could of themselves have wrought. The
 “ rights of slaves came to be recognized, the conduct of
 “ the master to be watched, and the practice of emanci-
 “ pation to be encouraged. By degrees, the slaves were
 “ incorporated with their masters, and formed part of the
 “ great free population, which was rather mixed with, than
 “ subdued by, the Goths.”

“ To the slavery of the ancients, succeeded the bondage
 “ and villenage of their Gothic conquerors. But the differ-
 “ ence between the two was marked and important. The
 “ Greek and Roman slaves were imported; the Gothic
 “ slaves were the peasantry of the country, and born on
 “ the spot, unless during the wars which accompanied the
 “ first inroads of the northern tribes. Accordingly, we
 “ find no parallel between the rigour of the ancient and of
 “ the modern slave system; and a foundation was laid in
 “ this essential difference, for a much more rapid improve-
 “ ment of the whole society, than took place in Greece or
 “ Rome, notwithstanding the superior refinement of the
 “ classic times. The slave first became attached to his
 “ master, not as his personal property, but as a part of his
 “ stock, and astricted to the soil, to use the language of the
 “ feudal ages. By degrees, the mutual interests of the lord

“ and his villeins, in the progress of national improvement,
 “ operated that important change in the state of manners,
 “ out of which the modern division of ranks, and the
 “ privileges of the lower orders, have arisen in the civilized
 “ quarters of the European community. First, the villein
 “ obtained the use of the land to which he had been
 “ annexed, and of the stock in which he had been com-
 “ prehended, on condition that a certain proportion (gene-
 “ rally one-half) of the produce should belong to the lord
 “ of the land, and proprietor of the stock. This great
 “ change, one of the most signal of those events which have
 “ laid the foundation of human improvement, by degrees
 “ too slow for the observation of historians, was owing
 “ entirely to the master discovering how much his interest
 “ was connected with the comfort of his slaves, how neces-
 “ sary it was to treat well that race whose toils supported
 “ the community in ease, and whose loss could not be
 “ repaired; how much more profitable it was to divide with
 “ the vassal the fruits of his free and strenuous exertions,
 “ than to monopolize the scanty produce of his compulsory
 “ toil. As soon as the right of property, and the secure
 “ enjoyment of the fruits of labour were extended to the
 “ vassals, the progress of improvement became constant and
 “ visible. The proportion of the fruits paid to the lord
 “ was diminished according to an indefinite standard; the
 “ peasant having been permitted to acquire property, pro-
 “ vided his own stock, and obtained the power of changing
 “ his residence, and commuting the nature of his service.
 “ By degrees, the rent came to be paid in money, according
 “ to the number of competitors for a farm; and they who
 “ could not farm land themselves, sold their labour to
 “ others for a certain price or maintenance. Lastly, the
 “ legislature secured the lease of the farmer with the same
 “ certainty that it secured the property of the landlord,

“ and recognized the one as well as the other for useful and independent subjects.”

“ A similar progress will most probably be the result of that abolition, the supposition of which we are indulging, (the abolition of the slave-trade.) That this idea is not chimerical, the consideration of a few facts, very little known in the history of America, may convince us.”

“ The peculiar circumstances in the situation of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of South America, have already partially operated some of those happy effects which we may expect from the abolition of the slave-trade. The high price of the negroes in the Spanish settlements, partly from absurd regulations of trade, partly from the deficiency of the Spaniards in the practice of commerce and naval affairs, causes that want of hands which would prevail in its full extent, were the African trade stopt.” “ From these circumstances, and partly, no doubt, from the peculiarly indolent character of the colonists in those parts, there has arisen a much better system of treatment than any other European colonies can boast of.” “ Other views of interest have conspired to confirm and extend this system of mildness and equity towards the slaves; and the legislature has not failed, by every prudent interference, to assist the inferior race in the acquisition of rights and privileges,”

“ Thus we meet with many very singular analogies between the history of the negroes in South America, and that of the villeins or bondsmen of Europe, in the earlier feudal times. All the gold and jewels in Brazil have, for many years, been collected according to the same plan that the feudal lords adopted for the purpose of quickening the industry of their vassals. The master supplies the slaves daily with a certain quantity of provisions and tools, and the slave is obliged to return a

“ certain quantity of gold or jewels, according to the nature
 “ of the ground. Every thing that remains over this ration,
 “ the negro keeps himself, were the balance to be millions.
 “ The gold-mines of Popayan and Choco, in Spanish
 “ America, are wrought in the very same way. The finest
 “ pearl fisheries in South America, those of Panama for
 “ example, are in the hands of negro tenants, as it were.
 “ These are bound to give a certain number of pearls every
 “ week. The negroes in the towns are allowed to hire
 “ themselves out to services of different kinds; on condition
 “ of returning to their masters a certain portion of their
 “ wages; the rest they may spend or hoard up for their
 “ own use.”

“ After a slave has, in any of these various ways,
 “ acquired property, he endeavours to purchase his free-
 “ dom. If the master is exorbitant in his demands, he
 “ may apply to a magistrate, who appoints sworn appraisers
 “ to fix the price at which the slave shall be allowed to buy
 “ his freedom. Even during his slavery, the behaviour of
 “ the master towards him is strictly watched; he may
 “ complain to the magistrate, and obtain redress, which
 “ generally consists in a decree, obliging the master to sell
 “ him at a certain rate. The consequences of all these
 “ laws and customs are extremely beneficial to the Spanish
 “ and Portuguese power in America. While the slaves
 “ are faithful and laborious, the free negroes are numerous,
 “ and in general much more quiet, useful, and industrious,
 “ than in the other colonies. Most of the artificers are of
 “ this class; and some of the best troops in the New
 “ World are composed entirely of negroes who, by their
 “ own labour and frugality, have acquired their liberty.”

“ It is hardly necessary to remark the striking analogy
 “ between the state of the Spanish and Portuguese negroes,
 “ and that of the European bondsmen, at a certain period

“ of their progress towards liberty. We find the same
 “ gentleness of treatment, the same protection from the
 “ laws, the same acknowledgments of rights, the same
 “ power of acquiring property, granted to the American
 “ slave, which prepared the complete emancipation of the
 “ European vassal. In some particulars, we observe another
 “ step of the same progress ; for in many parts, the negroes
 “ are precisely in the situation of the *coloni partiarum*, or
 “ metayers of the feudal times. In one respect, the negro
 “ is even in a more favourable situation : his *reddendo* (if
 “ I may use the expression) is fixed and definite ; all the
 “ overplus of his industry belongs to himself. The metayer
 “ was bound to divide every gain with his lord. The
 “ former, then, has a much stronger incentive to industry
 “ than the latter had. As this difference, however, arises,
 “ not from the progress of society, but from the nature of
 “ the returns themselves, easily concealed, and with diffi-
 “ culty procured : so, in some other respects, the negro is
 “ not in such favourable circumstances. But the great
 “ steps of the process of improvement are materially the
 “ same in both cases. Both have in common the great
 “ points of a bargain between the master and the slave ;
 “ privileges possessed by the slave independent of, nay, in
 “ opposition to his master ; the rights of property enjoyed
 “ by the slave, and the power of purchasing his freedom
 “ at a just price. This resemblance, in circumstances so
 “ important, may fairly be expected to render the progress
 “ of the two orders also similar. In the negro, as in the
 “ feudal system, we may look for the consequences of those
 “ great improvements in voluntary industry, more pro-
 “ ductive labour, and the mitigation and final abolition of
 “ slavery, when the slave shall have been gradually pre-
 “ pared to become a free subject.

“ Some of the good effects that have flowed from the
 “ national character, and peculiar circumstances of the
 “ Spanish and Portuguese, have been produced also in
 “ Dutch America, by that great competition of capitals,
 “ and those complicated difficulties, which lay the Dutch
 “ colonists under the necessity of attending to the smallest
 “ savings. If, from this source, combined with the facility
 “ of importation, has arisen a cruelty, unknown in other
 “ colonies, it may be doubted whether a compensation for
 “ the evil is not afforded by another effect of the same cir-
 “ cumstances:—the general introduction of task work,
 “ which the keen-sighted spirit of a necessary avarice has
 “ taught the planter of Dutch Guiana to view as the most
 “ profitable manner of working his slaves. Nothing, indeed,
 “ can conduce more immediately to the excitement of in-
 “ dustry, than the introduction of task-work. It seems
 “ the natural and easy transition from labour to industry;
 “ it forms in the mind of the slave those habits which are
 “ necessary for the character of the free man: it thus pre-
 “ pares him for enjoying, by a gradual change, those
 “ rights and privileges which belong to freedom.”

Of that modification of slavery under which the slave
 pays a tax or tribute to his master for permission to work
 on his own account, and to which such important effects are
 ascribed in the preceding extracts, Storch observes, “ This
 “ milder form of slavery has been adopted by different
 “ nations, but I doubt if it has existed any where to the
 “ same extent as in Russia. It is one of the most efficacious
 “ means of mitigating the fatal effects of slavery, and if
 “ there is ever any serious intention of abolishing it, this
 “ institution offers the most simple and least inconvenient
 “ means.” Now it would be difficult to find a stronger proof
 of the paralyzing influence of slavery on human exertion,

than the beneficial results which have followed the substitution in its place of a system so oppressive as even this mitigated form of bondage is represented to be by intelligent travellers. Mr. Heber remarks: "The peasants, belonging to the nobles in Russia, have their abrock raised by their means of getting money. It then becomes, not a rent of land, but a downright tax upon their industry. Each male peasant is obliged by law to labour three days in each week for his proprietor. If the proprietor chooses to employ him the other days, he may; as for instance, in a manufactory, but he then finds him in food and clothing. If a slave exercises any trade which brings him in more money than agricultural labour, he pays a higher abrock. The peasants, employed as drivers at the post-houses, pay an abrock out of the drink-money they receive for being permitted to drive; as otherwise, the master might employ them in other less profitable labour, on his own account. Sometimes they pay an abrock for permission to beg." "In despite," says Dr. Clarke, "of all the pretended regulations made in favour of the peasant, the tax he is called upon to pay, or the labour he is compelled to bestow, depends wholly on the caprice of his tyrant."

Task-work, another important, although earlier step in the progress from slavery to freedom, than a participation of earnings with a master, and another instance of the substitution of a cheaper for a more expensive system of cultivation, I found to be almost universal in the Atlantic States of America, where tobacco, cotton, and rice, are the staple articles of production; but I never heard of an instance of it in the sugar plantations of Louisiana, where great profits render attention to economy less necessary.

If slave labour were cheaper than free labour, we might confidently presume that estates would be rendered less

productive by the emancipation of the slaves which cultivated them; but the presumption is contradicted by experience. “A few Polish nobles, (observes Coxe, in his travels in Poland,) of benevolent hearts, and enlightened understandings, have acted upon different principles, and have ventured upon the expedient of giving liberty to their vassals. The event has shown this to be no less judicious than humane, no less friendly to their own interests than to the happiness of the peasants; for it appears that in the districts in which the new arrangement has been introduced, the population of their villages has been considerably increased, and the revenues of their estates augmented in a triple proportion. The first noble who granted freedom to his peasants, was Zamoiski, formerly great chancellor, who, in 1761, enfranchised six villages, in the palatinate of Masovia.” “These villages were, in 1777, visited by the author of the patriotic letters, from whom I received the following information:—On inspecting the parish registers of births, from 1750 to 1760, that is, during the ten years of slavery immediately preceding their enfranchisement, he found the births 434; in the first ten years of their freedom, from 1760 to 1770, 628; and from 1770 to the beginning of 1777, 585. By these extracts, it appeared that, during the

“ First period, there were only 43 births	} each year.
“ Second ditto 62 ditto	
“ Third ditto 77 ditto	

“The revenues of the six villages, since their enfranchisement, have been augmented in a much greater proportion than their population. In the state of vassalage, Zamoiski was obliged, according to the custom of Poland, to build cottages and barns for his peasants, and to furnish them with food, horses, and ploughs, and every implement of

“ agriculture: since their enfranchisement, they are become
 “ so easy in their circumstances, as to provide themselves
 “ with all these necessaries at their own expense, and they
 “ likewise cheerfully pay an annual rent in lieu of the
 “ manual labour formerly exacted by their master. *By*
 “ *these means, the receipts of this particular estate have*
 “ *been nearly tripled.*

“ The example of Zamoiski has been followed by
 “ Chreptowitz, vice-chancellor of Lithuania, and the Abbe
 “ Bryzowski, with similar success. Prince Stanislaus,
 “ the king of Poland, has warmly patronized the plan of
 “ giving liberty to the peasants. He has enfranchised four
 “ villages not far from Warsaw, in which he has not only
 “ emancipated the peasants from their slavery, but even
 “ condescends to direct their affairs. He explained to me,
 “ in the most satisfactory manner, that the grant of freedom
 “ was no less advantageous to the lord than to the peasant,
 “ provided the former is willing to superintend their con-
 “ duct for a few years, and to put them in the way of
 “ acting for themselves. He intends giving the public a
 “ particular account of his arrangements, and will show
 “ how much he has increased the value of his estate, as
 “ well as the happiness of his peasants.”

It is stated in the supplement to the Report of the Privy Council, in reply to the 17th of the Queries from his Excellency Governor Parry, answered by the Hon. Joshua Steel, a planter of 1068 acres, in the parishes of St. John, St. Philip, and St. George, in the island of Barbadoes:
 “ On a plantation of 288 slaves, in June 1780, viz. 90
 “ men, 82 women, 56 boys, and 60 girls, by the exertions
 “ of an able and honest manager, there were only 15 births,
 “ and no less than 57 deaths, in three years and three
 “ months. An alteration was made in the mode of govern-
 “ ing the slaves, the whips were taken from all the white

“servants, all arbitrary punishments were abolished, and
 “all offences were tried, and sentence passed by a negro
 “court. *In four years and three months*, under this
 “change of government, there were 44 births, and only 41
 “deaths, of which 10 deaths were of superannuated men
 “and women, and past labour, some above 80 years old.
 “*But in the same interval, the annual nett clearance of*
 “*the estate was above three times more than it had been*
 “*for ten years before.*”

If, then, it has appeared that we should be naturally led to infer, from the very constitution of human nature, that slave labour is more expensive than the labour of free men ; if it has appeared that such has been the opinion of the most eminent philosophers and enlightened travellers in different ages and countries ; if it has appeared that in a state where slavery is allowed, land is most valuable in those districts where the slave system prevails the least, notwithstanding great disadvantages of locality ; and that in adjoining states, with precisely the same soil and climate, in the one of which slavery is allowed, and in the other prohibited, land is most valuable in that state in which it is proscribed ; if it has appeared that slave labour has never been able to maintain its ground in competition with free labour, except where monopoly has secured high profits, or protecting duties afforded artificial support ; if it has appeared that, in every quarter of the globe, in proportion as the circumstances of the planter rendered attention to economy more indispensable, the harsher features of the slave-system have disappeared, and the condition of the slave has been gradually assimilated to that of the free labourer ; and if it has appeared that the mitigation of slavery has been found, by experience, to substitute the alacrity of voluntary labour, for the reluctance of compulsory toil ; and that emancipation has rendered the estates

on which it has taken place, greatly and rapidly more productive—I need not, I think, adduce additional proofs of the truth of the general position, that slave labour is more expensive than the labour of freemen.

And here, perhaps, I might safely leave the question; yet, since your arguments, although of a general nature, and not restricted in their application to any peculiarity of circumstances or situation, seem to be derived from a somewhat partial view of the state of things in the West Indies, I shall proceed to examine, whether they afford any presumption that those islands present an exception to the general rule.

The comparison which you have made between the price of slave and free labour in the Antilles, appears to me by no means to warrant the conclusion you have drawn from it. Where the proportion of free labourers is extremely small, and labour is rendered degrading, or at least disreputable, by being confined principally to slaves, it is natural that the wages of free labour should be high; and the question is not, whether at a given time and place, free or slave labour is the highest, but whether both are not higher than labour would be if all the community were free, and the principle of population were allowed to produce its natural effect on the price of labour, by maintaining the supply and competition of free labourers.

The other argument which you adduce, appears to me equally inconclusive. You observe, “The very obstinacy of the planters in defending slavery, proves that it is an advantageous system for them.

And does man indeed, then, always act with an enlightened view to self-interest? Is he uniformly vigilant to observe, and prompt to pursue his real good, however re-

mote, and requiring whatever sacrifices of present ease and gratification? Does prejudice or passion never blind or mislead him? nor habit render him slow to follow the dictates of his better judgment? The conversion of the slaves in the Colonies into free labourers, must be a very gradual work, demanding much patience and assiduity,—involving, possibly, some present risk, and requiring, it may be, for its complete success, the consentaneous efforts of the planters. And is such a task likely to be undertaken spontaneously, by the body of West India proprietors, whose concerns are managed by hired overseers? who consider their capital as invested, if not in a lottery, at least rather in a mercantile speculation, from which it is speedily to be disengaged, than in landed property, which is to descend with all its improvements, to their children's children? Is not the whole history of Colonial cultivation; is not the long and violent opposition of the planters to the abolition of the slave-trade; is not the reluctance they evinced to breed, instead of purchase, their slaves, when the latter plan was so notoriously the most expensive; is not their unwillingness to adopt the enlightened and profitable suggestions of their able counsellor and experienced associate, "The Professional Planter;" are not all these irrefragable proofs, that the practice of a planter, like that of other men, may be at variance with his interest—especially if in unison with his prejudices and his inclinations? If you should require additional evidence, I refer you to Brougham's Colonial Policy, where the fact is illustrated and explained, in language somewhat less courteous, indeed, than I am willing to adopt, but with the usual force and ability of that powerful writer.

Ganilh expresses his surprise, that an author so intelligent as yourself, and so well acquainted with the progress of society in Europe, should maintain the general position, that slave labour is cheaper than the labour of free men;

but he insinuates some doubt, whether the position may not be true when applied to the Colonies. He gives no reasons, however, for this idea, (for he scarcely offers it as an opinion,) which do not apply with the same force and propriety to the European system; and after a careful examination of his argument, I can really discern as little connexion between the principles he lays down, and the inference he seems disposed to deduce from them, as between the solemn and repeated declarations of France, that she has, *bona fide*, abolished the slave-trade, and her extension of this traffic, in the eyes of Europe, to the very utmost limits of which her capital will admit.

He observes: "When education has fitted man for one mode of existence, it is the height of imprudence suddenly to impart to the free man the ideas, the sentiments, and the tastes of the slave, and to the slave the ideas, the sentiments, and the tastes of the free man. *Although, therefore, it appears to me to have been demonstrated, that the labour of the free man is more advantageous than that of the slave*, perhaps it is equally true in the Colonial system as it exists, that the labour of the slave is more advantageous than that of the freeman." Now this argument against the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, applies equally to the abolition of slavery every-where; or rather, it is applicable only to *sudden* emancipation any-where. "By educating a man as a slave, you unfit him for freedom." Educate him then, as a freeman, and you unfit him for slavery. If the present generation of West India slaves are so tainted with the poison of slavery, that their moral constitutions cannot be regenerated, guard the next generation from the malignant influence of this vicious system, and you supply the islands with more productive labourers, agreeably to Ganilh's own admission.

If he had founded his exception of the Colonies from the operation of the general principle that the labour of freemen

is cheaper than that of slaves, on some radical distinction between the European and the African race, or between European and Colonial bondage, his argument would have been intelligible at least, if not conclusive. But he asserts, and I think most justly, “that the nature of man—white, yellow, “or black, is every-where the same; that the passions “exercise the same empire over each colour, and that all “equally obey the influence of moral and physical causes;” and with respect to any difference between European and Colonial bondage, he has not even alluded to the subject.

I admit, however, that some striking distinctions exist between them; distinctions so little creditable either to your country or my own, that I rejoice that my subject does not compel me to insist upon them. But while I gladly decline entering into those particulars, which place Negro Slavery in such humiliating contrast with European Bondage, I would guard sedulously against a delusion which has sometimes been industriously circulated, that in all their essential characteristics they differ little.

He must know little of the progress of society in Europe who can imagine, that its most degraded nation, in the darkest age, can supply a parallel to Negro Slavery as it exists in the British dominions in the 19th century. Where, in the records of European history, shall we find so loathsome and revolting a picture of human degradation as has been recently exhibited to the public, in a little pamphlet, entitled “Negro Slavery.” Trusting, therefore, that I shall be in no danger of giving currency to a pernicious error, I rejoice that the argument, which I am pursuing, leads me to dwell less on those points in which the two systems differ, than on those in which they agree; and I trust it will appear, from their coincidence in the few particulars in which I shall institute a comparison between them, that so many of the principles from which slavery derives its malignant influence on human character are

common to both, as to justify the conclusion, that the happy results which have followed its abolition, in the one case, may reasonably be anticipated from it in the other.

If, in the West Indies and America, the wealth of a planter is estimated, not by the number of acres which he possesses, but by the number of his slaves, so it is in Europe. "Peasants belonging to individuals in Russia," says Coxe, "are the private property of the landholder, as much as implements of agriculture, or herds of cattle, and the value of an estate is estimated by the number of boors, and not by the number of acres." "The peasants of Poland," observes the same writer, "as in all feudal governments, are serfs or slaves; and the value of an estate is not estimated so much from its extent, as from the number of its peasants, who are transferred from one master to another, like so many herds of cattle.

If, in the West Indies and America, the slave can possess no property, except at the will of the master, who may choose to appropriate it, neither can he in many parts of Europe. "A man," says Storch, "who belongs to another man, can possess nothing of his own. What he produces, what he acquires, is produced and acquired for the master." "With regard to any capital," Coxe observes, "which the Russian peasants may have acquired by their industry, it may be seized, and there can be no redress, as, according to the old feudal law, which still exists, a slave cannot institute a process against his master. Hence it occasionally happens, that several peasants who have gained a large capital, cannot purchase their liberty for any sum, because they are subject, as long as they continue slaves, to be pillaged by their masters." "If the slave," says Dr. Clarke, "have sufficient ingenuity to gain money without his knowledge, it becomes a dangerous possession, and when discovered, it falls instantly into the hands of his lord." "The Russian boors," Tooke remarks, "have no civil

“liberty; their children belong not to them, but to their
 “manorial lord, on whose will they depend; they also,
 “with their children, may be alienated, sold, and exchanged.
 “They possess no immoveable property; but they them-
 “selves are treated sometimes as the moveable, sometimes
 “as the immoveable property of another.”

If, in the West Indies and America, the power of the master has too frequently, in practice at least, extended to the life of the slave, such has often been the case in Europe. In the state of Mississippi, in 1820, a young planter was pointed out to me who had shot a runaway slave the preceding year, without the smallest notice being taken of it; and a similar circumstance had occurred on a neighbouring plantation about the same time. “In Western
 “Europe,” says Storch, “under the feudal system, the lot of
 “the slaves was much harder than it is at present in Russia,
 “since the right of the master extended to the life of the
 “slave.” Coxe, in his travels in Poland, observes, “The
 “slavery of the Polish peasants is very ancient, and was
 “always extremely rigorous; until the time of Casimir the
 “great, the lord could put his peasant to death with
 “impunity, and when the latter had no children, considered
 “himself as heir, and seized all his effects. In 1347,
 “Casimir prescribed a fine for the murder of a peasant,
 “and enacted, that in case of his decease without issue, his
 “next heir should inherit.” Again, “Peasants belonging
 “to individuals, are at the absolute disposal of the master,
 “and have scarcely any positive security either for their pro-
 “perties or their lives.—Until 1768, the statutes of Poland
 “only exacted a fine from a lord who had killed his slave;
 “but in that year a decree was passed, by which the
 “murder of a peasant was made a capital crime; yet, as
 “the law in question requires such an accumulation of
 “evidence as is seldom to be obtained, it has more the
 “appearance of protection than the reality.” The same

traveller observes, in his travels in Russia, "The lord, according to the ancient laws, had no power over the lives of the peasants, for if a slave was beat by order of his master, and died within the space of three days, the latter was guilty of murder, unless other reasons could be assigned for his demise. But was not this almost a mockery of justice? For surely a man might be terribly chastised without suffering death in *three days*, and if his vassal died within that space, and his master was a man of consequence, who was to bring him to justice?"

If, in the West Indies and America, marriage may be rendered impracticable, or its sacred ties torn asunder at the caprice of a master, so they may in Europe. "If the slave marries," says Storch, "it is because the master wishes or permits it; if he becomes a father, his children are born slaves as well as himself, his rights over his wife and children are subordinate to those which the master has over them. The slave is first a slave and then a man." "A peasant in the village of Celo Molody, near Moscow," observes Dr. Clarke, "who had been fortunate enough to scrape together a little wealth, wished to marry his daughter to a tradesman of the city, and offered 15 thousand roubles for her freedom—a most unusual price, and a much greater sum than persons of his class, situated as he was, will be found to possess. The tyrant took the ransom, and then told the father that both the girl and the money belonged to him; and therefore she must continue among the number of his slaves."

If the negroes (often active and energetic in their own country) are accused of indolence and apathy in the colonies, so are the lively Russians themselves when benumbed by slavery. "Other nations," says Dr. Clarke, "speak of Russian indolence, which is remarkable, as no people are naturally more lively, or more disposed to employ-

ment. We may, perhaps, assign a cause for their inactivity. It is necessary. Can there exist excitement to labour, when it is certain that a tyrant will bereave industry of all its reward. The only property a Russian nobleman allows his slave to possess, is the food he cannot or will not eat himself. The bark of trees, chaff and other refuse, grass, and fish oil." "With regard," says Mr. Heber, "to the idleness of the lower classes in Russia, of which we have heard great complaints, it appears that when they have an interest in exertion, they by no means want industry. Great proprietors, who never raise their abrock, such as Count Sheremotoff, have very rich and prosperous peasants." Again, "We observed a striking difference between the peasants of the crown, and those of individuals. The former are all in comparatively easy circumstances. Their abrock or rent is fixed, and as they are sure it will never be raised, they are more industrious."

If the miseries of slavery in the Colonies, occasionally exasperate the slaves to desperation, and impel them to atrocities, which diffuse general apprehension and alarm, the same thing occurs in Russia. "In such instances," observes Dr. Clarke, "the peasants take the law into their own hands, and assassinate their lords. To prevent this, the latter live in cities, remote from their own people, and altogether unmindful of all that concerns their slaves, except the tribute they are to pay." Mr. Birkbeck relates the following anecdote of a planter, whom he met in a tavern in Virginia, and Dr. Clarke informs us that Russia can supply many parallel cases: "One gentleman," says Mr. Birkbeck, "in a poor state of health, dared not encounter the rain, but was wretched at the thoughts of his family being for one night without his protection from his own slaves. He was suffering under the effects of a poisonous potion, administered by a negro who was

“ his personal servant.” Dr. Clarke observes, “ Many of
 “ the Russian nobles dare not venture near their own
 “ villages, through fear of the vengeance they have merited
 “ by their crimes.” It has occurred to myself, while in
 the state of Mississippi, to hear a well authenticated
 instance of a planter, who was compelling his slaves to
 work during a great part of the night, having been sur-
 prised asleep on the trunk of a tree, on which he had sat
 down to inspect them, shot with his own rifle, and then
 burnt in the ashes of their midnight fires ; and Mr. Heber
 remarks, when in Russia, “ The brother of a lady of our
 “ acquaintance, who had a great distillery, disappeared
 “ suddenly, and was pretty easily guessed to have been
 “ thrown into a boiling copper by his slaves.” He adds,
 “ domestic servants (slaves) sometimes revenge themselves
 “ in a terrible manner.”

If travellers in America find the prisons in the slave-
 states filled with slaves, (as I did almost universally,) Mr.
 Heber remarks, “ the prisons of Moscow and Kastroma
 “ were chiefly filled with runaway slaves, who were for the
 “ most part in irons.”

If, in passing from a free into a slave-state in America,
 the change is instantly visible, even to the most careless
 eye, and nature herself seems to droop and sicken under
 the withering influence of slavery ; the case is precisely the
 same in Europe. “ The houses,” says Hall, in his travels
 in America, “ universally shaded with large verandahs,
 “ seem to give notice of a southern climate : the huts round
 “ them, open to the elements, tell a less pleasing tale : they
 “ inform the traveller he has entered on a land of free men
 “ and slaves, and he beholds the scene marred with wretched
 “ dwellings, and wretched faces ! And if the miserable
 “ condition of the negro leave him mind for reflection, he
 “ might laugh in his chains, to see how slavery has stricken
 “ the land with ugliness. The smiling villages and happy

“ population of the eastern and central states, give place to
 “ the splendid equipages of a few planters, and a wretched
 “ negro population, crawling among filthy hovels. For
 “ villages, after crossing the Susquehanna, there are scarcely
 “ any: there are only plantations—the very name speaks
 “ volumes !” My own personal observation enables me to
 subscribe to the fidelity of this picture, and from a recent
 communication which now lies before me from America, in
 reply to some inquiries transmitted to that country on the
 subject, I extract the following remarks: “ It is believed
 “ that no country can furnish a more full and clear oppor-
 “ tunity, than the United States of America do at this
 “ time, of attesting the effect of domestic slavery upon the
 “ industry and prosperity of a nation, and the relative
 “ value or profit of free and slave labour. The states of
 “ Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Ver-
 “ mont, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, are
 “ now cultivated almost entirely by free men. These states
 “ lie under a more rigorous climate, and possess a less
 “ fertile soil than the southern states, yet the prosperous
 “ situation of the country, the general comfort of the inha-
 “ bitants, and the improved condition of agriculture in
 “ those free states, compared with the slave states, are so
 “ obvious as to strike the traveller immediately, as he passes
 “ from the one district to the other. In the one, we find
 “ the whole country divided into small farms of from 100
 “ to 500 acres of land; on each of these tracts is generally
 “ erected a comfortable dwelling-house, with the necessary
 “ out-buildings, which are surrounded by well cultivated
 “ fields, in good order. In this district, the farmers, with
 “ but few exceptions, annually realize a small profit, by
 “ which they are enabled, as their children attain to man-
 “ hood, to make respectable provision for their establish-
 “ ment in business. In the other, we meet here and there,
 “ thinly scattered over a wretchedly cultivated district of

“ country, a mansion-house, commonly in bad repair, sur-
 “ rounded by a number of dirty beggarly huts, crowded
 “ with ragged negroes and mulattoes, and the whole bear-
 “ ing the strongest marks of oppression and suffering, in
 “ which the half-starved neglected cattle, and other domes-
 “ tic animals, evidently participate. In other words, in
 “ those districts where the system of slavery is in full
 “ operation, the population is composed of the two extreme
 “ conditions of society, viz. the rich and the poor: and we
 “ meet with scarcely any of that middling class, which in
 “ all countries constitutes its most valuable members, and
 “ its most efficient strength.” It is observed of a slave
 district in Russia, in the “ Memoirs of the Court of St.
 “ Petersburg,” “ A few cities enjoy the pleasures of life,
 “ and exhibit palaces, because whole provinces lie desolate,
 “ or contain only wretched hovels, in which you would
 “ expect to find bears rather than men.” Coxe observes,
 in his journey from Stockholm to Carlscrona, “ After
 “ having witnessed the slavery of the peasants in Russia and
 “ Poland, it was a pleasing satisfaction to find myself again
 “ among free men, in a kingdom where there is a more equal
 “ division of property, where there is no vassalage; where
 “ the lowest order enjoy a security of person and property,
 “ and where the advantages resulting from this right, are
 “ visible to the commonest observer. Norway is blessed
 “ with a particular code, called the ‘ Norway Law.’ By this
 “ law—the palladium of Norway, the peasants are free; a few
 “ only excepted on certain noble estates near Frederickstadt.
 “ The benefits of the Norway code are so visible, as to the
 “ general effect on the happiness, and on the appearance
 “ of the peasants, that a traveller must be blind who does
 “ not instantly perceive the difference between the free
 “ peasants of Norway, and the enslaved vassals of Denmark,
 “ though both living under the same government.”

If, in the West Indies and America, you are often surprised and grieved by the strange assertion, that the condition of the slaves is as good as that of the labourers in England, as if mere animal sustenance were all that is necessary for the happiness of a rational and immortal being, the same proof is often afforded in Russia, of the degree in which familiarity with slavery may degrade man in the estimate of his fellow man, and render a feudal lord insensible to all that constitutes the essence of freedom. "There is," said one of the Russian princes to Dr. Clarke, addressing himself to him with an air of triumph, "more of the *reality* of slavery in England than in Russia."

And if, in the West Indies, there is a general prejudice against emancipation, and the idea of imparting to slaves the privileges of freedom is regarded as theoretical and visionary; similar errors and prejudices have prevailed, and perhaps still prevail in many parts of Europe. "The generality of the Polish nobles," observes Coxe, "are not inclined either to establish or give efficacy to any regulations in favour of the peasants, whom they consider as not entitled to the common rights of humanity!" "I was much surprised to find," says the same author, "upon inquiry, that no noble in Russia had franchised his vassals; but I may venture to predict that the time is not far distant, although an almost general prejudice seems to prevail, with respect to the incapacity of the peasants for receiving their liberty. And this, perhaps, may be true in the literal sense, as many of them, unless properly instructed, would scarcely be able to derive a solid advantage from their freedom, which might be considered by some as an exception from labour, and a permission for licentiousness. *A century ago, perhaps, no one in Russia would have ventured to debate the question, whether the peasants ought to be free.*"

And yet emancipation has proceeded rapidly in Europe, with what brilliant success, let Ganilh himself inform us:

“ The enfranchisement of the European population, has
 “ been followed by tillage and cultivation, by the con-
 “ version of cabins into cottages, hamlets into villages,
 “ villages into towns, and towns into cities, by the establish-
 “ ment of industry and commerce, of public order, and of
 “ social power. The people who have first distinguished
 “ themselves on the political theatre, are precisely those
 “ who have first substituted the labour of the free man for
 “ that of the slave ; and other nations have only been able
 “ to rise to the same prosperity by imitating their example.
 “ In fine, the era of the economical and political regenera-
 “ tion of modern Europe, is coincident with the abolition
 “ of real and personal slavery.”

And why may not the same glorious consequences follow the abolition of slavery in the West. Is it in Europe only that the mind can awaken from the torpor of slavery to life and intelligence ? What shall we say, then, to the abolition of slavery, under British auspices, in Ceylon, in Java, in Sumatra, and in St. Helena ? Or is it the African alone who imbibes a poison from the bitter cup which no antidote can cure, but which flows in the veins, and attaints the blood of his latest posterity ? To you, Sir, it would be most unjust to impute such an opinion ; but if it should be entertained by any of your countrymen, I would refer them to the experiment lately made in Columbia, where a great body of slaves have been emancipated, who are said
 “ to have conducted themselves with a degree of indus-
 “ try, sobriety, and order, highly creditable to them.” I would refer them to the instance of the American slaves who joined the British standard in the last war, and who are now settled in Trinidad ; where, under the protection of Sir Ralph Woodford, the Governor, “ they are earning
 “ their subsistence,” Mr. Wilberforce informs us, “ with
 “ so much industry and good conduct, as to have put
 “ to silence all the calumnies which were first urged

“against the measure.” I would refer them to the testimony of a traveller, whose authority they will not dispute, the enterprising and philosophical Humboldt: “In all these excursions,” he observes, “we were agreeably surprised, not only at the progress of agriculture, but the increase of a free, laborious population, accustomed to toil, and too poor to rely on the assistance of slaves. White and black farmers had every-where separate establishments.” I love to dwell on these details of Colonial industry, because they prove to the inhabitants of Europe, what to the enlightened inhabitants of the Colonies has long ceased to be doubtful, that the Continent of Spanish America can produce Sugar and Indigo by free hands, and that the unhappy slaves are capable of becoming peasants, farmers, and landholders.” I would refer them to the interesting and flourishing colony of Sierra Leone, that morning star of Africa, which beams so brightly on her sable brow. Or, lastly, I would refer them to a dark page in your Colonial history, where the refutation of their opinion is written in characters of fire.

Why, then, I would ask again, may not the same glorious consequences, which followed the abolition of slavery in Europe, follow its abolition in the West? “The abolition of the slave-trade,” says Brougham, *“assisted by subordinate arrangements, similar to those adopted in the ancient states, in the feudal kingdoms, and in the American Colonies, will most undoubtedly alter the whole face of things in the new world. The negroes, placed in almost the same circumstances with the bondmen of ancient Europe and the slaves of the classic times, will begin the same career of improvement. The society of the West Indies will no longer be that anomalous, defective, and disgusting monster of political existence, which we have so often been forced to contemplate in the course of this*

“ inquiry. The foundation of rapid improvement will be
 “ securely laid, both for the whites, the negroes, and the
 “ mixed race. A strong and compact political structure
 “ will arise, under the influence of a mild, civilized, and
 “ enlightened system. The vast Continent of Africa will
 “ keep pace with the quick improvement of the world
 “ which she has peopled; and in those regions where, as yet,
 “ only the war-whoop, the lash, and the cries of misery,
 “ have divided with the beasts the silence of the desert,
 “ our children, and the children of our slaves, may enjoy
 “ the delightful prospect of that benign and splendid reign,
 “ which is exercised by the arts, the sciences, and the
 “ virtues of modern Europe.”

Such, Sir, is the animating picture of the future fortunes of the Negro race. It is drawn, not by a Philanthropist in the shades of retirement, but by a Politician, who had meditated deeply on Colonial Policy, who brought to the consideration of this difficult topic, a mind second to few in capacity and vigour, and enriched with the most valuable information, commercial, political, and moral, on all topics connected with the interests of the Colonies. It is a sketch from the hand of a master, but of a master more eminent for the distinctness of his conceptions, and the bold lineaments of his prominent figures, than for the embellishments of a luxuriant fancy, or the warm colouring of romantic or impassioned feeling.

Nor was the expectation that the abolition of slavery, with all its beneficial results, would follow the abolition of the slave-trade, confined to Mr. Brougham. “Not I only,” says Mr. Wilberforce, “but all the chief advocates of the
 “ Abolition of the Slave-trade—Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Lord
 “ Grenville, Lord Grey, and every other—scrupled not to
 “ declare, from the very first, that their object was, by
 “ ameliorating regulations, and more especially by stopping
 “ that influx of uninstructed savages, which furnished an

“excuse for continuing a harsh system of management, and
 “prevented masters from looking to their actual stock of
 “slaves for keeping up their number, to be surely, though
 “slowly, advancing towards the period when these unhappy
 “beings might exchange their degraded state of slavery for
 “that of a free and industrious peasantry.”

Mr. William Smith observes, “That he scrupled not to
 “avow and to maintain, nor had he ever, at any period of
 “the Slave-trade controversy, scrupled to avow and to
 “maintain, that the ultimate object of every friend of jus-
 “tice and humanity in this country, must and ought to be,
 “eventually to extend freedom to every individual within
 “the dominions of Great Britain; that this freedom
 “belonged to them of right; and that to withhold it be-
 “yond the necessity of the case, and especially to with-
 “hold it systematically, and in intention, *for ever*, was
 “the very grossest injustice. He admitted, indeed, that
 “*immediate* emancipation might be an injury, and not a
 “benefit, to the slaves themselves: a period of preparation
 “seemed to be necessary. The ground of this delay,
 “however, was not the intermediate advantage to be de-
 “rived from their labour, but a conviction of its expediency
 “as it respected themselves. We had to compensate to
 “these wretched beings for ages of injustice; we were
 “bound by the strongest obligations to train up these sub-
 “jects of our past injustice and tyranny, for an equal par-
 “ticipation with ourselves in the blessings of liberty, and
 “the protection of law; and by these considerations ought
 “our measures to be strictly and conscientiously regulated.
 “It was only while proceeding in such a course of action,
 “adopted on principle and steadily pursued, that we could
 “be justified in the retention of the negroes in slavery for
 “a single hour; and he trusted that the eyes of all men,
 “both here and in the Colonies, would be opened to this
 “view of the subject, as their clear and indispensable duty.”

And why have so many years elapsed without any systematic approach to that happy change in the structure of Colonial society, which was so generally expected to follow the abolition of the Slave-trade? Is it not because the circumstances of the planters have never yet been such as to compel them to introduce those “subordinate arrangements,” those “ameliorating regulations,” adopted by the ancient states and feudal kingdoms of Europe? But the time is probably at hand, when necessity will force them to adopt the most economical mode of culture, however averse to change and innovation. The nation will not long consent to support a wasteful system of cultivation, at the expense of great national interests, and of an opening commerce with 60 to 100 millions of our fellow-subjects; and the slave labour of the West must fall, when brought into competition with the free labour of the East.

Deeply impressed with this conviction, I dwell with peculiar pleasure on every view of this important subject, which illustrates the connexion between the interest of the master and the slave. And having had a near view of slavery in the United States of America, having seen the dark aspect which it assumes, and the apprehensions which it diffuses, under a government pre-eminently free, in the bosom of an enlightened people, and in the sunshine of benign and liberal institutions, I am persuaded that such a system cannot exist long, in daily contrast with the enlightened policy of the new republics of the West, and under the brighter light which the diffusion of the gospel is shedding over the globe. I rejoice, therefore, in the conclusion, that the same measures—the mitigation and gradual abolition of slavery,—which are best calculated to avert a crisis which it is impossible to contemplate without dismay; are precisely those which, it would appear from the preceding pages, are most adapted to promote the immediate interests of the planters, by diminishing the expenses, and increasing the produce of their estates.

That the removal of the monopoly which they at present enjoy, will enhance the distress of the West India planters, it is impossible to doubt ; and the distress of so numerous a body, comprising some of the most enlightened and estimable members of the community, deserves a serious and dispassionate consideration. That sympathy is unnatural, which is excited only for sufferers at a distance, and that sensibility defective which can feel only for the slave. But it is the part of an enlightened Legislator, when endeavouring to relieve one class of the community, to guard against the injustice of transferring the burden to another ; and to require from those who solicit his interference, not only that they make out a strong case of distress, but that they prove that they are vigorously pursuing every means within their own power, to extricate themselves from the difficulties of their situation.

It is on these grounds, and not on any vague idea that Parliament is pledged to support them, that the West Indians should rest their claims. Even with respect to the absolute prohibition of a trade which Parliament had encouraged, Mr. Pitt repelled the idea of the Legislature being restrained by a reference to the past, from exercising its free discretion with regard to the future. With how much greater warmth would he have rejected such an assumption, in the case of a protecting duty, which encourages a system of cultivation unnecessarily expensive, which acts like an oppressive tax on the export of our manufactures, and which operates with a most malignant and widely extended influence on the industry, energy, and resources of our Indian Empire. He observes, “ It is chiefly on the
 “ presumed ground of our being bound by a parliamentary
 “ sanction, heretofore given to the African slave-trade, that
 “ this argument against the abolition is rested. Is there
 “ any one regulation of any part of our commerce, which,
 “ if this argument be valid, may not equally be objected to,

“on the ground of its affecting some man’s patrimony,
 “some man’s property, or some man’s expectations. Let
 “it never be forgotten, that the argument I am canvassing
 “would be just as strong if the possession affected were
 “small, and the possessors humble; for on every principle
 “of justice, the property of every single individual, or
 “number of individuals, is as sacred as that of the great
 “body of West Indians. It is scarcely possible to lay a
 “duty on any one article which may not, when first im-
 “posed, be said in some way to affect the property of
 “individuals, and even of some entire classes of the com-
 “munity. If the laws respecting the slave-trade imply
 “a contract for its perpetual continuance, I will venture
 “to say there does not pass a year without some act
 “equally pledging the faith of Parliament, and the perpe-
 “tuating some other branch of commerce.”

It is not then on the plea of a parliamentary pledge, but
 simply on the grounds of the extent of their distress, and
 their inability to relieve themselves, that the West India
 planters should found their claims for support.

But this inability, however real, will perpetually be called
 in question, until they have introduced every practicable
 improvement into their system of cultivation. When they
 have relieved that system from its superfluous machinery,
 and have made arrangements for the gradual elevation of
 their slaves to the condition of free labourers, they will
 have prepared themselves to come before Parliament with
 a better case; and will have laid the foundation for such
 a change in the structure of Colonial society, as will ulti-
 mately contribute greatly to their prosperity, and will
 exhibit in our West India Islands, another happy illus-
 tration of the truth of the position, that the labour of
 free men is cheaper than the labour of slaves.

APPENDIX.

THE Honourable Joshua Steele, whose communications have been referred to in the preceding letter, and form so valuable a part of Dr. Dickson's work, was a very intelligent gentleman, of large West India property, who, previous to visiting his estates in Barbadoes, lived many years in London, in habits of intimacy with persons of rank and character. He was Vice-president of the London Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, and was supposed to be one of the founders of the Dublin Society. He went to Barbadoes late in life, where he was a member of the Council, and officiated some time as Chief Justice. He was also the Founder of the Barbadoes Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, and President, till it had acquired some strength, when the Governor became President, and Mr. Steele Vice-president. He arrived in Barbadoes in 1780. The Society was founded in 1781, and in 1787 and 1788, "he contrived to give "in the Barbadoes Gazette, (by his account of several conversations,) faithful copies of the material part of the manuscript "minutes of the proceedings of the Society in their Committees," under the signature of Philo Xylon.

In 1790, about 10 years after his arrival in Barbadoes, he writes to Dr. Dickson, who had also been a resident in that island as private secretary to Governor Hay: "Upon observing "all this," (the abuses which still continued on his plantation, after his attempts to correct them in the ordinary way,) "I re-

“ solved to make a further experiment, in order to try whether
“ I could not obtain the labour of my negroes by *voluntary*
“ means, instead of the old method—by *violence*, and that in
“ such a way as should be proof against the insidious insinuations
“ of my superintendant ; when, for a small pecuniary reward,
“ over and above their usual allowances, the poorest, feeblest,
“ and by character the most indolent negroes in the whole gang,
“ cheerfully performed the holing of my land for canes, (generally
“ said to be the most laborious work,) for less than a fourth part
“ of the stated price paid to the undertakers for holing. Of this
“ there is a pretty exact account given in Philo Xylon’s eighth
“ letter. I repeated the like experiment the following year with
“ equal success, and on the 18th Nov. 1789, I gave also my
“ slaves tenements of land, and pecuniary wages, by the hour,
“ the day, or the week, for their labour and services, nearly
“ according to the plan described in Philo Xylon’s ninth letter,
“ and soon after dismissed my superintendant.” The account to
which he alludes in Philo Xylon’s eighth letter, is the follow-
ing:—“ A planter offered a premium of two-pence halfpenny a
“ day, or a pistreen per week, with the usual allowance to
“ holers, of a dram with molasses, to any twenty-five of his
“ negroes, men and women, who would undertake to hole for
“ canes, an acre per day, at about ninety-six and half holes for
“ each negro to the acre. The whole gang were ready to
“ undertake it, but only fifty of the volunteers were accepted,
“ and many among them were those, who, on much lighter
“ occasions, had usually pleaded infirmity and inability. But
“ the ground having been moist, they holed twelve acres within
“ six days, with great ease : having had an hour, more or less,
“ every evening, to spare ; and the like experiment was repeated
“ with the same success. More experiments, with such pre-
“ miums, on weeding and deep hoeing, were made by task-work
“ per acre, and all succeeded in like manner, their premiums
“ being all perpetually paid them in proportion to their perform-
“ ance. But afterwards, some of the same people being put
“ (without premium) to weed on a loose uncultivated soil in the

“ common manner, eighteen negroes did not do as much, in a
 “ given time, as six had performed of the like sort of work, a few
 “ days before, with the premium of the two-pence halfpenny.

“ But these heterodox experiments did not pass without
 “ censure. However, the plain answer is, that by the last
 “ experiment, where eighteen negroes, under the whip, did
 “ not do as much as six with the premium, the planter was
 “ clearly convinced that saving time, by doing in *one day* as
 “ much as would otherwise require *three days*, was worth more
 “ than double the premium, the timely effects on vegetation
 “ being critical. And moreover, it was remarkable, that during
 “ the operations under the premium, there were no pretended
 “ disorders, no crowding to the sick-house. But according to
 “ the vulgar mode of governing negro-slaves, they feel only the
 “ desponding fear of punishment for doing less than they ought,
 “ without being sensible that the settled allowance of food and
 “ clothing is given, and should be accepted as a reward for doing
 “ work: while, in task-work, the expectation of winning the
 “ reward, and the fear of losing it, have a double operation on
 “ their minds to exert their endeavours.”

In Philo Xylon's ninth letter, to which he alludes, Mr. Steele
 shows, that by giving his slaves tenements of land, and pecuniary
 wages, the expense of employing the labour of three hundred
 copyhold bond slaves, including the value of the land given to
 them, is only £1283 15s 0d

While that of three hundred slaves under the
 ordinary management, is at £5 14s each . . . 1710 0 0

Making a saving of currency	426	5	0
Or sterling	334	9	3

Dr. Dickson, who had carefully examined the subject of slave
 labour, and who has published some excellent Tables of Labour
 Annuities, the result of practical experience and scientific
 investigation, considers the preceding estimates of saving and
 profit to be stated with great moderation. He notices them in

many parts of his work, and among others in the following passage :

“ Thus, then, all things conspire to prove, that the returns
 “ of slave labour on sugar plantations have been, and are still
 “ very rapidly declining. The ground on which the planter
 “ stands has never been firm, and it is now *fast* sinking under
 “ his feet. To save himself from the opening gulph, he *must*
 “ *reduce the enormous expense of producing his article*, by some
 “ such means as those recommended by the success of Mr.
 “ Steele, and other wise economists in sugar cultivation. He
 “ must call forth the latent vigour of his slaves by rewards,
 “ and abate, in every possible way, the waste, theft, idleness,
 “ desertion, pretended sickness, and secret reluctance and oppo-
 “ sition, which must *always, more or less, diminish the labour of*
 “ *slaves.* . ‘ For a slave,’ as Adam Smith observes, ‘ can have no
 “ other interest than to eat and waste as much, and work as
 “ little as possible.”

“ We might be thought to refine too much, were we to attempt
 “ to calculate the diminution of labour caused by these *moral*
 “ *evils* of slavery. And beside, we could offer no estimate
 “ half so satisfactory as that given above, of the actual saving
 “ by the system recommended; which saving is nothing else
 “ than the *amount of what is lost, by attempting the impossibility*
 “ *of curing the moral incapacity of slaves by force instead of*
 “ *reward.*”

SIERRA LEONE.

This Colony may be said to owe its origin to the liberality and benevolent exertions of the celebrated GRANVILLE SHARP. At the time when the decision of Lord Mansfield, in the memorable case of the Negro, Somerset, had established the axiom, that “ *as soon as any slave sets his foot on English ground, he becomes free,*” there were many negroes in London who had been brought over by their masters. As a large proportion of these had no longer owners to support them, nor any parish from which they could claim relief, they fell

into great distress, and resorted in crowds to their patron, Granville Sharp, for support.

But his means were quite inadequate to maintain them all, even if such a plan had been desirable for the objects of his compassion, and “ he formed a scheme for their future “ permanent support. He determined upon sending them “ to some spot in Africa, the general land of their ances- “ tors, where, when they were once landed under a proper “ leader, and with provisions for a time, and proper “ implements of husbandry, they might, with but moderate “ industry, provide for themselves.” “ Just at this time, Mr. “ Smeathman, who had lived for some years at the foot of the “ Sierra Leone mountains, and who knew the climate and “ nature of the soil and productions there, and who had “ formed a plan for colonizing those parts, was in London, “ inviting adventurers, but particularly the black poor, to “ accompany him on his return to his ancient abode.” Measures for this purpose were concerted by him and Granville Sharp ; but Mr. Smeathman, who was to have conducted the black colonists, died before they sailed ; and the care, and for some time the expense, of this bold enterprize, devolved entirely on Mr. Sharp. Nothing could be more discouraging than the calamities which befel the undertaking from its very outset. Of 400 black people who left the Thames on the 22nd Feb. 1787, under convoy of his majesty’s sloop of war Nautilus, not more than 130 (who were afterwards reduced to 40) remained alive and in one body at the end of the rainy season, into which they had been thrown by the death of Mr. Smeathman, notwithstanding Mr. Sharp’s strenuous efforts to avoid it. Disaster followed disaster, Famine, disease, discontent, desertion, succeeded each other with frightful rapidity, till the year 1789, when the colony, again in a state of improvement, was almost annihilated by a hostile attack from a neighbouring chief. About that time, a company was established in England for the purpose of carrying forward the benevolent views of the founder, which afterwards obtained a royal charter of incor-

poration. In 1792, about 1100 negroes arrived from Nova Scotia, under the command of Lieutenant Clarkson. These were negroes who had been induced to enlist in the British army during the American war, by an offer of freedom, and "who were afterwards carried to Nova Scotia, under a promise of regular allotments of land, which promise had unfortunately not been fulfilled;" the climate being unfavourable to them, they solicited and obtained permission to join the colony at Sierra Leone. In the year 1800, their numbers were increased by the arrival of 550 Maroons, who, having risen against the colonists of Jamaica, and been induced, by the terror of blood-hounds, to surrender, were carried to Nova Scotia, and subsequently to Sierra Leone. Of such elements (to which have since been added the negroes liberated from the holds of captured slave-ships) was the colony of Sierra Leone composed; and nothing less than the extraordinary energy, fortitude, and perseverance of our illustrious countryman, could have saved it from the destruction with which it was so often menaced. "Certainly, without him, the Sierra Leone Company would not have been formed, and had he not supported the colony, when it so often hung, as it were, by a thread, till the formation of this Company, all had been lost." This is not the place to follow it through all the vicissitudes of its subsequent history; but as its actual condition is little known, I will give a few extracts from various authorities, which will enable the judicious reader to form his own opinion, how far it is likely to realize the expectation of its illustrious founder, and to be "one day the means of spreading the benefits of civilization and Christianity through a considerable part of the vast continent of Africa."

On the 31st Oct. 1787, Granville Sharp writes, "I have had but melancholy accounts of my poor little ill-thriven swarthy daughter, the unfortunate colony of Sierra Leone."

The following was the population in 1820 and 1822, as given in the Missionary Register of Dec. 1822.

	July 8, 1820.	Jan. 1, 1822.
" Europeans	120	128
" Maroons	594	601
" Nova Scotians	730	722
" West Indians and Americans	—	85
" Natives	1046	3526
" Liberated Africans	8076	7969
" Disbanded Soldiers	1216	1103
" Kroomen	727	947
	<hr/>	<hr/>
" Totals	12,509	15,081

" The chief increase is apparently in the class of natives, while that of liberated Africans seems to be somewhat diminished; but this is, in part, occasioned by a difference of arrangement in the two returns. The large number of natives, in the native villages of the Peninsula, amounting in the last return to 1925, would have been divided, according to the arrangement in the return of 1820—into natives, properly so called; that is, as we conceive, the Aborigines of the Peninsula; and liberated Africans, living in villages, but not under a superintendant. In the return of 1820, this distinction was made; and then the whole number, amounting to 1468, divided into 400 of the first class, and 1068 of the second. Both classes being called 'natives' in the last return, the number of liberated Africans appears to have diminished; while it has, in fact, greatly increased, independently of the addition of 1590 since the date of the last return. We collect from these data, that the number of liberated Africans, of all descriptions, in the colony, on the 1st of August, was upward of ELEVEN THOUSAND.

" Still there is an increase of the class ranked as 'natives' in the last return, to the amount of nearly 1000; of these, about one-half are in Freetown, and the other half are chiefly

“ resident in the settlements of the liberated Africans. This
 “ augmentation is derived, we conceive, from the influx of the
 “ people bordering on the colony ; and is a gratifying indication
 “ of the growth of mutual confidence between the colony and
 “ its neighbours.”

IMPORTS.		Invoice Amount.		
“ From Dec. 10, 1816, to Nov. 22, 1817 . .	£75,716	6	0	$\frac{1}{4}$
Nov. 23, 1817, to Dec. 10, 1818 . .	94,799	14	5	$\frac{1}{2}$
Dec. 11, 1818, to Dec. 31, 1819 . .	80,863	6	11	$\frac{3}{4}$
Jan. 1, 1820, to Dec. 31, 1820 . .	66,725	9	4	
Jan. 1, 1821, to Dec. 31, 1821 . .	105,060	15	10	

EXPORTS.		No. of Vessels employed in exporting.	Tonnage.	Logs of Afri- can Timber exported.	Tons of Rice exported.
“ From Jan. 1, to Dec. 31, 1817. . 17 . .	2990 . .	—	—	—	—
Jan. 1, to Dec. 31, 1818. . 22 . .	3659 . .	15	17	278	
Jan. 1, to Dec. 31, 1819. . 27 . .	5875 . .	25	56	1228	
Jan. 1, to Dec. 31, 1821. . 26 . .	6805 . .	47	36	42	

“ Comparative Statement of Duties collected in the colony of
 Sierra Leone for the undermentioned periods.

“ From Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1817	£3086	3	7
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1818	5124	1	3
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1819	4656	2	$0\frac{3}{4}$
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1820	6153	5	6
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1821	6318	4	7

J. REFFELL,

Acting Collector and Naval Officer.”

At the moment I am writing, there are at least 3 vessels on
 the birth in this Port, for Sierra Leone.

*Extracts from Commodore Sir GEORGE COLLIER'S Second
 Annual Report upon the Settlements on the Coast of Africa,
 relative to the Colony of Sierra Leone.*

“ Indeed, the colony of Sierra Leone has been so differently
 “ represented, so much has been urged against its rising pros-

“perity, and proposals said to have been made for its abandonment, that I consider myself (as an impartial person) the one from whom opinions and remarks may be expected. The climate of Sierra Leone is, like all other tropical climates, divided into a sickly season, and one not positively so, for it may be too much to speak of Sierra Leone as ever absolutely healthful.” He then proceeds to speak of various topics, particularly connected with the nature of his survey. Alluding to the schools and churches, he says, “The manner in which the public schools are here conducted, reflects the greatest credit upon those concerned in their prosperity, and the improvement made by the scholars, proves the aptitude of the African, if moderate pains be taken to instruct him. I have attended places of public worship in every quarter of the globe, and I do most conscientiously declare, never did I witness the ceremonies of religion more piously performed or more devoutly attended to, than in Sierra Leone.”

In his report, dated 27th Dec. he observes, “The public buildings have not advanced so rapidly as I believe had been expected; but it is, nevertheless, gratifying to observe, that the roads in the neighbourhood of Freetown, and those in the mountains, have been much improved, and that the bridges have been constructed of more durable materials than heretofore. Upon the whole, Sierra Leone may be said to be improving, and if the encouragement hitherto shown, shall be continued to the British merchant, no reason appears to me why this colony shall not, in the course of time, amply repay the anxiety, and care, and expense so liberally bestowed by the mother country. Every year, some new prospect opens to the merchant. *An intercourse with the interior of Africa now fairly promises ultimate success, and which must be productive of benefit to Great Britain, and it may even be expected, that some years hence, caravans shall resort to the neighbourhood of Porto Logo, (on a branch of the Sierra Leone,) to convey articles of British manufacture into the very interior of the continent of Africa.*”

Extract of a Letter from Captain H. TURNER, dated the 7th March, 1822.

“ I visited the colony of Sierra Leone in the year 1817. My
“ stay among the recaptured negroes in the mountains then was
“ very short, but sufficient to ascertain they were involved in
“ heathen darkness and barbarity.

“ Having again visited them in December 1821, I am able,
“ in some measure, to estimate the great change since the former
“ period, both in a moral and religious point of view, through
“ the exertions of your missionaries, and the blessings of
“ Almighty God upon their labours, without which all would
“ have been ineffectual.

“ Regent’s Town, under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Johnson,
“ was then but thinly inhabited.

“ Regent’s Town now wears the aspect of a well-peopled
“ village in our happy land ; its inhabitants civilized, industrious,
“ honest, and neatly clothed. The ground allotted to each
“ family is cultivated, each lot being distinctly marked out. I
“ have frequently ascended an eminence near the town to behold
“ the pleasing scene on the Sabbath-day—hundreds pressing on
“ to the house of God, at the sound of the bell, hungering after
“ the bread of life. Nothing but sickness prevents their attend-
“ ance now. What a lesson does this teach many in Britain,
“ who count the Sabbath a burden, and either spend it in
“ indolence and sloth, or in visiting and riot !”

Extract of a Letter from EDWARD FITZGERALD, Esq. Chief Justice of the Colony of Sierra Leone, dated the 3rd May, 1821.

After giving an interesting and detailed account of the various places of public worship within the colony, the Chief Justice thus proceeds: “ In a general view, the observances
“ which have been noticed, will probably be thought sufficient
“ to create a favourable impression on the state of religious
“ feeling and demeanour in the settlement of Freetown. The
“ Lord’s day is more decorously kept than it is in most other

“ places. The shops are all shut ; there is no such thing as
 “ buying and selling. The Christian part of the people attend
 “ worship at the places which they have respectively chosen ;
 “ and all the congregations are alike remarkable for uniform
 “ and respectful attention. Throughout the streets, correspond-
 “ ing propriety is noticed ; intoxication, in the gross and dis-
 “ gusting form in which it is so commonly seen on the Lord’s
 “ day in England, is of very rare occurrence here, with the
 “ painful exception of European seamen, whose conduct and
 “ language in their frequent inebriations, on that day especially,
 “ are of most depraving example. It is not to be understood
 “ that the day passes in *perfect* sobriety ; among the inhabitants
 “ in general, it is the decency and not the abstinence that makes
 “ the distinction. Excesses are committed, and are generally
 “ brought under the animadversion of the magistrates on the
 “ Monday, in consequence of the quarrels occasioned by them ;
 “ but these quarrels are almost universally of a trifling nature.
 “ There is not any thing in the circumstances collectively to
 “ detract from the credit that has been taken.”

*Extract of a Letter from the Rev. H. DURING, Superintendent
 of Gloucester Town, Sierra Leone, dated 28th Dec. 1821.*

“ The reception which his Excellency Sir C. M’Carthy met
 “ with among the people under our care, has indeed been feebly
 “ stated in the Gazette, as the editor also honestly owns.

“ The Captain, in whose vessel the Governor had come, was
 “ struck with astonishment. He (the Captain) had seen much
 “ of the negroes, having been in Jamaica, and asked what time
 “ the settlement had been formed ? When told in the beginning
 “ of 1817, he smiled, and said to the Governor, Sir Charles
 “ M’Carthy, ‘ if I knew not your Excellency to be a man of
 “ honour, I should think myself greatly imposed on ; and I
 “ must candidly confess I can hardly believe it now !’ His
 “ Excellency then pointed out to him the way he first came to
 “ this place, and the old trees lying about the town, cut down
 “ three or four years ago, as evidences of the truth ; ‘ but,’ said

“ the Captain, ‘ what sort of people were they with which it
 “ was commenced ? ’ I pointed out to him some who were sent
 “ here in the beginning of November, that, looking at their
 “ emaciated state of body, he might form some idea of those
 “ with whom I began, and who only then were sixty-two in
 “ number, twenty of whom died, ere scarcely a month had
 “ elapsed ! He then inquired what method we had pursued to
 “ bring them to such a state in so short a time ? ‘ No other,’
 “ said his Excellency, ‘ than the truths of Christianity, which
 “ these gentlemen were sent by the Church Missionary Society
 “ to propagate : by this alone they have ruled them, and have
 “ raised them to a common level with other civilized nations ;
 “ and believe me,’ added his Excellency, ‘ if you admit Christian
 “ teachers into your island, you soon will find them become
 “ affectionate and faithful servants to you ! ’

“ Things, as they now appear, humanly speaking, never
 “ wore so bright and pleasing an aspect ; for there were indi-
 “ viduals, and are now at this moment, who always were
 “ endeavouring to undermine the credit of the Society, as well
 “ as that of the Colonial Government, as it respects the captured
 “ negroes ; but sure it is, there never was such an opportunity
 “ for observation—never were the prejudices more effectually
 “ removed from the minds of many European colonists, and
 “ never had the Society gained more credit in the colony, even
 “ in the minds of those individuals alluded to, than through the
 “ present events ; as you, I trust, will see in the Report of the
 “ Sierra Leone Association, in aid of the Church Missionary
 “ Society, the collections and contributions to which amount to
 “ nearly £200.”

Dr. MORSE, a well-known, respectable, and intelligent
 American author, thus describes the settlement, in his
 Universal Gazetteer : “ Sierra Leone, in 1809, contained
 “ 1500 persons, since which it has been flourishing, and is
 “ now the most important English colony in Africa, except
 “ the Cape of Good Hope, the number of inhabitants, in

“ 1818, amounting to 10,014, of whom only about 100 were
 “ Europeans. The population consists almost entirely of Africans
 “ from the holds of slave-ships, and who, when they were
 “ introduced into the colony, were at the lowest point of mental
 “ and moral depression. They now exhibit a very gratifying
 “ proof of the susceptibility of the African character for im-
 “ provement and civilization. From savages and gross idolaters,
 “ many of them have been converted into enterprising traders,
 “ skilful mechanics, and industrious farmers ; supporting them-
 “ selves and their families in comfort, and performing respect-
 “ ably, the social, and even religious duties. They discharge
 “ the duties of jurors, constables, and other officers, with much
 “ propriety, and are a fine example of a community of black
 “ men living as free men, enjoying the benefit of the British
 “ constitution, regularly attending public worship, and gradually
 “ improving, by means of schools and other institutions, in
 “ knowledge and civilization. This happy change has been
 “ effected by the blessing of God on the labours of English
 “ Missionaries. In 1819, the number of children in the schools
 “ at the various settlements, was 2014 ! ”

*Extracts from the Third Annual Report of the American Society
 for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States.*

“ What the Society propose to do with regard to colonizing,
 “ is to procure a suitable territory on the Coast of Africa, for
 “ such of the free people of colour as may choose to avail
 “ themselves of this asylum, and for such slaves as their
 “ proprietors may please to emancipate.

“ So far is this scheme from being impracticable, that one,
 “ resembling it in all respects, was accomplished by a private
 “ society in England more than 30 years ago.

“ In despite of every representation to the contrary, the
 “ colony of Sierra Leone boasts, at this moment, a greater de-
 “ gree of prosperity than distinguished any one of the British
 “ Colonies, now the United States of America, at the same

“ period after its first plantation. The population of Sierra Leone ; its commerce and navigation ; its churches, schools, and charitable institutions ; its towns and hamlets ; its edifices, public and private, surpass those of any one of these states, at any time within twenty-five years from its first settlement.”

It is for the reader to estimate the value of the preceding authorities, and to draw from them his own conclusions with regard to the present state and future prospects of Sierra Leone. It is for him also to decide how far the prosperity of a community, formed of such unpromising materials, may be regarded as an exemplification of what the Negro race may exhibit when rescued from slavery ; how far such a Colony of Africans, of many nations and languages, educated on their own shores, with civil rights, political privileges, and religious advantages, and in frequent communication with their countrymen from the interior, is calculated to civilize Africa ; how far it may be expected to send forth, through a thousand channels, those fertilizing streams which will clothe the moral deserts of that injured Continent with verdure and beauty.

FINIS.

LETTER

FROM J. B. SAY TO THE AUTHOR.

Monsieur,

J'ai reçu par M. le Baron de Stael, la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire en m'adressant votre lettre imprimée. Je vous remercie de ce que l'une et l'autre contiennent, d'obligeant pour moi, et partage votre avis sur le fonds de la question. Vous avez rassemblé dans un petit espace, des faits et des argumens aux quels il ne me semble pas qu'on puisse résister, * * * *

Vous n'avez probablement lu qu' une des premières éditions de mon Traité d'Economie Politique; car dans les dernières j'ai beaucoup amendé ce que je disais du travail des esclaves; au point d'en venir à peu près à la même conclusion que vous; mais n'étant pas borné à une seule question et ne voulant pas grossir le livre je n'ai pu qu'effleurer le sujet. Je me rapproche encore plus de votre opinion dans les ouvrages que je prépare.

L'esclavage est incompatible avec une industrie un peu avancée; il touche à son terme chez tous les peuples d'origine Européenne, et comme l'inquietude et l'intelligence de l'Europe finiront par envahir le monde, on peut affirmer qu'un jour l'esclavage aura cessé par tout.

J'ai communiqué votre estimable brochure à l'un de nos journaux littéraires, (le Magasin Encyclopedique,) où l'on m'a promis qu'on en rendrait compte. Ce sera probablement dans le cahier qui doit paraître le 1^{er} du mois de Mai. Peut être trouve t'on cet ouvrage periodique dans vos cabinets littéraires.

Agréez, Monsieur, l'expression de ma haute estime! en vous l'offrant je me trouverai heureux d'obtenir la votre. Agréez aussi l'assurance de mon très, sincère devouement,

J. B. SAY.

(TRANSLATION.)

Sir,

I have received, from the Baron de Stael, the letter with which you did me the honour to accompany the printed letter you have addressed to me.

I thank you for the obliging expressions in both of them, and accord with your sentiments on all the main points of the question at issue. You have collected, in a small space, an accumulation of facts and arguments which it appears to me impossible to resist,

* * * * *

You have probably read only one of the first editions of my Treatise on Political Economy, as in the later ones I have materially corrected what I said with respect to the labour of slaves, so as to arrive nearly at the same conclusion as you; but not having confined myself to that particular subject, and being unwilling to swell my book, I was only able to advert to it slightly. I approach still nearer to your sentiments in the works which I am preparing.

Slavery is incompatible with productive industry, in a state of society moderately advanced. It is already verging towards its termination among all people of European origin; and as the restlessness and intelligence of Europe will ultimately pervade the globe, we may affirm that slavery will one day be extinguished every-where.

I have communicated your valuable pamphlet to one of our literary journals, (the Encyclopedical Magazine,) in which I have been promised that some account of it shall appear; it will probably be in the Number which will be published on the 1st of May. Perhaps this journal is to be met with in some of your literary institutions.

Accept the expression, &c. &c.

J. B. SAY.

Paris, 25th March, 1823.

THE UTTER EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY AN OBJECT
OF SCRIPTURE PROPHECY:

A

LECTURE

THE SUBSTANCE OF WHICH WAS DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE

CHELMSFORD

LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION,

IN THE FRIEND'S MEETING-HOUSE,

ON TUESDAY, THE 17TH OF APRIL, 1832:

WILLIAM KNIGHT, ESQ. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

With Elucidatory Notes.

BY

JOSEPH IVIMEY,

A MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

DEDICATED TO WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ.



"LIBERTY IS THE WORD WITH ME."—*Æsop.*

"ABOVE ALL LIBERTY."—*Selden.*

LONDON:

SOLD BY G. WIGHTMAN, PATERNOSTER ROW; MESSRS. HATCHARD,
PICCADILLY; MESSRS. SEELEY, FLEET STREET; HOLDSWORTH AND
BALL, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD; WESTLEY AND CO. STATIONERS'
COURT; MASON, CITY ROAD, AND PATERNOSTER ROW; DARTON AND
HARVEY, GRACECHURCH STREET; J. W. CALDER, OXFORD STREET;
AND AT THE BOOK ROOM, IN EXETER HALL.

1832.

SECTION OF SIMILAR OBJECTS
FUTURE PROPERTY

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TO

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ.

SIR,

AFTER the uniform testimony of the world has been borne, for many years past, to your philanthropy toward those unhappy beings, who are, in common parlance, designated slaves; in consequence of your having procured the abolition of the "*TRADE in the persons of men*," which had, for nearly three centuries, been the foul disgrace of the British nation; it cannot be deemed flattery, that I have presumed to dedicate this Lecture to you: and which I do with feelings of the most profound respect and veneration. To you, Sir, belong the highest honour, and the most refined and exalted pleasure, which ever any man appropriated to himself:—" *And when the ear heard me,*" said the God-fearing, most upright, and deeply-afflicted Job, "*then it blessed me; and when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me. Because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to*

THE LONDON AND WESTMINSTER
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*perish came upon me, and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. I put on righteousness, and it clothed me; my judgment was as a robe and a diadem. I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame; I was a father to the poor; and the cause which I knew not, I searched out; and I brake the jaws of the wicked, and plucked the spoil out of his teeth."** Nor can I imagine, after the proofs which I have experienced of your friendship, that the freedom which I have taken, will be deemed an offensive liberty, with your much-loved *name*, especially when pronounced in connection with the *abolition of Slavery*.†

Notwithstanding so much has been said and published on the subject of Slavery, I have never known any observations to have been advanced, relating to its being clearly pointed out in the scriptures, as one of those evils which inspired predictions have devoted to utter extinction. This is one reason why I have considered it desirable to publish my thoughts, on the certainty of that event taking place; and to state my opinion of the probability, from existing circumstances, that its entire abolition is not far distant.

* Job. xxix. 12—17.

† See a most eloquent eulogy pronounced on Mr. Wilberforce, by the late lamented patriot, Sir Samuel Romilly, in the Appendix, No. 1.

Another reason is, a hope that the discussion of the subject at this most eventful period, will arrest the attention of, at least, the pious part of the community, and lead them to consider how necessary it is, in order to the prosperity and salvation of the nation, that this most crying sin should be repented of, and put away, that we may be “*a saved, and not a destroyed people.*”

The NATION has been lately fasting, and humbling itself before God, because of the divine visitation, by a most destructive disease. It appears, at present, that the merciful Jehovah, who spared Ahab, and the kingdom of Israel, when “he humbled himself”; and who spared Nineveh, when “the king proclaimed a fast,” and its inhabitants devoutly observed it; that HE is turning away his chastising rod, by checking the awful pestilence, and saying to the destroying angel—“*It is enough.*” Ought we not, then, to prove the sincerity of our repentance, by resolving that Slavery shall be immediately abolished in the British colonies? Let all classes of the PEOPLE shew the genuineness of their professed repentance, by petitioning against Slavery; and let our enlightened LEGISLATURE, our reforming MINISTERS, and our beloved, patriotic and paternal MONARCH, prove their’s, by *fixing a specific period, beyond*

which SLAVERY in the British colonies shall not exist.

For the purpose of elucidating the manner in which the “*trade in the persons of men*” is at the present time, carried on by British proprietors, I give the copy of an *advertisement*, from the “*Royal Gazette, Nassau*,” dated April 23, 1831, which affords us a specimen of the assortment of a West Indian auction! “*On Monday next, the 25th instant, at the Vendue-house, at ten o’clock, will be sold,—sugar, pork, and long leaf tobacco, candles, soap, &c. and a NEGRO WOMAN, a plain cook and house servant, with ONE CHILD! Terms—Cash at two months credit!*”

Is it possible to conceive of any transaction more abhorrent to our principles and feelings as *men*, as *Britons*, and especially as *Christians*, than a WEST INDIAN AUCTION!! How delightful the thought, then, that the time is drawing nigh, when the voice of the British Senate will, it is hoped, prevent other events from proclaiming to the world, in regard to those who have traded in “*SLAVES, and souls of men*,” that, “*no man buyeth their MERCHANDIZE any more.*”

The crisis at which we have arrived is truly awful, and the signs of the times are tremendously alarming; yet to the friends of humanity and religion most cheering and animating:

the negroes in a state of dreadful discontent and disappointment; the slave-holders, the planters, and the colonial legislatures, in a state of rebellion against the government; His Majesty's ministers, doubtless most desirous, and yet afraid to adopt decisive measures to put an end to the existence of slavery; the nation roused to petition on behalf of their outraged and oppressed fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects, that their miseries may be speedily terminated; the House of Commons about to be agitated by the motion of Mr. Buxton, on the 24th instant, that immediate emancipation might be granted. O that our NOAHS, our DANIELS, and our JOBS, men mighty in prayer; and some MOSES, fervent in supplication, might be found stretching out his hands toward heaven, with some AARON and HUR to stay his sinking arms; may unite in earnest supplication, that whilst the army of Israel is struggling with Amalek in the plain, the God of heaven, who has always heard "the cry of the humble," and hath "never said to the seed of Jacob, *Seek ye my face in vain!*" might now arise out of his place, and give them a decided victory—a glorious triumph! Then we will erect an altar, and inscribe upon it, "JEHOVAH-nissi: the Lord is our banner;"—"His right hand, and his holy arm hath gotten him the vic-

tory.” “ *Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy name we give the glory, for thy mercy and for thy truth’s sake.*”

That you, Sir, may at the close of your most useful life, and in your retirement from the bustle of worldly business, enjoy all the rich consolations of the gospel of Christ, the influence of which you have, for so long a period, experimentally known and practically demonstrated, by your sympathetic and benevolent exertions to ameliorate and terminate the sufferings of the enslaved African;—and that you may be spared “a little longer, that you may recover your strength, before you go hence and be no more seen”; and thus be able to join in, and enjoy the complete triumph of your labours, in witnessing the emancipation of all the sons and daughters of Africa, in all the colonies of BRITAIN, and of EUROPE, and of AMERICA! and of the WORLD, is the devout prayer, and ardent wish of,

Sir,

Your obliged friend,

and obedient Servant,

JOSEPH IVIMEY.

51, Devonshire Street, Queen Square.

May 7, 1832.

A LECTURE,

&c. &c.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

BEING a member, Sir, of the Committee of "the Anti-slavery Society," I have, at the request of "the Agency Committee," of which I am also a member, visited CHELMSFORD, for the purpose of delivering a Lecture on the evils of COLONIAL SLAVERY: Desirous of promoting, in every way within my power, the objects of that philanthropic and useful Society, I have obeyed their call.

I feel that I shall find a difficulty in speaking, because I entertain such deep feelings of compassion and commiseration for those distressed creatures, the negroes, as will prevent me from giving full utterance to the dictates of my heart. It is not a matter of speculation respecting which I speak: there are a thousand subjects to which I might refer, which would not much interest the feelings; but while I am now speaking, I know that my fellow-creatures in the British colonies are perishing.

In this engagement, I consider myself as acting in accordance with an inspired command: “*Open thy mouth for the dumb, in the cause of all such as are appointed for destruction. Open thy mouth, judge righteously, and plead the cause of the poor and needy.*”* The enslaved negroes cannot speak for themselves: I speak in their stead, and on their behalf; and who, that “judgeth righteously,” but will admit that they are “poor and needy,” and “appointed for destruction”;—not because either they, or their fathers, brought on themselves this destitution, by their indolence, or their extravagance; or by their intemperate habits; but they thus suffer, on account of their masters having unrighteously oppressed them; and because the British Government has failed in putting forth its might, to protect and deliver them! Was it not the admitted duty of the government of a *free* people to have done this, at the time when the criminality of the practice was fully acknowledged, by the abolition of the Slave Trade? And is it not the duty of our *present* government, instantly to abolish it? If all the measures of *amelioration*, (and for which the friends of the slaves should be thankful) lately sent out, in the “Orders of Council,” to the Governors of the *Crown Colonies* in the West Indies, were to be carried into full effect, which it is not rational to expect will be the case, since those to whom the execution of them is committed, are too deeply involved, to

* Prov. xxxi. 8, 9.

admit of equal justice towards the negroes, whom they consider as their property! the inherent evils of *Slavery* will still exist; nor can the miseries entailed on the negro population be prevented, but by the *extinction* of the *system itself*: and this the British Legislature alone can effectually accomplish! Was it not an act of wisdom, as regarded its own interests, in the LION, though the lord of the forest, not to stain its noble character, but to withdraw its heavy paw from the oppressed, complaining, and insignificant MOUSE? * And may not the period arrive, when even the BRITISH LION may need, for the safety of the nation, or, at least, for the safety of its *colonies*, the friendship and help of its most despised subjects: the now enslaved, and persecuted negroes? who will doubtless repay, by their gratitude, such an act of mercy. TRUE POLICY, as well as STRICT JUSTICE, demand, that the injunction of God to Israel should be observed by our rulers, “*to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke.*” † Humanity also pleads, that this divine injunction be immediately regarded, as much for the *safety of the white inhabitants*, as for the effectual amelioration of the condition of the negroes themselves.

The subject of Slavery, or of man being claimed as property by his fellow-man, has been

* Æsop's Fables, No. 31.

† Isaiah lviii. 6.

discussed under a variety of considerations, and its injustice and cruelty most properly exposed, by many of our distinguished countrymen; but by none, in more expressive and suitable language, than our immortal poet, Milton. His heart, which always beat high on the subject of *Liberty*, was full of indignation against *Slavery*, when he penned the following graphic lines:—

“ O, execrable son! so to aspire
Above his brethren, he himself assuming
Authority usurped from God, not given:
He gave us only over beast, flesh, fowl,
Dominion absolute; that right we hold
By his donation; but man over men
He made not lord; such title to himself
Reserving, human left from human free.”

The view which I am about to give of this frightful subject, has never yet, so far as I am aware, been taken. It is, however, the only view of it which can afford us any pleasure, and that is, “THE UTTER EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY AN OBJECT OF SCRIPTURE PROPHECY.” The prophecy which I refer to, will be found in the book of the Revelation, the 18th chapter, the 11th and 13th verses:—“AND THE MERCHANTS OF THE EARTH SHALL WEEP AND MOURN,..FOR NO MAN BUYETH THEIR MERCHANDIZE ANY MORE:..THE MERCHANTIZE OF..BEASTS, AND SHEEP, AND HORSES, AND SLAVES, AND SOULS OF MEN.”

I shall divide the Lecture into two parts: the first, As to the origin of Colonial Slavery, and the

present condition of those wretched beings, who are called slaves, in the West India Islands: the second, As to the certainty of the utter extinction of this horrid system, and the probable means by which that event will be effected.

I. I commence the discussion, as to *the origin of Colonial Slavery*, by adopting the language of an apologist for it: BRYAN EDWARDS, in his "History of the West Indies," published in 1793, calls his work, in so far as it has reference to Slavery, "The contemplation of human nature, in its most debased and abject state; the sad prospect of 450,000 reasonable beings, in a state of barbarity and slavery: of whom," he adds, "I will not say the major part, but great numbers assuredly, have been torn from their native country, and dearest connections, by means which no good mind can reflect upon, but with sentiments of disgust, commiseration, and horror."*

As I shall confine myself to our own colonies, and to the guilt which Britain has contracted, in this infamous merchandize, I give the history of its commencement, in the words of the same historian, because it is proper that the names of our wretched countrymen, who were its first perpetrators, should be branded with all the public opprobrium to which they are entitled, and whom, had they been judged according to divine law, Exodus xxi. 16, it would have prevented the

* Edwards's History of the West Indies, vol. ii. 34.

flowing of oceans of human blood, “ *He that steal-eth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.*”

Edwards says, “ Of the English, the first who is known to have been concerned in this commerce, was the celebrated John Hawkins, who was afterwards knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and made treasurer of the navy. Having made several voyages to the Canary Islands, and there received information, (says Hackluyt, a contemporary historian), that negroes were very good merchandize in *Hispaniola*, and that store of negroes might be easily had on the coast of Guiney, he resolved to make trial thereof, and communicated that device, with his worshipful friends of London, Sir LIONEL DUCKET, Sir THOMAS LODGE, Master GUNSON, his father-in-law, Sir WILLIAM WINTER, Master BLOOMFIELD, and others: all which persons liked so well his intention, that they became liberal contributors and adventurers in the action; for which purpose there were three good ships provided: the Salomon, of 120 tunnes, wherein Master Hawkins himself went, as general; the Swallow, of 100 tunnes; and the Jonas, a bark of 20 tunnes; in which small fleet, Master Hawkins took with him a hundred men.”

“ Hawkins sailed from England for Sierra Leone, in the month of October, 1562, and,” says Hackluyt, “ in a short time after his arrival upon the coast, got into his possession, by the sword, and partly by other means, three hundred ne-

groes." In his second voyage, he landed at a small island, called *Alcatrasa*, with eighty men, supplied with arms and ammunition for effecting their demoniacal purpose; but as the natives fled, on their approach, into the woods, they were disappointed of their intended prey. "But," says Edwards, "a short time after, we find this *righteous* commander at one of the islands which are called *Sambula*. 'In this island,' writes one who sailed with him, 'we staid certain days, going every day on shore to take the inhabitants, with burning and spoiling their towns.' In regard to Hawkins himself," adds Edwards, "I admit he was a robber. His avowed purpose in sailing to Guiney, was to sieze by stratagem, or force, and carry away the unsuspecting natives, in the view of selling them as slaves to the people of *Hispaniola*. In this pursuit, his object was present profit, and his employment and pastime, desolation and murder."

Lest it should appear, from the circumstance of the queen having afterwards knighted this infamous wretch, that she approved of his practices, it is proper to remark, that, according to HILL, the naval historian, she was deceived by Hawkins, thinking that the poor Africans were taken from their homes with their own consent, for the purpose of being employed, not as *slaves*, but as *free labourers* in the Spanish colonies. Hill says, the queen "expressed her concern lest any of the Africans should be carried off without their *free*

consent, in which case she declared it would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of heaven upon the undertakers."

In the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II., we find that British settlements were formed in the West Indies, and that, at home, joint-stock companies were chartered, to supply them with slaves. In 1662, a charter was obtained from Charles II. for the "Royal African Company," in which many persons of high rank and distinction were incorporated, and at its head was the king's brother, the Duke of York, afterwards James II. This company undertook to supply the West India colonies with three hundred negroes annually. (A.)

According to this engagement, supposing it to have been fulfilled, more than 10,000 human beings must, before the end of this century, have been seized, and carried off from their native country; besides those who must have perished in the wars raised, or encouraged, in order to their being procured; and those also who must have died in their passage from Africa to the West Indies.

It appears that this abominable traffic was carried on with the characteristic energy of British merchants, in the next century: Edwards says, "I state it on sufficient evidence, having in my possession all the entries, that the number imported into Jamaica alone, from 1700 to 1786, was 610,000! and the total import into all the British colonies, for the same period, may be put at

2,130,000! In one year, 1771, there sailed from England to the coast of Africa, 192 ships, provided for carrying 47,146 negroes! In the year 1789, there were in Jamaica," he says, "250,000 negroes, which, reckoned at £50. sterling each, were worth twelve millions and a half of money; and that these were employed in cultivating seven hundred and ten sugar plantations"! Add to this number, the thousands imported during the next twenty years before the period when the celebrated bill was passed, (B.) for the abolition of this trade in "SLAVES, and *souls of men*;" and to these may be added, all the children who have been born of these wretched persons, during the twenty-six years which have since elapsed; and who can calculate, or even guess, the total amount—the aggregate number of human beings, who have been thus subjugated by British cupidity and injustice, to endure such enormous and multiplied wrongs. Ought we not, as a nation, to adopt the impassioned language of Jeremiah, "when the prophet wept for Israel, and wished his eyes had infinite supplies," and say, in regard to our guilty native country:—"O, that mine head were waters, and mine eyes fountains of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people." It is impossible to feel sufficiently humble, for the guilt which our nation has contracted with regard to the crime of Colonial Slavery.

I proceed to give some account of *the present state of Slavery in the British Colonies*. And, let it be remembered, that instead of there being 250,000 negroes in Jamaica, as in 1789, there were, a short time since, 331,000,—a frightful increase in thirty-three years of 81,000. And in all our colonies, at the present time, there are 755,301 of our fellow men wearing the galling chains. This statement is according to the latest returns of the numbers in sixteen colonies, there having been a decrease in the sugar colonies, on an average of eleven years, of 55,205. (C.) O, who can calculate what privations, what sighs, what miseries must have been endured, to produce such a diminution of human life in so short a time! These are called by their hard-hearted masters, their slaves, and their “legal property,” (D) but I call them British *subjects*, and charge those, who hold them in bondage, with tyranny and oppression, in depriving them of the *right* which they have to their own bodies; of the *right* which they have to the protection of law for their persons and property, and to which they are entitled. It was a glorious decision of British judges, in Westminster Hall, in May, 1772, that “as soon as a slave sets his foot on English soil he becomes free.” And, I doubt not, but the animating sentiment, “A slave cannot breathe in England,” will, within a short period, be applied to all the subjects of the British crown! and it will be said, with increased delight, “A slave cannot breathe in the *British Colonies*!” so

that, perhaps, I may yet live long enough to witness, that wherever the *power* of Britain is felt, there her *mercy* will be also enjoyed.

It may, I know be said, in opposition to this statement, that human enactments have been made in support of holding men in bondage. Yes, I admit that the colonial legislatures in the West Indies have done so,—though I deny that the British Parliament have ever passed any law to make slavery constitutional: and, if it had, I should still contend, no human laws can make that to be lawful and right which is in itself essentially wrong; as every thing must necessarily be, which is in its nature opposed to the revealed will of God. Would a legislative act, for instance, declaring murder to be no crime, supersede the divine command, “Thou shalt do no murder,”—or lawfully exempt a murderer from the penalty attached to the crime, “*Whoso sheddeth man’s blood by man shall his blood be shed.*” Gen. ix. 6.

I insist, then, that a *man* cannot be justly deprived of his natural rights, which, according to Paley,* are, “a right to his life, limbs, and liberty; his right to the produce of his own personal labour, and to the use, in common with others, of air, light, and water. If a thousand persons,” says that enlightened writer, “from a thousand different parts of the world, were to be cast together upon a desert island, they would from the

* Moral Philosophy.

first be every one entitled to those rights." And our great constitutional lawyer, Blackstone,* remarks, "The absolute rights of man, considered as a free agent, endowed with discernment to know good from evil, and with power of choosing those measures which appear to him most desirable, are usually summed up in one general appellation, and denominated the *natural liberty of mankind*. This natural liberty consists, properly, in a power of acting as one thinks fit, without any constraint or control, unless by the law of nature, being a right inherent in us by birth, and one of the gifts of God to man at his creation, when he endued him with the faculty of free-will. But every man, when he enters into society, gives up a part of his natural liberty, as the price of so valuable a purchase; and in consideration of receiving the advantages of mutual commerce, obliges himself to conform to those laws which the community has thought proper to establish. Those rights which God and nature have established, and are, therefore, called *natural* rights,—such as life and liberty,—need not the aid of human laws to be more effectually invested in every man than they are; neither do they receive any additional strength when declared by the municipal laws to be inviolable. On the contrary, no human legislature has power to abridge or destroy them, unless the owner himself shall commit some act which shall amount to a forfei-

ture. The first and primary end of all human laws, is, to maintain and regulate these *absolute* rights to all individuals." (E.)

It seems necessary that we should lay down such principles as are incontrovertible, when we plead that every man has a natural right to freedom, but surely I need not stop to shew that Slavery violates all these *natural rights*: for no one will undertake to prove, that the colonial population have voluntarily consented to be deprived of the exercise of these rights, or that they have committed any crime which amounts to a forfeiture of them. Besides, the greater part of them were born in this degraded condition, and were, therefore, *prospectively* deprived of rights which they never could have forfeited; this, too, applies to all their unborn children, so long as the parents are held in their present state of bondage. O, the cruel system of Colonial Slavery! Can it be justified on the principle that the negro has a skin of a different complexion to that of his tyrant lord? Surely this is no crime! Is it on this account, ye *white* tyrants, (for so I should call them, if I were in the presence of these oppressors of their fellow-men) that the produce of his labour is not his own; that the property in his own body is not his own; that his wife and children do not belong to him but to his tyrant oppressor? O, the heartless wretch, who treats his fellow-man as he would his horse, or his dog, or with greater brutality! If he be "a *man* and

a *brother*," then every one of the 75,000 negroes in our colonies has a just right to his liberty, to his limbs, to the produce of his own labour, and to all the immunities of a British subject, of "a *man* and a *brother*!" I rejoice that the *trade* in *man*, as mere goods and chattels, has been, by British justice suppressed, so that no British ship can be employed in this infamous traffic, even in AFRICA; and that to purchase a man is *felony*. And I ardently hope, the time is not far distant, when a similar law will be passed, with regard to the British colonies; that persons will no longer be able to buy and sell their fellow-men, as they now do by thousands. It is affecting to think, after all the benevolent labours of Clarkson and Wilberforce, and other great friends of humanity, for the abolition of the Slave Trade, that it should still be carried on, to as great, and perhaps to a greater, extent than ever—not by the British, but by the French, the Portuguese, and the Spaniards. It makes one's heart ache, to know that such miseries are perpetrated, and that in spite of all our exertions, and of the tears, the agonies, and the groans of the suffering thousands of our fellow-mortals, who are every year kidnapped, and sold into perpetual slavery.

I was going to apologize for being so warm, but it is a subject, respecting which, if we do not feel, and strongly feel, we ought never to appear as the advocates of the Anti Slavery Cause. I think I shall never feel ashamed, when a person

says to me, "You are very warm"; but I should be ashamed, if I were not so, when I talk about my fellow-creatures being murdered by their heartless tyrants. I have made use of some hard words, but I recollect a passage in Bishop Burnett's "History of his own Times," respecting a person who had spoken very strongly against popery; and when called to account for so doing, he replied, "I will tell you why I used those words—it was because I could find no stronger to use." And the reason why I make use of the word *tyrant* is, because I know not of a more expressive word for the idea, or I would use it. Our excellent poet, Cowper, whose heart burned with honest indignation against the horrors of the slave trade, when speaking of the Bastille at Paris, says, (and I shall apply it to the slave-holder)—

"The sighs and groans of miserable men,
Are music such as suits your sov'reign ears:
There's not an English heart that would not leap
To hear that ye were fallen at last!"

But I take still another step, and charge *slavery* with being at direct variance with THE PRINCIPLES OF THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION. By the *constitution* I mean those statutes which secure to every subject of the empire the enjoyment of his natural rights, in so far as is consistent with the welfare of the whole community. We speak with rapture of the *rights* of the people of England, because in most other countries formerly, with the exception of America, and now of France, the

liberties of the people are either debased or destroyed. "And these *rights*" says Blackstone, "may be reduced to three primary articles, the *right of personal security*; the *right of personal liberty*; and the *right of private property*." Was it not for the purpose of securing to us these *rights* that our noble ancestors struggled for, and obtained "Magna Charta," in Runnymede? Was it not to secure us these *rights*, that our yet more noble ancestors obtained the "Act of Settlement," and the "Bill of Rights," at the glorious Revolution in 1688? Thus guaranteeing to us and our posterity, our civil and religious liberties! But of what use to our miserable brethren and fellow subjects in the Colonies are these enactments? What do the legislators in the chartered Colonies care about the freedom secured by Magna Charta? Does not Slavery set all its regulations at defiance? Were not a great proportion of the negro population born subjects of the British monarch? Are not thousands of them the descendants of British fathers? And yet these sons and daughters of British freemen are suffered to endure the most grievous wrongs, deprived of all their inalienable rights, and that too in the name of the British nation, and by the sanction and connivance of the British government! But will it be said, that the West India legislatures have described the slave, and prescribed regulations for him, as one who has no *natural*, no *constitutional rights*? that he is not to

have "freedom, even by sufferance, and at will of a superior!" But from what part or parcel of the laws of the parent state did these colonial *senators*! derive power to make such oppressive enactments? It has been asked,* and I repeat the question, "Was it not an express condition in all the charters which empowered the colonies to make laws for themselves, that the laws and statutes to be made under them are not to be *repugnant* to, but as near as may be agreeable to the laws and statutes of this our kingdom of Great Britain."† But who will undertake to shew that the colonial laws respecting Slavery, are "as near as may be agreeable to the laws and statutes of England?" Light and darkness are not more dissimilar; the iron *bondage* of the Israelites in Egypt, and their *freedom* under Joshua in Canaan were not more unlike each other! Is it not almost beyond credibility, that such enormous wrongs could have been inflicted by *subjects* of the British Crown? Is it not most surprising, that the power of endurance has been for so many ages manifested by those whom Colonial tyrants have branded with the name of Slave? I said *endurance*: I fear it is the grovelling spirit which vassalage is suited to produce: thus Cowper says:—

"Who lives, and is not weary of a life,
Exposed to manacles, deserves them well."

* Godwin's Lectures on Slavery, page 103.

† Charter granted by Charles II. to Jamaica.

What Briton is there whose heart does not respond to the sentiments of this high-minded Christian poet:—

“ I could endure
Chains no where patiently; and chains at home,
Where I am free by birth-right, not at all.”

The chains worn by the negroes in colonies which belong to the British Crown, must be peculiarly galling! unless, indeed, they are reduced, by their oppression, below the nature and dignity of men!

But may it not also be demonstrated, that the state of slavery in which our fellow-men and fellow-subjects are held in the Colonies of the British Empire is in direct opposition *to the revealed will of God in his sacred word?* Was it not a positive enactment of the Mosaic code of laws and which, because of its moral nature, has never been abrogated, and therefore is still binding upon all the creatures of God: “ *He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.*” Impious attempt to place the African negro beyond the pale of divine law! How shocking, that so many of our countrymen should, on the coast of Africa, have been “ *men stealers,*” and that so many of them should act the part of those who are the purchasers of stolen property; but, as by human laws, “The receiver is as bad as the thief,” so the laws of heaven regards the kidnapping villain

who stole his brother man, and the mammon-worshipping devotee who holds him in bondage, in the same point of light; both being the transgressors of His laws, and amenable to His righteous justice!

Infamous men, who having superciliously decided, without the shadow of reason, that the negro, because of his sable hue, is inferior in the scale of being to yourselves, have therefore proceeded to manacle and scourge him, and to exact his extremest labour without pay, or just remuneration for his toils and sufferings? Did you never read, “*Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us?*” Did you never consider, that “*God hath made of one blood all the nations of the earth?*” Do you not know that Jehovah has said, in reference to his creatures, whether white or black, “*All souls are mine!*”

*Nor are the spirit and declarations of the gospel of Christ less explicit, in condemning the practice of men holding property in the persons of men! Did not our Saviour say, “Therefore, all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets.”** Was such a thing ever known, as a planter being willing to exchange conditions with his slave? Or would any slave-holder like to be treated exactly in the same way, and be subject to the inconveniences of a slave: even though found in the circumstances of *Phædrus?* of whom it is

* Matthew vii. 12.

said, he “had the good fortune to have the mildest prince that ever was, for his master.” No, they know too well what it is to be a slave; though they say it is a state of Paradise, they would never choose it for themselves.

And does not the Saviour’s representation, in the parable of the good Samaritan, of the compassion due to a wretched fellow-creature, under the character of a “neighbour,” because belonging to the human family, condemn the unfeeling brutality of those, who not only witness without sympathy, their miserable slaves; but inflict those wounds, and cause that destitution, which almost break the hearts of others! One should think that every slave-holder would instantly descry his own features in the characters of the priest and levite, and feel the blush of confusion when he hears the Saviour, in commendation of the benevolent Samaritan, say, “*Go thou, and do likewise!*”

But, it is like attempting to prove that the sun shines, when “*he is going forth in his might,*” as fully to shew how alien *slavery* is to *Christianity*, or to attempt to set forth the glaring inconsistency of those, who, while holding property in the nerves and sinews of their fellow-creatures, yet call themselves after the sacred name of Christ! To all such I would earnestly say, “Either give up the profession of *Christianity*, or resolve instantly to emancipate your *slaves*. Because these are totally incompatible with each other, and never

set well upon the same person. “A *christian* slave-holder is a non-descript.”

Having proved the *right* of the negroes in the Colonies to the *protection* and *privileges* of British law, I shall now produce some *facts* to show how these *rights* have been outraged by the cruel punishments inflicted upon some of them, by the *stocks*, the *whip*, the *cat*, the *thumb-screw*, the *chains*, and the *carcan*, from that invaluable work the Anti Slavery Reporter.* The first is an extract from the Christian Record, published in Jamaica, No. 3. “A female, apparently about twenty-two, was then laid down, with her face downwards; her wrists were secured by cords run into nooses; her ancles were brought together, and placed in another noose; the cord composing this last one passed through a block connected with a post. The cord was tightened, and the young woman was thus stretched to her utmost length. The boatswain of the workhouse, a tall athletic man, flourished his whip four or five times round his head, and proceeded with the punishment. The instrument of punishment was a *cat*, formed of knotted cords. The blood sprang from the wounds it inflicted. The poor creature shrieked in agony, and exclaimed, “I don’t deserve this!” She became hysterical, and continued so until the punishment was completed. Four other delinquents were subsequently treated in the same

* Vol. iv. 132—135.

way. One was a woman thirty-six years of age; another a girl of fifteen; another a boy of the same age; and, lastly, an old woman of sixty, who really appeared scarcely to have strength to express her agonies by cries. The boy of fifteen, as our informant subsequently ascertained, was a son of the woman of thirty-six! Painful and melancholy as is the above detail, we know it to be but too faithful a picture of what is transacted from week to week, by order of the magistrates, within those abodes of human misery and degradation, the *workhouses* of our island."

"Look again at the case of Mr. Martin, the overseer in the Temple Hall, at St. Andrews, which has recently undergone investigation, and is reported in the [Jamaica] Courant, of the 27th of October, 1831. It was proved that the girl Jane had been most severely flogged by him, and confined in the *stocks*, although the number given was less than thirty-nine. Setting aside the cause which the girl alleged for this punishment, which was shocking enough, and taking the statement which Mr. Martin gave as to the offence she had committed, we find that it amounted to nothing more than a saucy answer given him."

The next case relates to a negro man, who, though called a slave, is a respectable mechanic, and a deacon of the Baptist church at Savannah-le-Mar, in Jamaica, named *Samuel Swiney*. The crime with which he was charged was, his having, with his master's permission, engaged in evening

prayer at the house of his pastor, the Rev. Wm. Knibb, who was absent from home. For this crime, no other charge having been alleged, he was sentenced by the magistrate, (the Hon. David Finlayson, who was, at that time, *Speaker of the Jamaica House of Assembly!*) to be flogged in the workhouse, with the *cart whip*, and then worked in *chains* on the public roads, for a fortnight; daily passing his own house, in the sight of the workmen employed by him. I will give the statement of this affair in the language of Mr. Knibb. “Early on the following morning I went to see the disgusting scene that was then enacted. What my feelings were I cannot now express, for I beheld a fellow-creature, a respectable tradesman of his class, stretched indecently on the earth, and lacerated with the cart whip, and immediately after chained to a convict, and sent to work on the road, to gratify the prejudices of those who hold that preaching and praying are the same, and equally infractions of the law of Jamaica. Whether justice has been done in this case,” says Mr. Knibb, “I leave others to determine. For my own part, I must consider that if the law sanctions such a conclusion, that law is an abomination and a disgrace to a Christian country.” From this circumstance, might, probably, be seen what was the cause of Mr. Knibb, and the Baptist Missionaries, being so much disliked by the Jamaica magistrates: they had not been courteous enough, to bow down before these tyrants—those

Hamans "in the gate": they had been uncompromising in regard to slavery! I am happy to relieve this tale of injustice and persecution, by saying, that some benevolent persons at home, in consequence of hearing of the unjust punishment of this respectable person, soon after purchased his freedom, his master making an abatement in the price, from the respect which he bore to the person and character of this OUTRAGED Christian man.

The next horrible statement, relates to the colony of the Mauritius, Isle of France, and is from the Protector of Slaves' Report, No. 91, p. 175. "On the 18th of December, 1829, *Francois*, belonging to M. Marchal, presented himself at the Protector's Office, at three in the morning, with his hands fastened together behind him by means of *thumb-screws*, fixed so tight as to have penetrated the flesh quite to the bone, and caused considerable swelling and inflammation of the hands and arms. He also stated that another slave, named *Luff*, had been punished precisely in the same way by his master, and was now confined in M. Marchal's premises. A surgeon being sent for, the *thumb-screws* upon *Francois* were filed off."

The following is from an abridged account of this case, by Lord Goderich, the Colonial Secretary:—"About twenty-four days ago, *Francois* neglected his work, and absented himself for a whole day. The next day he was arrested, and

carried to the police, whence his master caused him to be conveyed home, and immediately fixed *thumb-screws* on his thumbs, and placed both his feet in the *stocks*. At night he was taken out of the stocks, and with the thumb-screws still on, placed in a machine, called a *CARCAN*, which consists of two pillars, with a cross plank affixed at a man's height from the ground, to which he was attached by means of an iron collar, three inches broad, fastened to the plank with staples and padlocks, where he remained standing all night, and in the morning was released, and placed again in the stocks for the day. He was thus treated alternately night and day for a fortnight, when M. Marchal sent him to his plantation at Petite Riviere, with the thumb-screws on, to be flogged; but being unable to use his hands, he was sometimes fed by one of his comrades. *Luff* was treated in the same manner. The thumb-screws were screwed so tight as to cut the flesh almost to the bone, and cause great pain. About four days ago, Francois announced himself to be ill, and he was taken out of the stocks and placed in the hospital, whence last evening he had escaped, leaving *Luff* with his thumb-screws on. M. Marchal himself put the thumb-screws on them, and conducted them night and morning from the *carcan* to the *stocks*."* Could any thing be more horrible than this? And yet these persons, called slaves, are the *subjects* of Great Britain!

* Anti-slavery Reporter, vol. iv. 401.

When I contemplate these horrid, and, excepting in some of the British colonies, unequalled acts of cruelty, committed in the “Isle of France,” I am shocked to find such a similarity of character between the *Britons* in *Jamaica*, and the *French* in the *Mauritius*. What a brutalizing system is slavery, to transform the noble-minded Briton, and the polite and effeminate Frenchman, into tygers and leopards! beasts which can never be satiated with human blood, and appear to enjoy that draught the most, which is extracted from the heart, and causes the most exquisite torture to their miserable victims. May I not, with propriety, adopt, in reference to such heartless cruelty as the above cases present, the language of dying Jacob, respecting the brutal conduct of two of his sons: “*SIMEON and LEVI are brethren: instruments of cruelty are in their habitations. O, my soul, come thou not into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united: for in their anger they slew a man, and in their self-will they digged down a wall. Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel.*” *

The warm-hearted and devoted missionary, Mr. Knibb, felt and expressed himself strongly, in the following extract, on account of the cruelties practised upon the negroes generally, and especially when perpetrated on the members of the church under his care. This it would be in vain to deny. But who that possesses the sensibilities of a *man*,

* Genesis xlix. 5—7.

and the sympathies of a *christian*, could see a fellow-creature so “shamefully entreated,” and so barbarously mangled with “instruments of cruelty,” and yet have restrained himself from speaking? A person of *inordinate selfishness*, might have looked on without emotion; and have been congratulated by others, with having manifested the *prudence of wisdom*: so both the *priest* and *levite* were doubtless *prudent men*, “wise in their generation”; but they felt neither pity for the robbed and wounded man, nor any feelings of anger against his murderous enemies. The *Samaritan*, forgot himself, and his own interests, in his all-absorbing concern to ameliorate the condition of his neighbour, and to emancipate him from his perishing condition. Calmness, on such a subject, is brutal insensibility; caution, a participation in the crime; and a fear of self-injury, pusillanimity and cowardice. If impetuosity of feeling has sometimes produced rash expressions, insensibility and unconcern about every thing which is not immediately connected with self-interest, would not only leave human misery unrelieved, but would lead persons to employ all the little energy they possess, in preventing or censuring those who say, “I refuse not to die,” if thereby I may save the lives of others.

Having made these prefatory remarks, I introduce an extract from a letter, written by the Rev. Wm. Knibb, dated Falmouth, November 7, 1831. After having adverted to certain slanderous im-

putations cast on the negroes and their ministers, which had long been current in Jamaica, and circulated privately in Scotland, he says—"Amidst all this reproach, the cause of Jesus is triumphing; and whatever charges may be brought against your missionaries, to the last day they may safely appeal. Their witness is in heaven, and their record is on high. The negroes love you ardently, for your kindness in sending them the gospel; and their prayers ascend for your welfare. The religion they have supports them when enduring the oft-repeated taunt, or when groaning under the instrument of torture; it cheers them in the hour of death, and enables them to look to heaven as their eternal rest. I speak the feelings of my experience and my heart, when I say, that I do not believe there are a race of christians on earth, who rely more entirely on the atonement for salvation; or who, considering their circumstances, more consistently adorn the profession they make. To them is given, also, to suffer for his sake. I have beheld them when suffering under the murderous cart whip; I have seen them when their backs have been a mass of blood; I have beheld them loaded with a chain in the streets, a spectacle to devils, to angels, and to men; and never have I heard one *murmur*—one *reproach*—against their guilty persecutors. Am I then to be told, that these people display all this christian heroism through the influence of *a piece of paper*, which they have obtained by stealing

‘ quantum sufficit of their master’s provisions?’ The man who can thus injure the distressed, I despise; nor would I waste a moment in answering such falsehoods, did I not know I was the servant of the society.”

Extracts similar to these might be multiplied to an almost indefinite amount, but I will not sicken you, by increasing these disgusting details of miseries, which exist in those “dark places of the earth,” fitly called, “*the habitations of cruelty!*” the colonies of Great Britain! Alas! how totally disregarded is that divine precept, “*Do justly, and love mercy*”! and how correct is the following description of the wise man, “*So I returned, and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun: and behold the tears of such as are oppressed, and they had no comforter: and on the side of their oppressors there was power; but they had no comforter. Wherefore I praised the dead which are already dead, more than the living which are yet alive!*” That is, he considered *death* to be a privilege, compared with such a *life* of unpitied oppression, and unmitigated misery! Again he says, “*If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and violent preverting of judgment and justice in a province, marvel not at the matter: for he that is higher than the highest regardeth: and there be higher than they!*” “Merciful Father of the human race, thou sittest upon thy throne judging right: ‘Thy way is in the sea, and thy footsteps are not known: clouds and darkness are round about thee; judgment and

justice are the habitation of thy throne.' Thou 'makest the wrath of man to praise thee, and the remainder thereof thou wilt restrain.' We would adore the sovereignty of thy inscrutable conduct, in regard to the misery which thou hast righteously permitted to exist, not doubting but the Judge of the whole earth will do right; and firmly believing that thou wilt make the most afflictive events subserve the accomplishment of thy merciful purposes, in the universal spread of thy gospel, and the ultimate salvation of the whole body of thine elect people. 'Why withdrawest thou thy hand, even thy right hand? pluck it out of thy bosom.' 'Remember the covenant, for the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty. O let not the oppressed return ashamed: let the poor and needy praise thy name. Arise, O Lord, plead thine own cause: remember how the foolish man reproacheth thee daily.'" Oh, that the Father of the universe, may, in compassion, arise, and set the enslaved negroes free. We sometimes sing a hymn, in which there is this expressive verse:—

“ Let the Indian—let the negro—
 Let the rude barbarian see
 That divine and glorious conquest
 Once obtained on Calvary :
 And redemption,
 Freely purchased, win the day.”

II. I now come to shew, that, *according to the predictions of the sacred scriptures, Slavery will cer-*

tainly be brought to an end; and then to mention some of the probable means by which that event will be accelerated and accomplished.

That judicious commentator, the late Rev. Thomas Scott, remarks, when speaking of the divine inspiration of the Bible, “The prophecies contained in the sacred scriptures, and which are fulfilling to this day, fully demonstrate that they are divinely inspired. These form a species of perpetual miracles, which challenge the investigation of men in every age; and which, though overlooked by the careless and prejudiced, cannot fail of producing conviction proportioned to the attention paid to them.” *

According to the predictions of the Holy Scriptures, *Nineveh* hath been desolated. It was in reference to the means which would be employed, in its destruction, that the prophet Nahum so sublimely represents the judgments of God upon that wicked city:—“*The Lord hath his way in the whirlwind, and in the storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet.*”† *Babylon* has been swept away, as with the besom of destruction. That description of her utter desolation by Isaiah, has been most literally accomplished: “*And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldee’s excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah: it shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch his tent there; neither shall*

* Preface to the New Testament.

† Nahum i. 3.

*the shepherds make their folds there. But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there; and the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces: and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged.” **

It was said, also, of Tyre,† “ *And they shall destroy the walls of Tyre, and break down her towers: I will also scrape her dust from her, and make her like the top of a rock. It shall be a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea; for I have spoken it, saith the Lord God, and it shall become a spoil among the nations.*” Has not this descriptive prediction been most minutely fulfilled? It is worthy of observation, that one of the sins of this great maritime power was, that her merchants “ *traded in the persons of men,*”‡ It was this crime that brought down the fury of God, according to the prediction which I have just read. O, England! England! thou modern Tyre, in wealth and crime, especially by thy merchants—the traffickers in the persons of men! tremble, lest thou, having for so long a period—now almost THREE CENTURIES,—and to such an awful extent, been guilty of the *sins* of TYRE, shouldest be punished in a similar manner. England! repent! repent!

Was it not predicted of *Egypt*, § “ *It shall be the basest of the kingdoms, neither shall it exalt itself any*

* Isaiah xiii. 19—22.

† Ezekiel xxvi. 4, 5.

‡ Ezekiel xxvii. 13.

§ Ezekiel xxix. 14, 15.

more among the nations, for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations." Do not the past history, and the present condition of Egypt, prove its exact accomplishment? Did not our Lord predict the total destruction of the city of Jerusalem, and the temple; and the dispersion of the Jews among all the nations of the earth? The condition of Jerusalem from the time when it was destroyed by Titus Vespasian, and the existence of the Jews, as a people differing from all others upon the face of the earth, are standing monuments, on which is legibly inscribed, as in eternal brass "*I have spoken it, I will also bring it to pass; I have purposed it, I will also do it.*"*

The argument which I found upon these historical facts, which are the demonstrative proofs of the truth of scripture prophecy, is,—that as certainly as those predictions have been most literally and with surprising minuteness accomplished, so other predictions, as yet unaccomplished, shall all be fulfilled in their season. Such are the prophecies of Daniel, Paul, and John, respecting Babylon, mystical Babylon! which doubtless refers to the anti-christian church of Rome! Her dreadful, sudden, and overwhelming destruction is marked with surprizing exactness in this eighteenth chapter of the Revelation: "*And the merchants shall weep;*" for what? "*because no man buyeth their merchandize any more.*" What article of merchandize is no longer wanted in the Euro-

* Isaiah xlv. 11.

pean markets? “*The merchandize..of SLAVES, and the souls of men:*” Then Slavery will be extinct.

Before I expatiate on the *particular* prophecy, from which my conclusion is drawn, that Slavery will be utterly extinguished; I shall briefly notice some *general* predictions, which bear upon that subject, and which corroborate and confirm that conclusion, such as the following: “*Yea, all kings shall fall down before him; all nations shall serve him. For he shall deliver the needy when he crieth, the poor also, and him that hath no helper. He shall spare the poor and needy, and shall save the souls of the needy. He shall redeem their soul from deceit and violence, and precious shall their blood be in his sight.*” * When the time shall arrive, for the fulfilment of these predictions respecting the universal dominion of the Redeemer, the *bodies* and *souls* of “the poor and needy,” who had cried to him for deliverance and salvation, shall be “redeemed from deceit and violence”: and to whom does this description apply so forcibly as to the enslaved negroes?

In the predictions of Isaiah, respecting “the things to come concerning” the church, it is added, “*Thus saith the LORD, The labour of Egypt, and merchandize of ETHIOPIA, and of the SABEANS, men of stature, shall come over unto thee, and they shall be thine; they shall come after thee: IN CHAINS THEY*

* Psalm lxxii. 11—14.

SHALL COME OVER UNTO THEE; *and they shall fall down unto thee, they shall make supplication unto thee, saying, Surely God is in thee, and there is none else, there is no God. Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself, O God of Israel, the Saviour.*"† To what class of *Ethiopians* and *Sabeans*, both descended from Ham, the son of Noah, and to these too as being *in chains*, can this possibly apply, but to the enslaved and fettered *Africans* in the West India colonies? It opens up to our view, the cheering prospect of their entire—their spiritual emancipation, in their coming, through the knowledge of the gospel, over to the Saviour, even while literally burdened with *chains*, and figuratively with the chains of their sins, that they might be “delivered from the power of darkness, and be brought into the kingdom of God’s dear Son.” In the *spiritual* sense, this prophecy has, within the last few years, been most gloriously fulfilled among the West Indian Negroes: there is no doubt but it will also receive a *literal*, accomplishment.

Again—“*And He shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. But they shall sit, every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, and none shall make them afraid: for the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it. In*

* Isaiah xlv. 14, 15.

*that day, saith the Lord, will I assemble her that halteth, and I will gather her that is driven out, and her that I have afflicted. And I will make her that halted a remnant, and her that was cast off a strong nation: and the Lord shall reign over them in Mount Zion, from henceforth, even for ever.”** From this scripture it is most evident, that when the predicted period shall arrive, the poor “driven out” and “afflicted” sons and daughters of Africa shall possess property, and enjoy pleasures, of which they have hitherto been deprived, and to which they, and their progenitors, have, since being imported into the British colonies, been total strangers. These now oppressed negroes shall then experience, to them, the strange delight of “*sitting every man under his [own] vine, and under his [own] fig-tree,*” and sit in such security too, that no *white manager, nor driver, with his cart whip and thumb-screws*, shall ever again “make them afraid.”

I now come to the *particular* prophecy, from which I assert that *Slavery will be totally, and for ever extinguished*. It is introduced by a scene of the greatest sublimity:—“*I saw,*” says John, *another Angel come down from heaven, having great power, and the earth was lightened with his glory; and he cried mightily with a strong voice: Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen.*” And the destruction of the Roman hierarchy, which is doubtless intended

* Micah v. 3—7. See also Isaiah ii. 3, 4 and ix. 7—9.

by these words, will be accompanied with the total cessation of the trade in “*SLAVES and souls of men*,” for no man will buy such merchandize “any more”; and if there are no *buyers*, there can be no *sellers*, and then the enormous evil of Slavery will exist no longer; and this glorious event, will usher in the jubilee of the world. The ancient jubilee of the Jews, was called “*the year of release*,” when liberty was proclaimed throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof. Then was liberty proclaimed to broken-hearted captives, and those who were bound, were set at liberty! and so also, when the last jubilee shall arrive, there shall be no longer merchandize in “*SLAVES and souls of men!*” (F.) The slave-merchants and slave-holders, “these merchants of the earth,” who have “waxed rich” by their infamous traffick in the persons of their fellow men, will weep and lament, because of the utter extinction of their horrid trade, first invented by

“Moloch, bloody king,
Besmeared with blood, and parent’s tears,”

because no man will buy their slaves any more! But that which will occasion the most doleful lamentation among those who can no longer trade “in *SLAVES and souls of men*,” will cause the friends of the oppressed negro to shout for joy. And what will be their triumphant song, when God shall thus say to the oppressed, “*GO FREE!*” when all the whips, stocks, and carcans, which have

been employed by their tyrants to torment and afflict their slaves, shall be cast into one great bonfire; and all the chains, fetters, and thumb-screws by which they used to confine, and manacle, and torment their slaves, shall be beaten into hoes and spades, to perform the cultivation of the sugar cane by free labour, their *hire* being no longer kept back by fraud, so that the consumers of that pleasant article of West India produce shall use it without any apprehension of its having been saturated with negroes' blood! O, the delightful anticipation, when the horrors of procuring slaves in Africa shall be known "no more at all;" * when the miseries of the middle passage shall be endured "no more at all;" when the exhibition of men, women, and children in the public market, shall take place "no more at all;" when affectionate fathers, and mothers, and children shall be severed from each other "no more at all," for—

"Skins may differ, but affection
Dwells in black and white the same."

When it shall "no more at all" be said, at the birth of an innocent infant, "A *slave* is born into the world." When the birth of a son will, for the first time, cause the *negress* so much joy as to forget the anguish which she felt in giving it life! Then shall connubial love take the place of licentious intercourse, and God's law, in regard to

* See Revelation xviii. 22.

marriage, will be observed, "Those whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder;"—then the slave-holder, who has neither "feared God, nor regarded man," shall "no more at all" separate man and wife asunder, by selling them to different masters;—then the happy emancipated negro shall have his children about him, and, enlightened by the gospel of Christ, shall train them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord;—then shall he and his family attend the public worship of God, apprehending "no more at all" the burning or razing of the temples of worship, nor that the servants of God, who have shewn him the way of salvation, will be torn from their flocks, immured in prisons, treated with cruelty, and exposed to a martyr's death! (G.)

But I asked, what will be the triumphant song of all the friends of God and man, in what may be truly called this "age of gold?" It will be a similar song to that which Israel sung when the sea had swallowed up their enemies, and when they found themselves emancipated and at liberty,—no longer Pharaoh's bondmen, but the Lord's free men, delivered from the furnace of iron, from the house of bondage, from the oppressor's lash, and the tyrant's gripe: "*Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods? who is like unto thee? Glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders. Thou stretchest out thy right hand; thou in thy mercy hast led forth the people which thou hast redeemed.*" "*Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God*

*Almighty ; just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints. Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name, for thou only art holy : for all nations shall come and worship before thee : for thy judgments are made manifest.”**

Then shall that animating prediction be applicable to the condition of the emancipated negro, and to his improved circumstances: “*For ye shall go forth with joy, and be led forth with peace : the mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands. Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir tree, and instead of the briar shall come up the myrtle tree : and it shall be to the Lord for a name, for an everlasting sign, that shall not be cut off.*”†

“ The groans of nature in this nether world,
Which heaven has heard for ages, have an end,
Foretold by prophets, and by poets sung,
Whose fire was kindled at the prophets’ lamp,
The time of rest, the promis’d Sabbath, comes.”

I shall now proceed to mention, *some of the probable means, by which the utter extinction of Slavery shall be consummated.*

When our Divine Lord foretold the destruction of Jerusalem, he intimated that certain infallible signs would precede the event, so that all wise observers might know that it was “*nigh at hand,*

* Exodus xv. 11—13. Rev. xv. 3, 4.

† Isaiah lv. 12, 13.

even at the doors.”* I am not about to fix any precise period *when* the abolition of Slavery will take place, as I consider such attempts unwarranted by the style of scripture prophecy, and a proof of pride or weakness. I am of opinion, with Prideaux, that *providence is the only infallible expositor of prophecy*: he says, “It being of the nature of such prophecies [which relate to the extirpation of anti-christ] not thoroughly to be understood, till they are thoroughly fulfilled.”† This sentiment is supported by the following beautiful parable, uttered by our Lord, in reference to that approaching catastrophe: “*Now behold, and learn a parable of the fig tree: When its branch is yet tender, and shoots forth its leaves, ye see and know of yourselves that summer is near at hand. So likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things come to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand, even at the door.*” “*And there shall be SIGNS in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars, and upon the earth, distress of nations, with perplexity, the sea, and the waves roaring; men’s hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming upon the earth.*”‡ I ask whether this is not a correct picture of the SIGNS of the present period? Was there ever a time, in regard to politics, trade, commerce, and religion, when there was more “distress of nations,” more “per-

* Matthew xxiv. 33.

† Prideaux’s Connections, vol. II. book iii. page 219.

‡ Luke xxi. 26.

plexity;" when the hearts of men so failed them with fear; or when such portentous expectations were indulged, as to the final results of various events which are now taking place at home—in the colonies of the empire—and, in fact, in every part of the world? Are there not visible "*SIGNS in the sun, and the moon, and the stars,*" considering these to be the symbols of distinguished rank, authority, and government. The nations are shaken to their bases, and political measures are taking place, which will affect the future welfare of millions, in all the succeeding generations of men. But I shall notice these only, in so far as they appear to bear upon the accomplishment of the prediction in relation to the extinction of that merchandize—the traffic in "*SLAVES, and souls of men.*" At present, the heartless oppressors of these slaves are saying, in the pride and atheism of their hearts, "*With our tongue will we prevail: our lips are our own: who is Lord over us!*" and is it not most evident, from "*the signs of the times,*" that the answer to these infidel taunts is also fulfilling: "*For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord; I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him.*" *

Some of the remarkable *signs* of the present times, are of a most awful nature, and others of an animating kind. Of the former description I may mention the dreadful hurricane, which, a few

* Psalm xii. 4, 5.

months since, occasioned the destruction of so much property, and the loss of so many lives, in the island of Barbadoes. Listen to the “Negro’s Complaint”:—

“ Is there, as ye sometimes tell us,
Is there One who reigns on high?
Has he bid you buy and sell us,
Speaking from his throne, the sky?
Ask him, if your knotted scourges,
Matches, blood-extorting screws,
Are the means which duty urges,
Agents of his will to use?

Hark! he answers—wild tornadoes,
Strewing yonder sea with wrecks;
Wasting towns, plantations, meadows,
Are the voice with which he speaks.
He foreseeing what vexations
Afric’s sons should undergo,
Fix’d their tyrant’s habitations
Where his whilwinds answer—No!” *

Another of these tremendous signs is, the *awful insurrection* lately broken out in the island of Jamaica, which has already been attended with such immense loss to the planters, and with the destruction of so many of the discontented negroes. And who, that knows any thing of the awful cruelties which have been exercised upon the negroes in that island, for so many years past, and the almost indescribable wickedness and profaneness that prevail among its inhabitants, espe-

* Cowper.

cially the *whites*, can be surprised that the hand of God is gone out against them? “*Because,*” says the prophet, “*they have cast away the law of the Lord of hosts, and despised the word of the Holy One of Israel: therefore is the anger of the Lord kindled; and he hath stretched forth his hand against them, and hath smitten them: and the hills did tremble, and their carcasses were torn in the midst of the streets. For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still.*”

If, to the above mentioned enormities, I add the *implacable malice* which they have lately discovered against the Baptist missionaries in Jamaica, evidently thirsting for their blood; is it too much to expect that the divine hand will be upon them, in a similar manner as when it fell upon the Jewish nation, at the time of Jerusalem’s destruction:—“*Who both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and HAVE PERSECUTED US: and they please not God, and are contrary to all men, FORBIDDING US TO SPEAK TO THE GENTILES, THAT THEY MIGHT BE SAVED, to fill up their sins alway: for the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost.*” * Their persecuting the ministers of Christ was the “filling-up” sin! (H.)

I consider another of the awful signs, and which is a certain prognostic of direful calamities in the colonies, at least for a season, the *spirit of contumacy and rebellion, on the part of the West India body, both in the colonies and in England, towards*

* 1 Thess ii. 15, 16.

His Majesty's government; and this merely because some ameliorating measures have been adopted in regard to the negroes. That any class of subjects, and that too in the metropolis of the empire, should have pronounced an act of the king's council, "unjust and oppressive," is sufficiently alarming; but that these mendacious epithets should be employed, merely because they were commanded to provide their "own property" with suitable protection, and sufficient food; and that their "cattle" should not be so overworked, and under-fed, as to reduce their value in the market, shews the malignant feelings of their hearts, when any thing is attempted, in order that the captive might be delivered from their rapacious gripe. It is not difficult, however, to perceive how this resistance to the wise and humane provisions of the king and his ministers, may tend to the more speedy destruction of the system. There is a maxim, the truth of which the history of the world confirms, that "*God infatuates whom he intends to destroy.*"

I said there were some signs of the times, of the most *animating* kind: I allude to such as these:—1. *The recent emancipation of upwards of TWO THOUSAND slaves*, which had been escheated to the king, and therefore called "crown slaves." This is to be regarded as a symptom of the desire, and probably of the intention, of His Majesty's present ministers, to put an end to the whole system of slavery. 2. The late "*Orders (I.) in Coun-*

cil," which, instead of recommendations, as in all former instances, contain positive commands to the governors of the crown colonies, and expressive hints to the legislatures of the *chartered* colonies to ameliorate the condition of the negroes, from a day named in those orders. May not this be regarded as expressive of their determination, no longer to trust to the hollow professions of the planters, that they are themselves opposed to slavery in the abstract, a state of things which never has, nor can possibly exist, and that they will, as speedily as possible, ameliorate the circumstances of the negroes. 3. *The avowed and fixed intention of the government, to relieve, by a remission of part of the sugar duties, those colonies which will carry their "Orders" into full effect, while they will grant no relief to those which resist them.*

To these cheering signs, may be added—4. *The general feeling of the British public, in regard to the crime of Slavery, and that its immediate and total abolition ought to be carried into effect; as expressed by their presenting, in the last session of parliament, to the legislature, almost 6,000 petitions. And, in the last place, that the public press, in several instances at least, begins to advocate the right of the negro to freedom.*

I add to these signs, that most animating fact, that so many thousands of the negroes have, of late years especially, been made *the subjects of the renewing and saving grace of God*. I am not acquainted with the state of this fact among other

societies, but in regard to the Baptist missionaries, they have indeed, in a most remarkable manner, been made “fishers of men.” They have been directed, by their divine Lord, how to cast the net of the gospel on the right side of the ship, and they have drawn thousands—many thousands of converted negroes, from the vortex and whirlpool of ignorance and vice, to the shores of spiritual knowledge and holiness of life. During the last ten years, there have been from 10 to 12,000 negroes baptized, upon a credible profession of “repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ,” and received as members of the churches in the island of Jamaica. There were connected with the Baptist Mission, before the late insurrection, about 30,000 persons, all (with the exception of a very few *whites*) free and enslaved *negroes*. Is not this a proof, that Jehovah has heard the voice of their groaning, and granted them emancipation of the highest kind: even the glorious liberty of the children of God? What an illustrious proof of divine sovereignty, that has thus called the oppressed negro to freedom, whilst their haughty tyrants have been left, by the righteous judgment of God, to the dominion of their sins! “*I thank thee, O Father,*” said the Lord Jesus Christ, “*Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight.*” Thus “He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth up the beggar

from the dunghill, to set them among princes, and to make them inherit the throne of glory: for the pillars of the earth are the Lord's, and he hath set the world upon them."* "For he hath looked down from the height of his sanctuary; from heaven did the Lord behold the earth; to hear the groaning of the prisoner, to loose those that are appointed to death."† "Who is like to the Lord our God, who dwelleth on high, who humbleth himself to behold the things that are in heaven and in the earth. He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth the needy out of the dunghill, that he may set him with princes, even the princes of his people: Praise ye the Lord!"‡ (K.)

Again, it is a most remarkable and encouraging *sign of the times*, that we should have, at such a time as this, one of the most *patriotic monarchs* that ever sat even on the British throne. I cannot refrain from quoting an extract from the declaration made to the Council at the Court of St. James's, on the 26th June, 1830, by our noble King, William IV. (whom, with his royal consort the Queen, may the God of all grace bless and preserve, and make their reign long, prosperous, and happy)—“I WILL,” said His Majesty, “UNDER THE BLESSING OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE, MAINTAIN THE REFORMED RELIGION, ESTABLISHED BY LAW; PROTECT THE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES; AND PROMOTE THE PROSPERITY AND HAPPINESS OF ALL

* 1 Sam. ii. 10

† Psalm cii. 19, 20.

‡ Psalm cxii. 5—9.

CLASSES OF MY PEOPLE.”* O that HE, “by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice,” may now put the thing into the king’s heart, to “promote the prosperity and happiness” of that unhappy class of his people, the oppressed negroes in the British colonies, by granting them instant emancipation.

From all the considerations which I have mentioned, I feel myself warranted in adopting our Lord’s language to his disciples, in application to the groaning and weeping descendants of the kidnapped, and robbed, and spoiled, and murdered sons and daughters of Africa, and to conclude in relation to the prediction concerning the total abolition of slavery, that “*this generation shall not pass away, till all these things be fulfilled.*† Hear, then, for your comfort, ye *sable* brethren of the human race—ye most oppressed of the family of man—Hear the Saviour of the world saying unto you, HE that hath “all power, both in heaven and in earth;” and who sits as “KING IN ZION,”: — “LIFT UP YOUR HEADS, FOR YOUR REDEMPTION DRAWETH NIGH.”‡ (L.)

I shall conclude this Lecture, by noticing some of THE USES to which its principles are applicable.

1. The certainty that Slavery in the bodies of men will be utterly extinguished, should excite

* Morning Herald, June 28, 1830.

† Matthew xxiv. 34.

‡ Luke xxi. 28.

us to the MOST ZEALOUS USE OF EVERY MEANS which is within our power, likely to contribute towards that extinction. “Until,” says Toplady, “I have tried every means to accomplish any purpose, I know not which of them God has designed to bless.” The foreknowledge of God has no influence upon man to destroy his free agency; and the predestinating counsel of Jehovah does not interfere with man’s accountability. The most firm believer in the doctrine of a divine superintending providence over all events, will be the most active person in attending to all divine commands; knowing, from the scriptures, that God has joined the end and the means so firmly together, that they can never be separated; “for the sluggard that will not plough by reason of the cold, shall beg in harvest, and have nothing.” The apostle Paul had an absolute assurance from an angel of God, when he and his companions were exposed to the peril of shipwreck, that the life of no one on board should be lost; yet when he saw the sailors about to leave the wreck, by letting down the boat, he instantly said, “Except these [sailors] abide in the ship ye cannot be saved.” That the crew would be all saved was certain, from the promise of God; but that their safety was essentially connected with the *nautical* skill of the sailors, was equally true. The judicious Dr. Doddridge calls this passage of scripture, “a remarkable illustration of the obligations we are under to *use the most proper means* for

security and success, even while we are committing ourselves to the care of divine providence, and waiting for the accomplishment of God's *own promises*. For it would be most unreasonable to imagine, that he ever intended any promise to encourage rational creatures to act in a wild irrational manner: or to remain inactive, when he has given them natural capacities of doing something, at least, for their own benefit. It is in exerting these, that we are to expect his powerful aid; and all the grace, beauty, and wisdom of the promise would be lost, if we were to take it in any other view: to abuse it in a contrary view, is, at best, *vain and dangerous presumption*, if all pretence of relying upon it be not *profane hypocrisy*." *

I hope I have proved, from the inspired scriptures, that the extinction of Slavery is absolutely certain, because God has decreed it, and his word hath declared it. So far, however, from this expectation tending to unnerve our arm, or relax our exertions, let it stimulate us to a renewed use of all those moral and constitutional efforts which are likely to lead to so desirable a result. If it be by abstinence from the produce of the abused sugar-cane; if it be by associating together for the purpose of diffusing correct information upon the evils of slavery; if it be by using the public press yet more extensively; if it be by more urgently, and more numerous petitioning the

* Family Expositor.

legislature; or by adopting a measure as yet untried, that of presenting a most earnest petition to our noble patriot king! Let us, I say, while certain that slavery will come to its end, and that none shall help it; come forth “to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty.”* Let us never cease supplicating the British government, to perform this act of justice and mercy towards more than 755,000 of our fellow-men and fellow-subjects, until they shall fix a day, beyond which no child shall be born in slavery; and determine that no person, of either sex, at present in bondage, shall continue any longer in thralldom and misery.

2. The certainty that slavery is doomed to total extinction should lead all pious persons to “*pray without ceasing,*” that God would succeed the means employed to better the condition of the negroes, and to work their speedy release. We have several scripture examples of the prayers of the godly being encouraged by the certainty of the blessing sought being promised. David thus expresses himself:—“*For thou, O Lord God of hosts, God of Israel, hast revealed to thy servant, saying, I will build thee an house: therefore, hath thy servant found in his heart to pray this prayer unto thee.*”† So Daniel:—“*I, Daniel, understood by books the number of the years, whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet, that he would accomplish the seventy years in the destruction of Jerusalem. And I set my face unto*

* Judges v. 23.

† 1 Samuel vii. 27.

the Lord God, to seek by prayer and supplications, with fasting, with sackcloth, and with ashes." * To make the revealed purposes of Jehovah, the ground of importunate prayer, is to act according to his will. "*Yet for all these things will I be enquired of by the house of Israel, to do these things for them.*" † It has been well said, "Prayer moves the hand that moves the universe." "*I said not,*" said Jehovah, "*unto the house of Jacob, seek ye my face in vain.*"

There is every encouragement then for us "to seek by prayer and supplication," that our fellow men may be speedily emancipated from their grievous thralldom of slavery. Nor should we forget especially to pray, that whether the present race of negroes live to enjoy this, or whether their posterity shall possess the blessing, that they should all know a liberty of an higher kind; liberty from the bondage of sin and Satan:—"For if the Son make you free," said the Lord Jesus, "*ye shall be free indeed*":—

"But there is yet a liberty, unsung
By poets, and by senators unpraised,
Which monarchs cannot grant, nor all the powers
Of earth and hell confederate take away.
A liberty which persecution, fraud,
Oppressions, prisons, have no power to bind;
Which whoso tastes can be enslaved no more.
'Tis liberty of heart derived from heaven,
Bought with His blood, who gave it to mankind,

* Daniel ix. 2, 3.

† Ezekiel xxxvi. 37.

And sealed with the same token. It is held
 By charter, and that charter sanctioned sure
 By the unimpeachable and awful oath
 And promise of a God.

* * * *

Grace makes the slave a freeman.”*

3. As the total extinction of slavery is certain, then *those persons especially who call themselves Christians, and who hold their fellow-men in bondage, should instantly declare their slaves to be free.* “*And I heard,*” says John, “*another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her my people, and be not partakers of her plagues.*”† This was addressed to persons who were traffickers in “*beasts, and sheep, and horses, and SLAVES, and the souls of men*”; and, therefore, supposes that persons calling themselves the followers of the Lamb, will be found, when the destruction of that awful merchandize shall take place, within the walls of that city, which, with all who remain in her, shall be burnt with fire. How seriously should this solemn call sound in the ears of *christian* slave-holders! Should not “the Society for propagating the Gospel” instantly emancipate those of their fellow subjects whom they have converted into slaves, and still hold in bondage? And should not the Moravian Missionary Society, from a regard to religion, justice, and humanity, at once let the oppressed go free? (M.) And should not those rich Protestant Dissenting gentlemen, and others,

* Cowper

† Rev. xviii. 4.

who hold slaves, or manage slave estates, forego every secular advantage, and disentangle themselves from every engagement which prevents them from proclaiming liberty to the captives? In a letter written from Jamaica, in February, 1831, one of the Baptist Missionaries says—"I wonder how such good men as Mr. ——— and Mr. ——— can have any thing to do with such a horrid system."

I shall mention an instance of an eminent minister, who cleared himself from a participation in the crimes of the slave trade. This was the late Rev. John Newton, who, for some time after his conversion, was employed as the captain of a slave-ship. He says, "However, I considered myself as a sort of *gaoler* or *turnkey*, and I was sometimes shocked with an employment that was perpetually consonant with chains, bolts, and shackles. In this view, I had often petitioned in my prayers, that the Lord in his own time would be pleased to fix me in a more humane calling. My prayers were now answered."

The next instance is of that pious lady Mrs. Isabella Graham, who was left with a young family at Antigua, and of whom it is said in her memoir, that, after she became a widow,—“On examining into the state of her husband's affairs she discovered there remained not quite two hundred pounds sterling in her agent's hands. The circumstances afforded an opportunity for the display of the purity of Mrs. G.'s principles; and

her rigid adherence to the commandments of her God in every situation. It was proposed to her, and urged with great argument, *to sell the two Indian girls, her late husband's property*. No considerations of interest, or necessity, could prevail upon her *to make merchandize of her fellow creatures, the works of her heavenly father's hand; immortal beings!* One of these girls accompanied her to Scotland, where she was married, the other died in Antigua, leaving an affectionate testimony to the kindness of her dear master and mistress."

I am happy to add, that I have heard from our Missionaries, that several persons in Jamaica have, lately, from the power of the gospel upon their hearts, given up their *slaves*, who like Mrs. G. could not any longer "hold property in their fellow creatures—immortal beings." One of these is the persecuted Baptist Missionary, Mr. William Whitehorn, who, on his conversion, two or three years since, immediately liberated his domestic slaves. (N.) Worthy examples these for the imitation of all who profess themselves to be the disciples of Christ. Should not such persons in particular, who profess to owe to, and to expect every blessing from, the divine compassion, to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said: — "OUGHTEST THOU NOT TO HAVE HAD PITY ON THY FELLOW-SERVANT, EVEN AS I HAD PITY ON THEE?"

APPENDIX.

No. 1. Page iv.

As one proof of the correctness of this statement I quote an extract from a speech of the lamented patriot, the late Sir Samuel Romilly, delivered by him on the memorable night of the abolition of the Slave Trade, a speech which was received with such distinguished applause, that the delivery of one animated passage was followed by three distinct plaudits, an event which never perhaps occurred before in the House of Commons. Towards the conclusion he introduced the following brilliant apostrophe:—"When I look at the man [Napoleon Bonaparte] at the head of the French monarchy, surrounded as he is with all the pride of power, and all the pride of victory, distributing kingdoms to his family, and principalities to his followers; seeming as he sits upon his throne to have reached the summit of human ambition, and the pinnacle of earthly happiness;—and when I follow him into his closet, or to his bed, and contemplate the anguish with which his solitude must be tortured by the recollection of the blood he has spilt, and the oppressions he has committed; and when I compare with these pangs of remorse the feelings which must accompany my honourable friend [Mr. Wilberforce] from this house to his home, after the vote of this night shall have accomplished the object of his humane and unceasing labours; when he shall retire into the bosom of his delighted and happy family; when he lay himself down upon his bed, reflecting on the innumerable voices that will be raised in every quarter of the world to bless his name; how much more enviable his lot in the consciousness of having preserved so many millions of his fellow creatures, than that of the man with whom I have compared him, on a throne to which he has waded through slaughter and oppression! Who will not be proud to concur with my honoured friend in pro-

moting the greatest act of national benefit, and securing to the Africans the greatest blessing which God has ever put it in the power of man to confer on his fellow creatures."—*The Legal Observer, or Journal of Jurisprudence, for April, 1832*, p. 383.

(A.) Page 8.

That such a charter as that which constituted the "Royal African Company" should have been granted by such a licentious profligate monarch as Charles II., as one of the first acts of his reign, is not at all surprising. Nor is it wonderful that no remonstrance on the part of the then obsequious parliament should have been made; nor, as far as appears, any *protest* left respecting it. A charter to enslave *freemen* on the coast of Guinea was quite in keeping with the "Act of Uniformity," passed in the same year, by which more than 2,000 Ministers were ejected from their parishes; and the "Act for compelling Quakers to take an oath," which exposed them to great hardships; and the "Conventicle Act," for tormenting Nonconformists, and preventing their separate meetings, should have been also passed in the same year. I can easily conceive that Milton would have felt so indignant on account of the proceedings of this "Royal African Company," as to have produced the most emphatic lines introduced at the commencement of this Lecture, in page 4.

(B.) Page 9.

The bill for the abolition of the Slave Trade was passed on March 25, 1807. By this act it was enacted that no slave should be imported into our colonies after March 1, 1808.

(C.) Page 10.

It is said (page 10) that from 1780 to 1830 there had been an increase in the number of slaves in Jamaica of 81,000. Lest this should convey an erroneous idea, it should also be known that "there have been imported into that island alone, since its conquest by Britain, no less than 850,000 Africans; and if

we add to this number 40,000 previously brought by the Spaniards, we have a total of 890,000, exclusive of all the births which have taken place since that period, and yet two years ago, from the oppressive hardships under which the slave population have laboured, they were reduced to 33,000.”—*The Negro's Friend*, No. 19, Page 5.

A paper has been circulated, which will throw still further light upon this dreadful topic of the rapid diminution of human life in the colonies, entitled “A Statement of the Decrease of the Slave Population in the Sugar Colonies,” signed Thomas Fowell Buxton, and dated April 4, 1832, and said to be drawn up from official returns. The following statement is the “RECAPITULATION”:

Antigua	.	.	Decrease in 11 years	868
Berbice	.	.	ditto 9 ditto	1,844
Demerara	.	.	ditto 12 ditto	13,367
Grenada	.	.	ditto 12 ditto	2,597
Jamaica	.	.	ditto 12 ditto	19,163
Montserrat	.	.	ditto 11 ditto	131
Nevis	.	.	ditto 11 ditto	192
St. Christopher's	.	.	ditto 10 ditto	69
St. Lucia	.	.	ditto 13 ditto	1,942
St. Vincent's	.	.	ditto 10 ditto	1,248
Tobago	.	.	ditto 10 ditto	2,803
Tortola	.	.	ditto 10 ditto	143
Trinidad	.	.	ditto 13 ditto	6,068

Decrease in the above 13 Colonies, the average being $11\frac{1}{3}$ years				50,435
Mauritius	.	.	Decrease in $10\frac{3}{4}$ years	10,767
				61,202

DEDUCT. Increase in the two following Colonies, viz.—

Dominica	.	in 9 years	.	11
Barbadoes	.	in 12 years	.	5,986
				5,997

Total Decrease in the Slave Population in the Sugar Colonies, on an average of 11 years 55,205

(D.) Page 10.

At the Annual Meeting at Exeter Hall, on the 23d of April, 1831, Mr. O'Connell said,—“ But the speech of Mr. Burge, had filled him with such disgust and indignation that he could not then, [on the evening when Mr. Buxton's motion was before the house,] have spoken calmly. ‘*What,*’ said Mr. Burge, ‘*would you come in between a man and his freehold!*’ I started,” said Mr. O'Connell, “ as if something unholy had trampled on my father's grave, and I exclaimed with horror,—*A freehold in a human being!*”—*Anti-slavery Reporter*, vol. iv, page 268.

(E.) Page 13.

The following extracts from Blackstone's Commentaries the intelligent reader will perceive bear strongly upon the state of the question between the planter and the negro, admitting the argument to be settled, that whether considered as an *alien*, born out of the King's dominions, or as *natural born* within the dominions of the kingdom of England, all the negroes in our colonies, under one or other of these designations, are *subjects* of the British Crown. They are from the chapters entitled, “ The Rights of Persons,” and the “ Absolute Rights of Individuals.”—*Book 1*.

“ The first and most obvious division of the people is into *aliens* and *natural-born subjects*. Natural born within the dominions of the crown of England; that is, within the allegiance, or as it is generally called, the allegiance of the king; and aliens, such as are born out of it. Allegiance is the tie or *ligamen* which binds the subject to the king, in return for that protection which the king affords the subject.”

“ Next to personal security, the law of England, regards, asserts, and preserves the personal liberty of individuals. This personal liberty consists in the power of loco-motion, of changing situation, or moving one's person to whatever place our own inclination may direct; without imprisonment or restraint, unless by due course of law, concerning which we

may make the same observations as upon the preceding article, that it is a right strictly natural; that the laws of England have never abridged it without sufficient cause."

"A man's limbs are also the gifts of a merciful Creator, to enable him to protect himself from external injuries in a state of nature. *To these, therefore, he has a natural inherent right, and they cannot be wantonly destroyed or disabled without a manifest breach of civil liberty.*"

The nature of the government of Jamaica is thus described by Blackstone, in his chapter "Of the countries subject to the laws of England." "Charter governments, are of the nature of civil corporations, with the power of making bye-laws for their own immediate regulation, *not contrary to the laws of England*; and with such rights and authorities as are specially given them in their charters of incorporation." "It is particularly declared by statute 7 and 8 William III. c. 22, that all laws, bye-laws, usages, and customs, which shall be in practice in any of the plantations, repugnant to any law, made or to be made in this kingdom relative to the said plantations, shall be utterly void and without effect."

(F.) Page 37.

On this verse my late excellent friend, the Rev. Andrew Fuller, in his *common-sense*, "Expository Discourses on the Apocalypse," remarks, "The *kings* are joined in their lamentations by the '*merchants*,' and who seem to be those who have made a trade of religion; which, however it may include many amongst the laity, must refer more immediately to the mercenary part of the clergy. The most notable *article* in the list of her commodities is '*the souls of men*.' There is doubtless an allusion to Ezek. xxvii. 13, but '*the persons of men*,' can there mean only *slaves*, whereas the souls of men are here distinguished from *slaves*. *Tyre* dealt only in *men's bodies*, but *Rome* in their *souls*. I know not what else to make of the sale of indulgencies, and pardons; of the buying and selling church-livings; of confessions, prayers for the dead, and of every other means of extorting money from the ignorant."

(G.) Page 39.

As so much odium has been cast upon the Baptist Missionaries, and especially upon the Rev. Mr. Burchell, and his colleagues at Montego-bay, it seems proper somewhat more than a mere allusion should be made to their characters and labours.

In February 17, 1830, a Missionary, Mr. James Mann, died. He had been associated with Mr. Burchell. Let a most respectable gentleman, on whose estates Mr. Mann laboured, be heard, in pronouncing his elegy, which was addressed to the Rev. J. Dyer, Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society.

“ It gives me great pleasure to have it in my power to afford you the following satisfactory evidence of the conduct of your Missionaries in Jamaica, as extracted from a letter of my brother to me, dated August 28; and that the following statement may and should carry the more weight with it, I think it right to say, that he has been a resident in that island for upwards of two years, and that both he and I, having a considerable interest at stake there, must necessarily feel much alive to every circumstance likely to disturb the peace and well-being of that colony. He begins by speaking of your Missionary at Falmouth, Mr. Mann.

“ ‘ I cannot help expressing my astonishment, that men placed in the situation of Mr. Mann, holding strongly upon the affections of the people by the medium of religion, should use their influence so wisely, because so moderately, *that they scarcely seem to clash with the prejudices of the planter. Can there be a greater proof afforded, of the temperate exercise of power over these uneducated people’s minds, than that, though every eye is upon the alert to detect an abusive influence, and every imagination is at work to construe some disturbance amongst the negroes, as attributable to the Baptists, no proof has yet been given, founded upon any thing like liberality or fairness, that they have ever worked upon any other feeling than that of religion.* Through good and through evil report they travel on, availing themselves of the assistance of the proprietor, wherever the least encouragement is held out to them, and disconnecting themselves from local as well as general politics.’ He then goes on to say,

that, in compliance with my desire, he had made arrangements with your Missionary, Mr. Mann, to go once a week to my estates, distant from the place of his residence seven miles, in order to preach, and teach the negroes, for which purpose a part of Wednesday is appropriated. I need now merely add, from the great good, moral and religious, which I anticipate from this labour of love amongst them, how much I should deplore any steps being taken by the Legislature in Jamaica, and to be sanctioned by his Majesty's ministers at home, likely in the remotest degree to frustrate what I am convinced can alone tend to improve the condition of the slave, and raise him in the scale of our common humanity."

The following was printed in the Baptist Missionary Herald in June, 1831, which will shew the spirit of opposition which had begun to manifest itself:—"At Montego-bay, Mr. Burchell continues to be subject to vexatious annoyance, from those 'who love darkness rather than light.' As if to shew how fully they answer to this inspired description, they have actually seized the lamps in the chapel, under the pretext of some new local impost laid on the building, and which Mr. B. properly declined paying till he could receive directions from home. Steps will of course be taken to ascertain how far the perpetrators of these dishonourable proceedings can act thus with impunity; but, surely we may hope, the day approaches in which effectual measures will be taken, both at home and abroad, to secure religious worship from insult, and those who maintain it from oppression."

(H.) Page 44.

The following is copied from the "Despatches and Correspondence, respecting the Slave Insurrection in the West India Colonies," ordered to be printed 29th March, 1832; and is an extract from No. 8, entitled "Copy of a Despatch from Viscount Goderich to the Earl of Belmore, dated Downing Street, 1st of March, 1832," and will afford high gratification to all the friends of the Redeemer, and cause "abundant thanksgivings to God," that the affairs of the Colonies, at this crisis, should be confided to so judicious and christian a nobleman as Lord Goderich.

Speaking of the malice against the Baptist Missionaries, his Lordship says, "It is not, however, merely to a misconception of religious truth, but to the direct instigation of some of the missionaries, that the recent insurrection is ascribed in some of the documents which your Lordship has transmitted. I have observed, with great satisfaction, the efforts which you so judiciously made, to guard the persons to whom it would belong to sit in judgment on the missionaries, against the influence of religious prejudices; and I trust that the caution which you have given, will effectually prevent the manifestation of any intemperate or hostile spirit towards them in any subsequent stage of the proceedings. I must distinctly avow my conviction that the improbability of the charge is so extreme, that nothing short of the most irresistible evidence could induce a belief of it. The missionaries who engage in the office of converting the slaves in our colonies, cannot, with charity or justice, be supposed to be actuated by any views of secular ambition or personal advantage. They devote themselves to an obscure, and arduous, and ill-requited service; they are well apprized that distrust and jealousy will attend them, and that the path they have chosen, leads neither to wealth nor reputation. If in their case, as in that of other men, motives less exclusively sacred than those which are avowed may exercise some influence on their minds, it were irrational either to feel surprize, or to cherish suspicion on that account. The great ruling motive must in general be that which is professed, since in general there is no other advantage to be obtained, than the consciousness of having contributed to the diffusion of christianity throughout the world. To suppose men who act habitually on such a principle, either so insensible to the restraints of conscience, or so perverted in their estimate of right and wrong, as to foment insurrection and civil war, for the subversion of slavery; or to believe them insensible to the extreme danger and suffering in which, by engaging in such an enterprize, they must involve those for whose benefit the contest was to be undertaken, would argue rather an heated and prejudiced mind, than a discerning judgment, and a correct acquaintance with human character. When, therefore, I consider that no motive can be rationally assigned, which should have induced the missionaries to em-

bark in so guilty and desperate an undertaking, I cannot but earnestly trust, that the trial of any of their number, who may be charged with a participation in this rebellion, may have been postponed until comparative tranquillity should have succeeded to the first panic; and that such trials may have been conducted, not before a military tribunal, but with all the regular forms of law. *Should any such missionary have been convicted, and be awaiting the execution of his sentence on the arrival of this despatch, your Lordship will not permit that sentence to be carried into effect, till His Majesty's pleasure can be known."*

(I.) Page 45.

In the letter of Lord Goderich to the Colonies, dated Downing Street, December 10, 1831, his lordship says—"I am anxious to convey to them an adequate impression of the necessity which exists, for us to take at length some effective steps towards the redemption of the pledges given, with the concurrence of the West India body, in 1823, and of the solicitude which we have felt to consult the interests of the planters, simultaneously with those of the slaves, and to accomplish, by such means as should be the least unacceptable to the owners of West India property, an object which it has become impossible to postpone, without compromising the dignity and consistency of the imperial legislature, and occasioning danger to all parties concerned."

"If His Majesty's present advisers have resolved to pursue no further this course of warning and entreaty, it is not that they are in any degree less anxious to conciliate the goodwill, whilst they consult the real interests of the colonists, but only because they feel that the language of admonition has been exhausted, and that any further attempt to produce an impression upon the legislature, by the same means alone, could add nothing of the respect of those bodies for the authority of the Crown, whilst it would be in vain to expect that it could contribute any thing to the accomplishment of the object in view."

"It cannot be too distinctly explained, that the measure to be submitted to Parliament, will be so framed, that the indispensable condition of receiving the consequent benefit, *will be the fact of a statute having passed the colonial legislature, simply, and without qualification in terms, or limitation of time, declaring the order in council to possess the force of law in the colony.*"

(K.) Page 48.

The following affords a specimen of the kind of instruction which have been given by the Missionaries, and of the mental character of the persons admitted by them to baptism.—

"The contributor of the following brief article, was once a little sceptical about the great success of the Baptist West-India Missionaries, on account of the vast number of supposed conversions; but, having been permitted to see their labours and the good effected, he begs leave to give 'as a sample a few of the many queries and answers which the missionary and the candidate for baptism respectively put and received, prior to that ordinance.

"What is sin? "All that don't fitten." Another, "All the badness we do 'foretime." Who is Jesus Christ? "The Son of God." And what has He done for our salvation? "Him 'tand for we." Another, "Him get himself wound for we." Do you repent of sin? "Ebery ting me do 'foretime, me sorry for to me heart." How did you know yourself to be a sinner? "Me tink me a sinner; for me hearee de Bible read." Do you love Jesus? "Me lub me Massa Jesus; me wish me always at Him feet." Why do you love the Saviour? "For Him come down and be crucified, and Him 'till pray." Can you do good of yourself? "By de power of Jesus." Why do you wish to be baptized? "Massa Jesus leave de word, and me wish to follow him track." But if any one should mock you afterwards, what would you do? "Me take him hand, and me say, how you do?" What does the minister break the bread for, and pour out the wine? "To mind upon it, and 'member upon it, how Massa Jesus

body broke for we, how Him precious blood 'pilt for we." Why do you wish to partake of the Lord's Supper? "It bring feeling over me mind; for Him wounded for me sin." One of them having been asked if she loved God, replied in the affirmative; and on being further asked, whether she loved all the brethren and sisters, answered, "Hi Massa! me no lub me broder and me sisters, who me see ebery day, when me lub God who me neber see."—*Missionary Herald*, January, 1832.

(L.) Page 49.

I had a few months since an opportunity of speaking to the Rev. Mr. Wray, who has been a Missionary more than twenty years in Demerara and Berbice. He was the intimate friend and brother of the faithful Smith, the murdered Missionary. I asked Mr. Wray, whether from the knowledge which he had of the negroes he thought their emancipation would be attended with any injurious consequences: he instantly replied, "*If I had the power I would give them all emancipation to-morrow.*" I was pleased with his frank and explicit reply; but should have been better satisfied had he not said, "*to-morrow,*" but "*to-day;*" because I know that when, in cases of extreme importance, persons have said, like a Roman soldier, "serious things to-morrow;" the events of "the day," on which it is said, may prevent, as in that instance, the possibility of attending to "serious things to-morrow." This has always been the plea of the British Legislature respecting slavery: "It ought," it has said, "certainly to be abolished; but not 'to-day,'—'to-morrow!'" This is the spirit of the Government at the present moment. Let us, say they, first prepare the slaves by *ameliorating* measures for liberty; and then "to-morrow" we will grant them *emancipation*. Alas! I fear that the "to-morrow" opportunity, for setting the oppressed negroes free by law may never arrive; therefore, I earnestly and respectfully say, to all persons concerned, "Do it *to-day.*"

(M.) Page 54.

I am happy to have it in my power to introduce the sentiments of the Rev. Joseph Fletcher, D.D. of Stepney, on the sin of Slavery, as delivered in a Sermon preached at Spa-fields Chapel, on the 3rd instant, on behalf of the Moravian Missions, which makes the remarks the more valuable, as the Rev. P. Latrobe, and his father, the Rev. C. J. Latrobe, both contend, in their recent correspondence with me, that the slaves belonging to the *Unitas Fratrum*, are their "legal property." Dr. F.'s text, was Rom. i. 14—" *I am debtor both to the Greeks and to the barbarians: both to the wise and the unwise.*" Applying his observations to slavery, he said this debt of obligation to serve persons of all descriptions, by preaching the gospel to them, was enforced by the command of Jesus Christ; and after alluding to the late Orders in Council, and the Instructions to the Governors of the Colonies by Lord Goderich, which he pronounced to be truly christian in their sentiments and spirit, and noble and elevated in their style and composition! he said (as I am told by an intelligent gentleman, who took down the words at the time) "This debt and obligation are binding upon those who hold persons in bondage, and whom *they proudly and unjustly call their property*, and as unjustly have made them slaves! It is the duty of their masters to impart unto them that knowledge of the gospel, which is able, through faith in Christ Jesus, to make them the Lord's free-men."

(N.) Page 56.

The following letter, signed by six of the Baptist Missionaries, against whom no proceedings had been taken, in vindication of themselves, their brethren, and the Society, against the malicious slanders propagated by the slave-holders, is copied from the "*Jamaica Watchman*," of the 25th of February, 1832.

" *To the Editor of the Watchman.*

" Sir—Considering the present state of public opinion, as induced by heavy charges alleged against the 'Sectarians,'

relative to the late rebellion ; it is probable that those by whom our characters are appreciated, and doctrines understood, might inquire why we have not earlier appeared in defence of the one, and explanation of the other? Our delay has not arisen from fear of investigation, or reluctance to defend the doctrines we inculcate : but long accustomed to revilement and false accusation ; considering the improbable and contradictory nature of the charges alleged, together with the total ignorance manifested by those who made them, both of our sentiments and discipline ; and feeling happy in a conscious rectitude of our motives and conduct, we were disposed to pass over in silence such unfounded allegations. But having exercised our patience, until the lawless rage of those, who are alike inimical to the laws of God and man, has demolished ten or eleven of our chapels, and thus destroyed full £16,000. worth of property belonging to the Baptist Mission in this island, we deem it high time, on the part of ourselves, and our brethren with whom we are not able at present to confer, to offer the following remarks, with a view to vindicate our characters, and repress such disgraceful depredations.

“ Our missionaries here, and the society at home, have been reviled and calumniated by every species of abuse that ingenuity could invent, or malice promulgate. Every epithet has been employed that could blacken the character, or misrepresent the motives, both of the society and their agents. We have been charged with preaching doctrines of a seditious and dangerous character, and of propagating, among the slave population, principles and sentiments tending to disobedience and insubordination. *This charge we FLATLY DENY, and call on our accusers for PROOF.* The doctrines we maintain, we are prepared, at any proper time, modestly but fearlessly to defend ! But, not thinking it necessary to trouble the public at present with an extended statement of our belief, nor considering a newspaper the most proper medium for a confession of faith, it may suffice to remark, that our religious doctrines, however misrepresented by our enemies, differ not from those contained in the authorized compositions of the Established Church ; nor, as they regard the present question, from those of any other body of true christians.

“ Our doctrines are not only charged with destroying the relative obligations between master and servant, but of leading to robbery, sedition, incendiarism, and murder! How they can tend to such evils, more than the doctrines of the Established Church, we are at a loss to ascertain, since the fundamental doctrines of our belief are to be found in her articles.

“ We are said to be sent hither as spies and incendiaries; encouraged by our society to propagate sedition; and, finally, to accomplish the destruction of the colony. Charges so ridiculous, must carry with them, to every unprejudiced mind, their own refutation. With reference to our society, the following quotations from the Instructions given to every missionary, on leaving England, will clearly evince that their object is not to spread anarchy and confusion, but, without any interference whatever with the political constitution of the colony, to seek the happiness of the slaves, by presenting to them the blessings of christianity, in the life that now is, as well as that which is to come; and inculcating attention to all the social and relative duties of life.

“ ‘ We enjoin it upon you ever to remember that the office you have voluntarily undertaken, is wholly of a *spiritual* nature. Leaving to others the acquisition of property, and the management of temporal affairs, you go forth in the service of *Jesus Christ*, and to seek the salvation of immortal souls.

“ ‘ It is matter of the first importance, that you carefully abstain from all interference whatever in political affairs, or with the civil business of the town and neighbourhood in which you reside. To the island of Jamaica this direction applies with peculiar force. Be careful, therefore, that your conduct, without any mixture of a worldly or temporizing spirit, be such as shall give no just occasion of offence, and that none may be able to bring any accusation against you, save in the matter of the Lord your God. As you are going amongst a people, many of whom are in a state of slavery, it will be incumbent upon you to use great caution, both as to your language and conduct, that there may not be the least ground for the charge of interfering with their civil relations. On all persons in the condition of slaves, you will diligently and plainly enforce the following apostolic precepts; Eph. vi. 5—8, *Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters*

according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart: With good will doing service, as to the Lord, and not unto men. Knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free. Col. iii. 22—25, Servants obey in all things your masters according to the flesh, not with eye-service as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God. And whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men; knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance; for ye serve the Lord Christ. But he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done, and there is no respect of persons.'

"We might leave these instructions to speak for themselves, simply requesting the public to observe that no missionary *could* deviate from them, without incurring the discountenance of his associates here, and separation from the society in England. But lest it should be alleged, that although we have received such instructions, yet, the many cases in which Baptists are said to have been implicated in the late rebellion, prove that we have not acted accordingly, we beg to suggest some considerations, which we think should induce the public to pause, before they draw this inference.

"The number of slaves connected with our chapels, in the districts chiefly disturbed, is very large, much larger, we believe, than the number connected with any other places of worship in that neighbourhood; so that if only an equal proportion of Baptists were implicated, their number would necessarily exceed that of other denominations.

"But as to the real number of persons calling themselves Baptists, actually engaged in the rebellion, we have as yet no authentic information. Their number, in fact, have not been ascertained; nor are our brethren at present in a situation to discover it. The statements made in the Cornwall Chronicle, Courier, &c., on this point, have been so mixed up with others already proved false, that they are plainly unworthy of credence. And even of those actually implicated, and who call themselves Baptists, many will, we are satisfied, be found, on impartial inquiry, to have no connection whatever with our

churches, nor even to attend at our chapels; for it is a fact, well known to most religious persons, that besides a great number of casual hearers, such as are found in all denominations of christians, there exist a multitude of people in different parts of the island, who designate themselves Baptists, but yet have no connection whatever with the Baptist Mission.

“But suppose that some of our members have really been involved, which we fear is the case, it deserves inquiry, what proportion of this number *voluntarily* engaged in it; because, it is notorious, that many negroes were driven to join the rebels by their threats, or induced by their relative connections with them.

“Besides, let it be remarked, that the more intelligent and crafty of the rebel * chiefs, would be strongly induced to use the name of any Missionary, as an argument to prevail on others to join them. This remark applies especially to Mr. Burchell’s name, because, being off the island at the time, he could not frustrate such an attempt; so that the guilt of any Missionary cannot be inferred from that circumstance, since his name might have been thus used, without his consent or knowledge.

* I could have wished our Missionaries had not called men “rebels,” who were only struggling for the “right which *every man*,” as Blackstone says, (see page 61) “*has to his own limbs!*”

“Oh! most degrading of all ills that wait
On man, a mourner in his best estate!
All other sorrows virtue may endure,
And find submission more than half a cure;
Grief is itself a medicine, and bestowed
To improve the fortitude that bears the load,
To teach the wanderer, as his woes increase,
The path of wisdom, all whose paths are peace;
But slavery!—Virtue dreads it as her grave;
Patience itself is meanness in a slave;
Or if the will and sovereignty of God
Bid suffer it awhile, and kiss the rod,
Wait for the dawning of a brighter day,
And snap the chain the moment when you may.
Nature imprints upon whate’er we see
That has a heart and life in it,—**BE FREE.**”—*Cowper.*

“ Moreover, the fact ought certainly to be borne in mind, that the evidence hitherto laid before the public, has, for the most part, been indirect, and second-hand. In nearly every case of crimination, the negroes are said to have stated, *not* that they themselves had heard either of the Missionaries say they were to be made free at Christmas, *but* that they had been ‘ *told* ’ that Mr. Burchell or Mr. Knibb, &c. had said so.

“ We cannot be expected, in this article, to answer to specific charges alleged against our brethren, whom distance and other circumstances prevent us from consulting; but, on the above grounds, we beg the public, for the present, to suspend their judgment; at the same time, expressing our conviction that their suspense will be of short duration, as legal proceedings will probably be soon commenced, on one side or the other, which may afford them an opportunity of forming a more correct opinion.

“ We only add, that there are thousands of respectable and intelligent persons, capable of perceiving the real tendency of our preaching and conduct, who are among our regular leaders, and many of whom are slave-holders !!* Let such persons be enquired of by those who wish to obtain a just idea of our proceedings, and the objects they have in view. To them we fearlessly appeal, being fully assured, that our innocence will be established, in proportion as the truth is told.

“ We are, Sir, your obedient Servants,

JOSHUA TINSON	SAMUEL NICHOLS
JOSEPH BURTON	JOHN CLARKE
HENRY C. TAYLOR	JOHN R. ANDREWS.”

* This is the first time that I ever heard there were *slave-holders* among the members and leaders of the Baptist churches in Jamaica; nor have I any reason to think, that the secretary or any member of the committee of the Baptist Missionary Society was aware of the fact. A few years since, when a Missionary had purchased two slaves, though from a motive of humanity, he was directed to give them their freedom immediately; and a motion was proposed and adopted—*“ That any missionary possessing slaves, should thereby dissolve his connection with the Society.”*

I exceedingly regret that any of my brethren, of whom I have thought so highly, should, in carrying up the superstructure of a church of Christ, have used as materials, not only "*gold, and silver, and precious stones,*" but also, *wood, and hay, and stubble.*" I consider that this circumstance alone, involves in it so much guilt in those who encouraged it, knowing as they do, "*men stealers,*" are considered by the law of God to be the "*lawless and disobedient,*" whom, with sinners of the vilest description, are declared to be acting, "*contrary to sound doctrine*"; (1 Tim. i. 10, 11) that it fully accounts for all the evils that have come upon us as a Society! I shall take the earliest opportunity to bring this matter under the notice of the Committee, as the Missionaries have, in this matter, acted in direct opposition to the instructions which they received from the Society, that they should "*be careful their conduct should be without any admixture of a worldly or temporizing spirit.*"

THE END.

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ADDRESS

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BEFORE THE

FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR,

IN APRIL, 1833.

BY WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

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1833.



ADDRESS.

BRETHREN AND FRIENDS :—

My pleasure, in meeting you on this occasion, would be perfect, were it not dashed with the knowledge that I am soon to be separated from you, in a distant country. Probably you are all aware that, in a few days, I propose to sail from New-York for England, on a high and important mission.

When I reflect that this may be the last time I shall behold you together on earth ; the last time I shall be permitted to administer advice and consolation to your minds ; the last time I shall have an opportunity to pour out my gratitude before you, for the numerous manifestations of your confidence, and appreciation of my humble services in your cause—I cannot but feel a strong depression of my mind. The separation of friends—especially if it is to be a long and hazardous one, is sure to excite conflicting emotions of anxiety, regret and sorrow. Their attachment then seems to acquire new strength—they never could have deemed it so painful a thing to part—reluctantly is given the pressure of the hand, and tremulously uttered the word—“Farewell !” But a separation, like this, is to me, and I believe to yourselves, one of no ordinary occurrence. Your condition, as a people, has long attracted my attention, secured my efforts, and awakened in my breast a flame of sympathy, which neither the winds nor waves of opposition can ever extinguish. It is the lowness of your estate, in the estimation of the world, which exalts you in my eyes. It is the distance that separates you from the blessings and privileges of society, which brings you so closely to my affections. It is the unmerited scorn, reproach and persecution of your persons, by those whose complexion is colored like my own, which command for you my sympathy

and respect. It is the fewness of your friends—the great multitude of your enemies—that induces me to stand forth in your defence.

On your part, do I not know how deep and intense is your affection towards myself? Have you not, as individuals and societies, multiplied your expressions and tokens of regard, until my obligations assume a mountainous height? Have I more steadfast and grateful friends, in this hostile world, than yourselves? Not that I really deserve so much at your hands—not that the value of my labors bears any proportion to the rich recompense of your unbounded confidence and love—not that I am qualified in all things to instruct you; yet you have shown, in a thousand ways, that the course I have pursued has secured your cordial approbation—that the language I have spoken has been the language of your own hearts—that the advice I have given has been treasured up in your memories, like good seed sown in good ground, and is now producing fruit, ten, thirty, sixty, and even a hundred fold.

Feeling, then, my dear brethren, how painful to me is the prospect of our immediate separation, and knowing your own emotions in view of it, I may well term it something beyond the usual parting of friends.

But let not this be an occasion of sadness. I will make it rather an occasion of joy. Why should it not be so? Is not the heaven over your heads, which has so long been clothed in sackcloth, beginning to disclose its starry principalities and illumine your path-way? Do you not see the pitiless storm, which has so long been pouring its rage upon you, breaking away, and a bow of promise, as glorious as that which succeeded the ancient deluge, spanning the sky—a token that, to the end of time, the billows of prejudice and-oppression shall no more cover the earth, to the destruction of your race; but seed-time and harvest shall never fail, and the laborer shall eat the fruit of his hands? Is not your cause ripening like the spring? Yours has been a long and rigorous winter. The chill of contempt, the frost of adversity, the blast of persecution, the storm of oppression—all have been yours. There was no sustenance to be found—no prospect to delight the eye or inspire the drooping heart—no golden ray to dissipate the

gloom. The waves of derision were stayed by no barrier, but made a clear breach over you. But now—thanks be to God! that dreary winter is rapidly hastening away. The sun of humanity is going steadily up, from the horizon to its zenith, growing larger and brighter, and melting the frozen earth beneath its powerful rays. The genial showers of repentance are softly falling upon the barren plain; the wilderness is budding like the rose; the voice of joy succeeds the notes of wo; and hope, like the lark, is soaring upwards, and warbling hymns at the gate of heaven.

And this, dear brethren, is but the outbursting of spring. What, think you, shall be the summer and autumn?

“Then shall the trembling mourner come,
And bind his sheaves, and bear them home;
The voice, long broke with sighs, shall sing,
And heaven with hallelujahs ring!”

This is but “the twilight, the dim dawn” of day. What, then, shall be the brightness of the day itself? These are but a few drops of mercy. What shall be the full shower—the rolling tide? These are but crumbs of comfort, to prevent you wholly from perishing. What shall be the bountiful table? Who can adopt the words of the sweet singer in Israel more truly than yourselves? “If it had not been the Lord who was on our side, when men rose up against us: then they had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us: then the waters had overwhelmed us, the stream had gone over our souls: blessed is the Lord who hath not given us as a prey to their teeth: our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers: the snare is broken, and we are escaped: our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth.”

Why should this not be an occasion of joy, instead of sorrow? Listen to those trumpet tones which come swelling on the winds of the Atlantic, and which shall bring an echo from every harp in heaven! If there is joy in that blissful abode over one sinner that repenteth, how mighty and thrilling must it be over a repentant nation! And Great Britain is that nation. Her people are humbling themselves before God, and before those whom they have so long held in bondage. Their

voices are breaking, in peals of thunder, upon the ear of Parliament, demanding the immediate and utter overthrow of slavery in all the colonies ; and in obedience to their will, the mandate is about being issued by Parliament, which shall sever at a blow the chains of eight hundred thousand slaves ! What heart can conceive—what pen or tongue describe, the happiness which must flow from the consummation of this act ? That cruel lash, which has torn so many tender bodies, and is reeking with innocent blood ; that lash, which has driven so many human victims, like beasts, to their unrequited toil—that lash, whose sounds are heard from the rising of the sun to its decline, mingled with the shrieks of bleeding sufferers—that lash is soon to be cast away, never again to wound the flesh, or degrade those who are made in the image of God. And those fetters of iron, which have bound so many in ignominious servitude, and wasted their bodies, and borne them down to an untimely grave—shall be shivered in pieces, as the lightning rends the pine, and the victims of tyranny shall leap forth, “redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, by the irresistible genius of universal emancipation.” And that darkness which has for so many generations shrouded the minds of the slaves—making them like the brutes that perish—shall give way to the light of freedom and religion. O, how transforming the change ! In contemplating it, my imagination overpowers the serenity of my soul, and makes language seem poor and despicable.

In those colonies where freedom is soon to be proclaimed, it appears, by returns made to the British Parliament, that the decrease in the slave population, during the last eleven years, by the cruelty of the planters, has been fifty-two thousand, eight hundred and eighty-seven—that is to say, nearly five thousand slaves are whipped and driven to death—murdered in the most horrible manner, every year in the cultivation of the sugar-cane alone. Stating the whole slave population in the colonies to be, in round numbers, eight hundred thousand, their annual increase, according to the rates which freedom produces, would be at least twenty-five thousand ; add to this number the five thousand decrease, and the sum total of lives prevented or destroyed every year is thirty thousand ; or,

in eleven years, three hundred and thirty-three thousand. Horrible butchery—beyond the ferocity of canibals !

Shall we not exult, then, at the prospect of the speedy termination of this most bloody system ? I make no estimate of the amount of suffering endured—I count not the number of stripes received—I measure not the tears of anguish shed by the miserable slaves. One view of the picture is enough to fill my cup of joy to overflowing : it is to know that liberty is soon to rescue, from martyrdom and death, thirty thousand of my fellow-creatures, annually. It is to know that the traffic in slaves and souls of men is about to cease. It is to know that the husband shall be a protector of his wife and children, instead of being torn from their arms and sold into exile ; that woman shall no more be driven into the field by a brutal overseer, or subjected to infamy—that the child, instead of being regarded as a piece of property, shall be cherished and loved as a bud of immortal promise.

Cheers for Great Britain ! cheers for her noble men and women ! cheers for the bright example which they are setting to the world ! cheers for their generous sympathy in the cause of the oppressed in our own country !

Why should we not rejoice this evening, brethren ? Find we nothing at home to raise our drooping spirits, to invigorate our hopes, and to engage our efforts ? Have we made no progress for the last two years, either in self-improvement, or in the cause of bleeding humanity ? Are there no cheering signs of the times, in our moral sky, upon which we may fix our joyful gaze ?

Look, in the first place, at the abolition standard—more gorgeous and spirit-stirring than the star-spangled banner—floating high in the air ! Fresh is the breeze that meets it ! bright are the sunny rays which adorn it ! Around it, thousands are gathering with high and holy courage, to contend not with carnal but spiritual weapons against the powers of darkness. O, the loftiness of that spirit which animates them ! It towers above the Alps—it pierces beyond the clouds. O, the intensity of that flame of brotherly love which burns within their breasts ! It never can burn out—nor can many waters extinguish it. O, the stability of that faith which

sustains them under all their toils and trials! It is firmer than the foundations of the earth—it is strong as the throne of God. O, the generous daring of that moral principle which inspires their hearts and governs their actions! Neither reproach nor persecution—neither wealth nor power—neither bolts nor bars—neither the gibbet nor the stake, shall be able to subdue it. Yes, my colored countrymen, these are the men—ay, and the women, too, who have espoused your cause. And they will stand by it, until life be extinct. They will not fail in strength, or faith, or courage, or zeal, or action. Loud as the tempest of opposition may rage around them, above it shall their rallying cry be heard in the thunder-tone of heaven. Dark as their path-way may be, it shall blaze with the light of truth in their possession. Numberless as may be the enemies who surround them, they will not retreat from the field; for He who is mightier than legions of men and devils is the captain of their salvation, and will give them the victory. I know your advocates well—I know the spirit which actuates them. Whether they reside in the East, or West, or North, they have but one object—their hearts are stirred with the same pulsation—their eye is single—their motives are pure. Tell me not of the bravery and devotedness of those whose life-blood reddened the plains of Marathon, poured out in defence of liberty. Tell me not of the Spartan band, with Leonidas at their head, who defended the pass of Thermopyle against a Persian host. I award to them the meed of animal courage; but the heroism of blood and carnage is as much below the patient endurance of wrong, and the cheerful forgiveness of injury, as the earth is below the sky. It is as often displayed by brute animals, as by men. With infinitely higher satisfaction, with a warmer glow of emulation, with more intense admiration, do I contemplate the abolition phalanx in the United States, who are maintaining your cause, unflinchingly, through evil report—for the good report is yet to come—and at the imminent peril of their lives; and, what is dearer than life, the sacrifice of their reputation. If ever there was a cause which established the disinterestedness and integrity of its supporters, yours is that cause. They who are contending for the immediate abolition of slavery—

the destruction of its ally, the American Colonization Society—and the bestowal of equal rights and privileges upon the whole colored population—well knew what would be the consequences of their advocacy to themselves. They knew that slander would blacken their characters with infamy—that their pleadings would be received with ridicule and reproach—that persecution would assail them on the right hand and on the left—that the dungeon would yawn for their bodies—that the dagger of the assassin would gleam behind them—that the arm of power would be raised to crush them to the earth—that they would be branded as disturbers of the peace, as fanatics, madmen, and incendiaries—that the heel of friendship would be lifted against them, and love be turned into hatred, and confidence into suspicion, and respect into derision—that their worldly interests would be jeoparded, and the honor and emoluments of office be withheld from their enjoyment. Knowing all this, still they dared all things, in order to save their country, and abolish the bloody system of slavery. Will the base and the servile accuse them of being actuated by a hope of reward? Reward! It is the reward which calumny gives to virtue—the reward which selfishness bestows upon benevolence; but nothing of worldly applause, or fame, or promotion. Yet they have a reward—and who will blame them for coveting it? It is the gratitude of the suffering and the oppressed—the approbation of a good conscience—the blessing of the Most High.

“Tempt them with bribes, you tempt in vain:
Try them with fire, you’ll find them true.”

To deter such souls from their purposes, or vanquish them in combat, is as impossible as to stop the rush of the ocean when the spirit of the storm rides upon its mountain billows. They are hourly increasing in number and strength, and going on from conquering to conquer. Convert after convert, press after press, pulpit after pulpit, is subdued, and enlisted on the side of justice and of freedom.

In the second place, we perceive for our encouragement, brethren, that the attention of the nation is now fixed upon the subject of slavery with an interest altogether unprece-

dented. No longer will sleep be given to the eyes of the people, until the last chain is broken in our land. What has created the mighty discussion which has taken, or is taking place in almost every debating Society or Lyceum throughout the Union, and which cannot cease till the cause of it, **SLAVERY**, is overthrown? To what is to be attributed the change, the great, the surprising change which is now going on in public sentiment, favorable to your rights as freemen, and to the emancipation of your enslaved brethren? To the truth, sanctified and made powerful and efficacious; truth, spoken plainly, fearlessly, constantly; truth, pressed urgently upon the consciences of the American people, so that they cannot rest. May I not say that the *Liberator* has been a prominent medium through which this truth has obtained circulation? Slave holders and their apologists writhe under its strong denunciation, and severe though merited rebuke. Mighty have been their efforts to crush it, but in vain. It lives, and is flourishing in more than pristine vigor. Still may it live, "the terror of evil doers, and a praise to them that do well"—live, till our land be freed from the curse which is desolating her plains—live till the trump of jubilee be blown throughout the world, giving freedom to every bondsman of whatever name, or color, or country. If tens of thousands of dollars could bribe or suppress it, that sum might easily be obtained at the south. Its overthrow would elicit a loud and frantic yell of triumph from the enemies of the colored race. No—come what may, the *Liberator* must not, shall not go down—not as long as this body of mine can endure fatigue, or these fingers wield a pen, or my intellect remains sound. I should as soon think of cutting off my arms, as abandoning that paper. Its arrows never fail to do execution. Bitter enemies and luke-warm friends represent it as an incendiary publication. Well, I am willing to admit the propriety of the designation. It is, unquestionably, kindling a great fire; but it is the fire of sympathy and holy indignation, against the most atrocious system on earth, and will burn up nothing but the chaff. It is spreading from house to house, from city to city, from village to village, ay, and from state to state. The east is glowing, as if a new sun had risen in splendid radiance; and the west

has caught its beams, and is kindling with new intensity. Even the dark Atlantic, as far as the shores of old England, shows a luminous path of light, and the philanthropists of that country are rejoicing as they gaze upon it. Like a vestal fire, may this never cease to burn. Let those throw water upon it, who will—love to God and man shall feed it, and prevent its extinguishment.

But the Liberator is said to be destructive in its character and tendency. That charge, also, I admit is true. It is putting whole magazines of truth under the slave system, and I trust in God will blow it into countless fragments, so that not the remnant of a whip or chain can be found in all the south, and so that upon its ruins may be erected the beautiful temple of freedom. I will not waste my strength in foolishly endeavoring to beat down this great Bastile with a feather. I will not commence at the roof, and throw off its tiles by piece-meal. I am for adopting a more summary method of demolishing it. I am for digging under its foundations, and springing a mine that shall not leave one stone upon another. I leave colonizationists to pick up the leaves which are annually shed by the Bohon Upas of our land, with the vain hope of exterminating it; but as for myself, I choose rather to assail its trunk with the axe of justice, and strike with all my nerve such blows as shall cause "this great poison-tree of lust and blood, and of all abominable and heartless iniquity, to fall before it; and law and love, and God and man, to shout victory over its ruin."

But the Liberator uses very hard language, and calls a great many bad names, and is very harsh and abusive. Precious cant, indeed! And what has been so efficacious as this hard language? Now, I am satisfied that its strength of denunciation bears no proportion to the enormous guilt of the slave system. The English language is lamentably weak and deficient, in regard to this matter. I wish its epithets were heavier—I wish it would not break so easily—I wish I could denounce slavery, and all its abettors, in terms equal to their infamy. But, shame to tell! I can apply to him who steals the liberties of hundreds of his fellow creatures, and lacerates their bodies, and plunders them of all their hard

earnings, only the same epithet that is applied by all to a man who steals a shilling in this community. I call the slaveholder a thief, because he steals human beings, and reduces them to the condition of brutes ; and I am thought to be **very** abusive ! I call the man a thief who takes my handkerchief from my pocket, and all the people shout, “ right ! right ! so he is ! ” and the court seizes him, and throws him into prison. Wonderful consistency !

I am anxious to please the people ; but if, in order to do so, I must violate the plainest precepts of the gospel, and disregard the most solemn obligations ; will the people see that my name is written in the Book of Life, and that my sins are blotted out of the Book of Remembrance ? If I put out my eyes, and stop my ears, and petrify my heart, and become insensible as a marble statue, to please the community, will the community rescue me from the charge of inhumanity, selfishness and cowardice, which will be preferred against me at the bar of God ? If they cannot, I must boldly declare the truth, “ whether men will hear, or whether they will forbear.”

A man who should be seen whipping a post in the street, would doubtless excite the mirth of the passing throng. For them to be indignant at such treatment, would be a perversion of sympathy, and clearly ridiculous. But if it was a dog or a horse, instead of a senseless post, which the man was beating so unmercifully, their feelings ought to be, and would be, far different. They would fearlessly denounce such conduct as inhuman, and exhibit much vehemence in their rebukes. But if it was a man, or woman, or child, instead of a dog or horse, thus suffering under the lash, how the spectators would flame ! how their indignation would kindle ! how strong would be their denunciations ! how liberally would they apply the ungracious epithet—“ a brute ! a wretch ! a monster ! ”

How, then, ought I to feel, and speak, and write, in view of a system which is red with innocent blood, drawn from the bodies of millions of my countrymen by the scourge of brutal drivers ;—which is full of all uncleanness and licentiousness ; which destroys the “ life of the soul ; ”—and which is too horrible for the mind to imagine, or the pen to declare ? How ought I to feel and speak ? As a man ! as a patriot ! as a

philanthropist! as a christian! My soul should be, as it is, on fire. I should thunder—I should lighten. I should blow the trumpet of alarm, long and loud. I should use just such language as is most descriptive of the crime. I should imitate the example of Christ, who, when he had to do with people of like manners, called them sharply by their proper names—such as, an adulterous and perverse generation, a brood of vipers, hypocrites, children of the devil who could not escape the damnation of hell. Moderation, under such circumstances, is deliberate barbarity, both to the oppressor and the oppressed—calmness is marble indifference.

“On such a theme, ’twere impious to be calm—

“Passion is reason, transport temper here.”

No! no! I never will dilute or modify my language against slavery—against the plunderers of my fellow men—against American kidnappers. They shall have my honest opinions of their conduct.

But a graver charge is brought against me, brethren, and now I want your verdict. It is said that I am exciting your rage against the whites, and filling your minds with revengeful feelings? Is this true? Have not all my addresses and appeals to you had a contrary effect upon your minds? Have they not been calculated to make you bear all your trials and difficulties in the spirit of christian resignation, and to induce you to return good for evil? Where is the calumniator who dares to affirm that you have been turbulent and quarrelsome since I began my labors in your behalf? Where is the man who is so ignorant as not to know or perceive that, as a people, you are constantly improving in knowledge and virtue? Do you not all congratulate yourselves that you are so united? if not united to the full extent which is desirable, still, united far more generally than in former years, and for the best of purposes. Is not the spirit of virtuous emulation so great among you, as to pervade all classes, from the gray head to the youth? Where is there an association among white lads, like the Colored Juvenile Society of Boston? Your female societies may proudly compare with any among the whites, for general worth and true respectability; and if they do not

receive as much applause as their white sisters, it is not because they do not deserve it. It is impossible for me to do them justice. To them do I owe more than I can ever repay. But I will not be profuse in my acknowledgment; for I am admonished that

“ The thankless oft are noisiest in their thanks ;
As, on the unfruitful pavement, every drop
That falls from the kind sky is told aloud :
But in the grateful heart a blessing sinks,
Like the same shower upon a sunny field,
That drinks it silently, and shows its thanks
By smiles and glad increase.”

It is female influence which governs this nation, and to it I look for an entire change in the present aspect of Society.

The men, too, have their societies, whose objects are praiseworthy and noble; and I should be as unjust to my own feelings, as to them, if I did not cheer them onward to the accomplishment of their purposes.

No, brethren; you will bear me a unanimous testimony that I have not implanted in your minds any malice toward your persecutors, but, on the contrary, forgiveness of injuries. And I can as truly aver that, in all my intercourse with you as a people, I have not seen or heard any thing of a malignant or revengeful spirit. No: yours has been eminently a spirit of resignation and faith, under the most aggravating circumstances. You rely on no weapons of war, but on those alone which are mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strong holds.

But not only have you, in this city, been steadily rising in the estimation of the wise and good by your laudable efforts for self-improvement, but a regenerative impulse has been felt by your brethren and sisters in many other places. Every where associations are multiplying among your people, for the promotion of temperance,* virtue and knowledge. Every

*With honest pride—with heart-felt satisfaction would I mention the fact, as highly creditable to the people of color in Boston, that, at the close of my farewell address to them, at my recommendation to form a Temperance Society among themselves, *one hundred and fourteen* individuals, males and females, immediately subscribed their names as members of such a society; and when I left the city, about *one hundred and fifty* had agreed to touch not, taste not, handle not ardent spirits as a drink any more. Such acts as these, brethren, give me strength and boldness in your cause.

where, in the free States, the gospel is preached, converts are increasing, churches arising, and streams of salvation flowing in your midst. Every where industry is banishing your poverty,—economy is regulating your means,—enterprise is enlarging the sphere of your business,—and intelligence is raising you up to the true dignity of man. Every where you are triumphantly refuting the base, and cruel, and inexpressibly malignant aspersions of the Colonization Society, both in relation to your situation and conduct. If there be present, on this occasion, any well-meaning or vindictive supporter of that corrupt and heathenish combination of men-stealers and their wretched dupes, let him cast his eye over this large and respectable assembly, and mark its general aspect of cheerfulness, comfort, decorum and moral excellence, and then remember the lying accusations which are brought against the free people of color, and published in every section of our country, with all the boldness of infallible truth, by the Colonization Society—such as, “freedom confers no privilege on them but the privilege of being more vicious and miserable than slaves can be,”—“their freedom is licentiousness,”—“they are the most corrupt, depraved and abandoned of the human race,”—“they are scarcely reached in their debasement by the heavenly light”—and a volume of other equally heinous and impudent calumnies.

I will notice but one other charge which the enemies of our cause has brought against me. It is, that I am unduly exciting your hopes, and holding out to your view prospects of future happiness and respectability which can never be realised in this country. Pitiful complaint! Because I have planted a solitary rose, as it were, in the wilderness of suffering in which your race has so long wandered, to cheer your drooping hearts, I am sharply reprov'd for giving even this little token of good things to come—by those, too, who make loud professions of friendship for you, that is, if you will go to Liberia, but who are constantly strewing in your path briars and thorns, and digging pits into which you may stumble to rise no more. These querulous complainants, who begrudge every drop of comfort which falls upon your thirsty lips, as a miser mourns the loss of a penny, seem to forget or discard

the promise of Jehovah, that "the wilderness shall bud and blossom as the rose." I have faith to believe that this promise will ultimately be fulfilled, even in this land of republicanism and christianity. Surely I may be pardoned, when so many are endeavoring to break down all your towering hopes and noble aspirations, if I urge you not to despair, for the day of redemption will assuredly come. Nay, I may still be forgiven, if I transcend the limits of probability, and suffer my imagination to paint in too glowing colors the recompense which is to be yours; since, strive as I may, I can scarcely hope to equalize the heart-crushing discouragements and assaults made by your enemies.

Why, once more let me ask, should we be sad on this occasion? Is not the great Babel of our country, the American Colonization Society, tottering to its fall? Already the lightning of truth has smitten it from the top-stone to its foundation. At its last annual meeting, the principles of freedom and slavery met in open contest, and a division was made that can never be healed. Wherever we turn our eyes, we see good men abandoning it in haste, and coming over in crowds to our standard; and striving, too, by superior exertions to make up for past error and lost time. Truly, it is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.

Three years ago, the American Colonization Society was a haughty and powerful combination: now it is greatly shorn of its strength—and in three years more, there will be "none so poor to do it reverence," except southern kidnappers and their incorrigible abettors.

I can concede to that Society, neither benevolence of purpose, nor wisdom of action; neither clearness of moral vision, nor innocency of character. In the light of revelation—that cheering light which illumines the strait and narrow path to heaven, and which concentrates its effulgence upon our beloved though guilty land—I say in the light of revelation, to me the principles of the Colonization Society appear blacker than the skin of its victims—black as perdition. Language becomes brittle and powerless under the weight of my abhorrence of them. I execrate the origin, the designs, and the movements of this great red dragon, red with the blood of the poor inno-

cents, whose tail has drawn a third part of the stars of heaven, and who stands ready to devour the child of the slave mother as soon as it is born. All the land have long been wondering after the beast; but, thanks be to God, he is about to be cast out, and his angels with him; and a voice is heard in our land, swelling louder and louder upon the ear, saying,—“Now is come salvation and strength . . . for **THE ACCUSER OF OUR BRETHREN** is cast down . . . Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them.”

Although you are perfectly familiar with the atrocious doctrines of the Colonization Society, and have sorely felt its oppressive operations, yet there are three aspects presented by it which I beg you particularly to contemplate. The first is, wherein the Society avows, in relation to the God-robbers and men-stealers of the south. “We hold their slaves, *as we hold their other property*, **SACRED**.” Thus they place more than two millions of their fellow creatures on a level with houses, lands and cattle; and this is the reason why they regard slavery with so much complacency. They rank the slaves among beasts, but beasts exceedingly fierce and horrible, whose expulsion by a gradual process, until they are too few to be dangerous, is deemed by them a consummation most devoutly to be wished. They hold that the slaves are *sacred property*; consequently, that their restoration to freedom ought to depend as exclusively and completely upon the will of their masters, as the giving up by them of goods and chattles for charitable purposes. Here, then, is a treacherous abandonment of the claims of justice and humanity, and as complete a participation in all the crimes and abominations of the south—as bloody a conspiracy against the bodies and souls of men—as cordial a co-operation with kidnappers, as was ever entered into between the enemies of the human race. O, cursed alliance! The Lord shall break it in pieces, as a potter’s vessel is broken. O, fatal snare! They who spread it shall be taken therein, and receive their merited doom. O, whited sepulchre! The bones of its victims, and its pestilential rottenness, are becoming visible to every eye.

Let us hear the Society once more—“We hold *their slaves*, *as we hold their other property*, **SACRED**.” Sacred villainy!

honest robbery ! immaculate corruption ! benevolent barbarity ! I hold their slaves, as I hold other men, as “endowed with certain *inalienable* RIGHTS, among which are life, LIBERTY, and the *pursuit of happiness*”—as justly possessing dominion over the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air—as created a little lower than the angels, for high and sublime purposes—as capable of loving and serving the Most High God, and destined to live forever beyond the grave;—and I hold all those who claim to be their masters and owners, from the President of the United States down to the meanest “broker in the trade of blood,” as the enemies of their species, and as guilty as any of the wretches who infest the African coast for the purpose of kidnapping the natives.

Another aspect of the Colonization Society is,—“*It condemns no man because he is a slaveholder*”—or, in other words, it condemns no man because he usurps the prerogative of God, claims unlimited dominion over his sable brother, plunders him of the fruits of his toil, and ranks him as an implement of husbandry ! Surely, then, neither philanthropists, patriots, nor christians can support the Society. I repeat the declaration which I have made before publicly. For myself, I hold no fellowship with slave owners. I will not make a truce with them, even for an hour. I blush for them as countrymen—I cannot recognise them as christians. The higher they raise their professions of patriotism or piety, the stronger is my detestation of their hypocrisy. They are dishonest and cruel ; and God, and the angels, and the devils, and the universe, *know that they are without excuse.*

A third aspect presented by this anti-republican and anti-christian combination is,—“The Society maintains that no slave ought to receive his liberty, except on condition of being excluded, not merely from the State which sets him loose, **BUT FROM THE WHOLE COUNTRY ;** that is, *of being Colonized.*” A baser or more ferocious alternative was never given to helpless, suffering man. Look at it ! There are upwards of two millions of human beings in this land, who have been robbed of their freedom, trafficked like beasts, and reduced to the lowest state of degradation, ever since they were born. What is the duty of their tyrants ? Why, to obey God, by

instantly undoing every burden, breaking every yoke, and letting their victims go free. But the colonization dragon full of lying wonders, audaciously lifts up his crest, and maintains, against the command of Jehovah, that, unless these two millions can be banished from their native land—a land of civilization and light—to a foreign land, a land of barbarism, and cast in all their helplessness, ignorance and depravity, like bales of goods, upon the shores of Africa, *it is right* that they and their posterity should remain among us in servitude and chains!—Down, down with the monster! Let us drive him back to his own place—the bottomless pit of darkness.

It is proper, my dear friends, that you should understand the objects of my mission to England. At the unanimous request of the Managers of the New-England Anti-Slavery society,—and satisfied in my own mind, after great consideration, that the finger of Providence points out the way,—I have concluded to visit that noble country where so much has been done, and is now doing, to promote the freedom and welfare of the colored race. Of the nature of my reception among her philanthropists, I cannot doubt. My spirit will be elevated and cheered in the presence of Wilberforce, Clarkson, Buxton, Brougham, O'Connell, Stuart, Cropper, and other champions of freedom. I long to be in a land where I can breathe freely on the subject of oppression. Although this is styled “the land of the free and the home of the brave,”—a land of pure democracy,—a christian land; and although the people thereof have met together in a national capacity, for the fifty-sixth time, solemnly to declare that all men are created free and equal—sternly to denounce tyranny, and, in imitation of their fathers, to pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, that they will perish sooner than submit to the yoke of bondage;—notwithstanding all this, there are **MILLIONS OF SLAVES** in the United States, and it is deemed a criminal act to plead for their deliverance—as the reward of **FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS** which has been offered by the Legislature of Georgia for the delivery of my body to her authorities, and the numerous threats to slay me which are made, sufficiently prove. For a short space, then, I propose to leave this free republican, christian country, and go to one in which there is a king and

a proud nobility; but where my denunciations against the persecution and oppression of your color will be received, not as in this country with astonishment, and rage, and scorn, but with loud cheers—with thunders of applause! There, I cannot speak too plainly, nor betray too much zeal, nor be too uncompromising in my demands.

We are now endeavoring to establish a National Manual Labor School for the education of colored youth. To this institution the child of the poorest parents may be sent, free of expense. The scholars will happily combine labor and study together, and thus be healthy in body as well as intelligent in mind. They will be instructed in the various branches of mechanics and agriculture, as well as of literature and science. In order to make this school of extensive usefulness and of national magnitude, it is proposed to raise, by subscription and donations, at home and abroad, the sum of at least fifty thousand dollars. My principal object, therefore, in visiting England at this time, is, to invoke the aid of her rich and liberal philanthropists in establishing this school for the benefit of your children. They will, I am confident, shower their charities upon the enterprise, and enable us to carry it into successful operation. Their hearts are warm—their means ample—their disposition generous. Can I but succeed?

Another object of my mission—one scarcely less important than the first—is, to counteract the pernicious efforts and expose the base impositions of an Agent of the American Colonization Society, who has long been in that country, and who has succeeded in duping the British people out of large sums of money to promote the objects of the brazen hand-maid of slavery. We are grieved in watching his deceitful career—in seeing generosity so abused, and confidence so misled. We feel that there is a high moral obligation resting upon us to show his duplicity to the English nation, and secure for your benefit, and the overthrow of slavery in this country, that money which he is accumulating to banish you from your native land. Indeed, it is encouraging to learn that his imposture has been detected by many noble-hearted Britons, who are using all their efforts to put him down. Particularly are we indebted to JAMES CROPPER and CHARLES STUART, two of

the leading philanthropists of the age, for their eloquent and powerful expositions of the rottenness of the Colonization Society.

Another important object I have in view is, to establish a regular correspondence between the abolitionists of England and those of this country, and to secure a union of sentiment and action. Much useful information may be obtained, and many valuable anti-slavery tracts and publications collected for distribution among us. We deem it important to learn, precisely, the methods adopted by the friends of abolition in England, in operating upon public sentiment; upon what principles, and by what regulations, their anti-slavery societies are conducted; in what manner female influence has been so widely secured, and so powerfully exerted against slavery; and, in short, to gather up all those facts, and obtain all those instructions, in relation to this great cause, which can in any degree assist us in destroying the monster OPPRESSION, and placing your whole race upon a footing of equality with the rest of the world. God speed the mission, brethren! Let it receive your prayers; and remember me in your supplications, that I may be strengthened and guided by Infinite Wisdom; for who is sufficient for these things, except the Lord of hosts be with him?

Be this your encouragement, in view of our separation. Although absent from you in body, I shall still be with you in spirit. I go away, not to escape from toil, but to labor more abundantly in your cause. If I may do something for your good at home, I hope to do more abroad. In the mean time, I beseech you fall not, on your part, to lead quiet and orderly lives. Let there be no ground whatever for the charge which is brought against you by your enemies, that you are turbulent and rude. Let all quarrelling, all dram-drinking, all profanity, all violence, all division be confined to the white people. Imitate them in nothing but what is clearly good, and carefully shun even the appearance of evil. Let them, if they will, follow the devices and perform the drudgery of the devil; but be ye perfect, even as your heavenly Father is perfect. Conquer their aversion by moral excellence; their proud spirit by love; their evil acts by acts of goodness; their

animosity by forgiveness. Keep in your hearts the fear of God, and rejoice even in tribulation ; for the promise is sure, that all things shall work together for good to those who love His name.

Finally—I would say, in the language of one of your noblest advocates—Charles Stuart—“ Let not the colored man, whether enslaved or free, be discouraged. God left his own people 400 years in Egypt, while the Egyptians and the Ammonites were, year by year, filling up the measure of their iniquities, and making themselves altogether meet for destruction. The same God is God still, and still the poor and the oppressed are as much his care as ever ; and still as much as ever He resisteth the proud, and is the enemy of the oppressor. Bear up, brethren ! God has children and servants both amongst yourselves and abroad, who enter into all your sympathies, and who are carrying you on their hearts in prayer to his mercy-seat. Take courage ! verdant as the bay-leaf, though be the flourishing of the wicked for a season, yet he shall perish. He is heaping treasure together for the last days. Thus saith the Lord, “ I, even I, am He that comforteth you. Who art thou, that thou shouldst be afraid of a man that shall die, and of the son of man that shall be made as grass ; and forgettest the Lord thy Maker, that hath stretched forth the heavens and laid the foundations of the earth, and fearest continually every day because of the fury of the oppressor, as if he were ready to destroy. And where is the fury of the oppressor ? ”

“ Be of good courage, brethren ! Christianity is shaking off its dust—the rottenness of the whited sepulchres is coming out—the gospel is resuming its healing power. There is balm in Gilead—there is a physician there. The moral sense of the land is awakening—despotism is quailing—falsehood is uncovering—truth is about to triumph—liberty is to be restored. And prejudice, that fiend of darkness—that bane of the earth—that brand of the white man, searing him with infamy—that bane of the black man, tightening his chains or condemning him to exile : Prejudice shall be abolished, and over it, as over Babylon, soon shall be written,—“ Prejudice, the tyrant of the tyrant—the waster of the poor

—the liar—the coward—the mother of abominations—is fallen, is fallen !”

Brethren, we must part ; but Heaven grant it may not be long—or if to meet no more below, let us see to it that none of us be missing in the great assembly of saints above. Scarcely any credit belongs to myself—all I can plead is, integrity of purpose, fearlessness of action, and devotion of soul. To you, much of the applause belongs. Had it not been for your co-operation, your generous confidence, your liberal support, as a people, I might have been borne down by my enemies. Be assured, I never will forsake you or your cause. I shall be anxious to return with as little delay as possible. How long I may be absent, I cannot predict ; much will depend on the success of my mission. Whether I return in safety or peril, it matters, perhaps, but little. Beware not to rely too much on an arm of flesh—on my feeble exertions. If you do, He who alone can give you victory will take me from you. Recollect that I am only one among thousands who are contending as boldly and as affectionately for your happiness and rights as myself. Our hope, dear brethren, is in God. Let our souls grapple with his promises, and fear not, whatever may betide us.

Peace be with you—love one another fervently—and while you are struggling to be free from bodily oppression, my prayer shall be that your souls may all be brought into the glorious liberty of the sons of God.

FAREWELL—FAREWELL !

THE
NEGRO'S MEMORIAL,
OR,
ABOLITIONIST'S CATECHISM,
ABRIDGED.

" I would not have a SLAVE to till my ground,
To carry me,—to fan me while I sleep—
And *tremble* when I wake,—for all the wealth
That sinews bought and sold have ever earn'd."—COWPER.

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MDCCCXXX.

PREFACE.

THE compiler of the Tract, entitled, "The Practicability, Safety, and Advantages, of Negro Emancipation," cannot give a better reason for the publication of *this*, than he assigned there, viz. That the public mind appearing to be at the present juncture rapidly preparing for the adoption of prompt and vigorous measures for effecting the entire Abolition of Slavery, in our West India Colonies, he would gladly contribute his mite to promote the accomplishment of a work so imperatively required by the sympathies of our common nature—the welfare of our beloved country—and the precepts of our holy religion. Whether this humble attempt (Extracts from the "Negro's Memorial or Abolitionist's Catechism." Hatchard & Co. 1825,) to diffuse more widely the knowledge of this enormous evil, and to arouse to increased exertion for the extinction of it, may, or may not, be conducive to such an accomplishment, is not in his province to determine, enough for him to have "endeavored well," and to repose in the conviction and the feeling so beautifully expressed by our moral poet:—

"——All is in his hand whose praise I seek,
Whose frown can disappoint the proudest work,
Whose approbation prosper even mine."

MEMORIAL, &c.

Q. What are the names of the British West-India colonies, where the system of slavery at present exists?

A. *Antigua, Barbadoes, the Bahamas, Berbice, Bermuda, Demerara, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Christopher, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Tobago, Trinidad, and the Virgin Islands.*

Q. What is the amount of the slave population of these Colonies according to the latest returns?

A. Between the years 1820 and 1822, it was as follows, according to returns on the table of the House of Commons: (Papers, Sess. 1824, No. 424.)

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Antigua	14,454	16,531	30,985
Barbadoes	36,733	41,612	78,345
Bahamas	5,529	5,279	10,808
Berbice	13,007	10,349	23,356
Bermuda	2,505	2,671	5,176
Demerara	43,227	34,149	77,376
Dominica	7,919	8,635	16,554
Grenada	12,355	13,231	25,586
Jamaica	170,466	171,916	342,382
Montserrat	3,032	3,473	6,505
Nevis	4,583	4,678	9,261
St. Christopher	9,505	10,312	19,817
St. Lucia	6,297	7,497	13,794
St. Vincent	12,007	12,245	24,252
Tobago	6,952	7,363	14,315
Trinidad	13,155	10,382	23,537
Virgin Islands	2,975	3,485	6,460
	<hr/> 364,701	<hr/> 363,808	<hr/> 728,509

Q. Does the slave population of the British West-Indies increase under the present system?

A. No: since the abolition of the Slave-trade, it has considerably decreased. The following is a comparative statement of the years 1817 1820, taken from the same returns:

	1817.	1820.	Decrease.	Increase.
Antigua.....	32,269	30,985	1,284	—
Barbadoes.....	77,493	78,345	—	852
The Bahamas ..	No account for 1817.			
Berbice	24,549	23,356	1,193	—
Bermuda	No account for 1817.			
Demerara	77,867	77,376	491	—
Dominica	17,959	16,554	1,405	—
Grenada	28,029	26,899	1,130	—
Jamaica	346,150	342,382	3,768	—
Montserrat	6,610	6,505	105	—
Nevis.....	9,602	9,261	341	—
St. Christopher..	20,137	19,817	320	—
St. Lucia	15,039	13,794	1,245	—
St. Vincent	25,218	24,252	966	—
Tobago	15,470	14,581	889	—
Trinidad	25,544	23,537	2,007	—
Virgin Islands ..	6,899	6,460	339	—
			Decrease 15,483	Inc. 852

Q. What is the actual treatment of the slaves in the West-Indies?

A. As there has been much dispute and very contradictory testimony given on this subject, it may be proper to revert to the facts established in evidence before Parliament in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791, from which the following particulars respecting the treatment of West Indian slaves, may be collected. It was proved that the field slaves, both male and female, are called out to labor at day-light, by the blowing of a large shell; and if they do not appear at the appointed time, are instantly flogged, in a mode most offensive to humanity as well as decency, and which is peculiar to the West Indies. When put to their work, they perform it ranged in rows, under the impulse of the driver's lash; each gang of slaves having one or more drivers attached to it. By these means, the weak and infirm are compelled to keep pace with those who are stronger. Such is the course of slave labor from sunrise to sun-set, during the most leisure part of the year, with intervals of about two hours and a half in each day; which permitted intervals of labor are employed in gathering grass, and should the slaves, in the judgment of the overseer, not collect a sufficient quantity, they are again subjected to the lash. The females rarely experience any indulgence in consideration of their sex. They are employed with the men, in ranks, at *holeing*; with them, they are subject to the driver's lash, and sometimes till they are within a few hours of child-bearing. They are even subject to be whipped, as a more formal punishment, when very far gone in pregnancy. Some instances of atrocious cruelty in the punishment of pregnant female slaves are described, which terminated in the death of the sufferers; the details of which are too revolting to be given in this place. Several witnesses declared, that the slave

mothers work under the lash, with their infants upon their backs. In that part of the year, which is usually called the *crop-season*, the course of labor to which the slaves are subjected is represented as greatly increased in severity: they then work eighteen hours out of the twenty-four. Their usual periods of relaxation are Saturday afternoon and Sunday, or Sunday only; and, on some estates, only a part of Sunday. Even in that short space they tend their own provision grounds. Their clothes and their houses, (both scarcely deserving the name) and their food, described as in general very bad, depend altogether upon the will of the overseers, or attornies, whose chief object it is to extract as much profit out of the slaves as possible; the slaves having very little or no time to do any thing whereby they may obtain property for themselves. The condition of in-door slaves is described as not materially better than that of field slaves; the former, as well as the latter, depending on the hourly caprice of their owners, even for an exemption from the lash; to which, in general, they are subjected as frequently, if not more so, than field slaves; and suffer, during the paroxysms of passion, into which their owners not unfrequently fall, the most cruel punishments, without warning and without redress. The regular or formal punishments of slaves are represented as in fact depending almost entirely on the discretion of the manager, or immediate agent of the estate; and as being equally cruel and offensive to decency. What is called a *flogging*, is described as leaving the body mangled and disfigured, from the small of the back to the knees. The instrument with which this punishment is inflicted, is described as a cart whip, with a plaited thong, or lash of cow's skin, capable of deeply imprinting its lash upon a deal board. The younger and elder females are subjected to it, equally with those in middle life, and with the males. The younger women are also represented as being frequently compelled to prostitute themselves, at the will of their owner, or overseers, to whom they are required to pay the wages of their prostitution, and, on refusal suffer severe whipping. Many instances were stated in evidence before the House of Commons, of cruel and monstrous torture inflicted upon slaves; and of several murders committed, under the pretence of punishment. It was also stated, that white or creole women had been sometimes known to take part in directing and personally superintending the punishments of both their male and female slaves.

Q. But has not the treatment of West-Indian slaves greatly improved since the period referred to in this evidence?

A. It has been so stated by the advocates of slavery; but that any material improvement has taken place, is, on the other hand denied: and upon the facts which have been elicited, the question may certainly be answered with more truth in the negative than in the affirmative. On the one part it is contended, that the slaves are, in most plantations, better fed and clothed than they formerly were: and that in some instances, moral improvement has been promoted by the owners of the slaves: but on

the other side, it is contended, and there is too much reason to believe with truth, that, in general, moral improvement has not been promoted, but prevented; and that the treatment the slaves continue to experience, is little less oppressive than it formerly was. It is indisputable that the whip continues to be used as a stimulus to labor in the field, and that the planters of several islands have not only refused to relinquish this use of it, but that they also tenaciously retain it, *as a mode of punishment for the negro women.*

Q. Has no improvement in the condition of West-Indian slaves been effected?

A. The chief, and perhaps only improvement which has been effected in the condition of the slaves, has been accomplished by the agency of christian missionaries, who have at least taught the slaves a rule and motive of obedience to their cruel and unjust masters, which was till then unknown to them.

Q. How is it possible to ascertain the real condition of West-Indian Slaves?

A. Perhaps the truest test of the real condition of West-Indian slaves is the fact, (proved by the table we have quoted in the fourth page,) namely, that under the present system, with all its *alleged improvements*, the slaves do not keep up the population of the colonies, but waste away; and thus without a change of system, or foreign supplies, will in a course of years become extinct.

Q. How is Slavery Antichristian?

A. By permitting, and encouraging those who take an active part in its administration habitually to do to others as they would *not* that men should do unto them.

Q. Is this its only Antichristian feature?

A. No: It not only favours injustice, but also cruelty and licentiousness, which are opposed to the Christian virtues, mercy and purity.

Q. Has it any particularly prejudicial effect on the morals of Englishmen as such?

A. It has.

Q. How does it affect the morals of Englishmen in particular?

A. It is so unfavourable to those principles of liberty, both personal and national, which are the strength and glory of Britain, that a thorough-bred West-Indian appears to be an unsuitable person to fill the office of a juror on a question of liberty or personal right, his habits of thinking and acting, unfitting him to take a fair view of the subject.

Q. Could not West-Indians understand our laws as well as other men?

A. Theoretically they might, but practically they would not. If, for example, the question were respecting a blow or stripe given by a master

to his servant, the West-Indian would probably see in it no just cause of complaint; or were it respecting restraint by bonds or imprisonment imposed, without magisterial warrant, by a superior on his inferior, it might not be easy to bring a jury of slave proprietors to give suitable damages in such a case, according to the laws of England.

Q. Are not the colonists good and loyal subjects?

A. Their agents have usually supported the ministry in Parliament, and the government has tolerated them and their systems; but the recent treasonable effusions of the Demerara and other journalists, as well as the insubordinate and contemptuous conduct of several of the Houses of Assembly towards the acts of the King, and towards the authority of the British Parliament in the course of the year (1824), show how little their loyalty is to be relied on, when, in their own judgment, it is inconsistent with their private interests.

Q. How does the system of West-Indian slavery affect the morals of the subjects of it?

A. It demoralizes them in various ways: begetting in them a timidity inconsistent with manly determination; a disregard of, and disinclination towards the domestic relations of life; a forgetfulness of moral obligation; and a mean subserviency to the passions and lusts of their employers.

Q. Cannot a slave have manly feelings?

A. Not *as* a slave: patient submission to the lash, and manly feelings are incongruous. If such feelings arise in the mind of a slave, they lead him to resist, and to endeavour to regain his liberty, which would certainly plunge him into greater sufferings, or lodge him in his grave.

Q. May not a slave usefully sustain and enjoy domestic relations?

A. It is difficult to conceive how he can in the West-Indies, where the rights of marriage are disregarded, and the principle of property in slaves leads so frequently to the separation of those male and female negroes who are sufficiently domesticated to agree to live together and rear families. But, above all things, the indiscriminate, irresistible demands of the white male population on the female part of the black, oppose an insuperable obstacle to domestic peace among the negroes.

Q. Is the rite of marriage unknown among the slaves?

A. Nearly so: as appears by returns laid on the table of the House of Commons, printed in March and May 1823. They represent it as almost wholly unknown in Jamaica, except in four parishes, where the Wesleyan missionaries unite, or insist on the union, in private contract, of those males and females who are received into their societies. These amounted to 3,467 in 15 years. In all the other parishes the total number of marriages was only 109 between the years 1808 and 1822.

The following statement will give a view of the marriages of slaves in the other islands of the West-Indies:

St. Dominica	1810 to 1821	12 years..	3
Grenada	1809 to 1821	13 years..	—
St. Vincent	1808 to 1821	14 years..	—
Barbadoes	1808 to 1820	13 years..	—
Antigua	1808 to 1820	13 years..	19
Tobago	1812 to 1821	10 years..	—
Demarara.....	1812 to 1821	10 years..	—
St. Christopher	1808 to 1821	14 years..	—
Virgin Islands.....	1819 to 1821	3 years..	—
Trinidad	1808 to 1821	14 years..	3
Nevis	1808 to 1821	14 years..	—
Bahamas	1808 to 1821	14 years..	10

The Rev. W. T. Austen, Minister of St. George's Chapel in Demerara, observes, "The marriages of slaves is a thing unheard of in this colony; and I humbly conceive this holy institution to be altogether incompatible with the state of slavery, under existing laws and regulations."

Q. Has not the contrary of this been publicly asserted?

A. Yes: by a clergyman, on the faith of his clerical character, in "A Voice from Jamaica;" but his assertions are abundantly refuted by the authentic documents above referred to.*

Q. Why should slaves be unmindful of moral obligations?

A. They are taught to disregard them by the example of their white masters: and as many of those masters do not provide them with better instruction than their own example, they are not likely to become acquainted with any other rule of conduct. The following anecdote will illustrate this proposition:—"Did you ever know such rascals?" one day observed a planter to his friend. "These slaves have driven away six of my cows into the woods and eaten them there."—"Don't be surprised at that, Sir," replied the friend; "you have taught them that it is lawful to steal *men*, and they very naturally concluded that it cannot be wrong to steal cows."

Q. Are the resident planters favourable to the Christian instruction of their slaves?

A. With few exceptions, quite otherwise. Their treatment of the ~~Missionary Smith~~ Missionary Smith loudly answers in the negative. But there are other evidences of their hostility to the religious improvement of the slaves, particularly the destruction of the Methodist chapel at Bridge Town, Barbadoes.

Q. What was their conduct to the Missionary Smith?

A. The Rev. J. Smith was sent to Demerara under the patronage of the London Missionary Society. There he publicly preached the gospel, and educated slaves on an estate called la Resouvenir, con-

* See an excellent paper on this subject in the *Times* newspaper, of Tuesday August 26, 1825.

ducting himself meekly and unblameably before all men. The expressions of his grief at the cruelties which he was compelled to witness were strictly confined to his private diary, and designed for no eyes but his own and his Creator's. His ministry was public and effectual; but some ferment having arisen among the slaves on the island, this holy man was made almost the first victim to the jealousy and malice of the planters. He and his wife were dragged from their house by a military force and lodged in prison. There, being in a deep consumption, he pined from August to October 1823. He was then brought to a trial before a military tribunal, illegally constituted, and by a process unprecedented for its contemptuous disregard of all legal sanctions, convicted of a treasonable privity with the designs of rebels. On this trial, *hearsay evidence was received against Mr. Smith, but not in his favour*, and his private diary was adduced as evidence to shew that he did not approve the treatment of the slaves. He was therefore sentenced to be hanged, with a recommendation to mercy. On a reference of the sentence to England, his Majesty's pardon was obtained, on the condition of Mr. Smith's voluntary departure from the colony. But it did not arrive at Demerara till sickness and suffering had placed the victim of persecution out of the reach of human malice. The body was buried *in the night*, by order of the Governor: *by whom the widow was prohibited from offering the last tribute of mournful affection to the memory of her deceased husband.*

Q. Has any parliamentary inquiry taken place respecting these unconstitutional proceedings?

A. Yes: they were brought before the House of Commons by Mr. Brougham in May 1824; but after two long debates, the members of the Government persuaded the House to drop the inquiry; and the motion of Mr. Brougham for further inquiry was lost by the previous question. His Majesty has, however, been pleased to recall Sir John Murray, the then Governor of Demerara.

Q. What was the conduct of the parties who destroyed the Methodist chapel in Barbadoes?

A. Their own account, contained in a placard posted at Bridge-Town, Barbadoes, Oct. 21, 1823, of which the following is a copy, will best explain their conduct.

"Great and signal Triumph over Methodism, and the total Destruction of the Chapel."

Bridge-Town, Tuesday, Oct. 21, 1823.

"The inhabitants of this Island are respectfully informed, that, in consequence of the unmerited and unprovoked attacks which have repeatedly been made upon the community by the Methodist Missionaries (otherwise known as agents to the villainous African Society), a party of respectable gentlemen formed the resolution of closing the Methodist concern altogether; with this view they commenced labours on Sunday evening, and they have the greatest satisfaction of announcing that by 12 o'clock last night they effected the total destruction of the

chapel: to this information they have to add, that the Missionary made his escape yesterday afternoon, in a small vessel, for St. Vincent, thereby avoiding that expression of public feeling towards him, personally, which he so richly deserved."

"It is hoped that, as this information will be circulated throughout the different islands and colonies, all persons who consider themselves true lovers of religion will follow the laudable example of the Barbadians, in putting an end to Methodism and Methodist chapels throughout the West-Indies."

Q. What must be the state of public opinion where such persons can challenge for themselves the title of *respectable gentlemen*?

A. Something different from that which exists in England where they would be designated *felonious rioters*.

Q. What treatment would the conduct of these *respectable gentlemen* have entitled them to in England?

A. Transportation, *ou suspension per col*.

Q. Are there other proofs of the hostility of West-Indian planters, and their system, to Christian ministers and their labours?

A. Yes: their treatment to Mr. Austin, a pious clergyman of the Church of England, and latterly the friend of Mr. Smith at Demerara; on which account he was furiously persecuted and expelled the colony; also their treatment of Mr. Cooper. Some valuable facts and observations in proof that the system of Slavery is hostile to Christianity, and counteracts the efforts of the best intentioned clergymen; are contained in Mr. Bickell's work, which represents the excessive labour, Sunday markets, public punishments in the markets, neglect of marriage and decided hostility of the planters, as opposing insurmountable obstacles to the religious education of slaves.

Q. Could any of the articles imported from the West-Indies be obtained more advantageously from any other British colony?

A. Yes: *Sugar* could be obtained from the East-Indies so much cheaper as to supplant that of the West; coffee is also obtainable at Mocha, and of a very superior description; but Mocha not being a British colony, its coffee is much more expensive than West India coffee

Q. Why is sugar not imported from the East Indies?

A. Because the British government, in order to favor the West-Indies, has imposed a much higher duty on East Indian sugar, amounting almost to a prohibition; notwithstanding which, a small quantity of it has been annually imported. The importation will probably be increased, in consequence of a decided preference now given to it by the friends of abolition.

Q. In what light is the higher duty which is laid on East-Indian sugar viewed by the people of Great Britain, and what is the amount of it?

A. It is viewed in the light of a premium for slavery, which they are compelled, though reluctantly, to pay. Its amount is 10s. per cwt. imposed on sugar, the produce of the British dominions in the East Indies, *above* what is paid on West Indian sugar. There is also a bounty paid on the exportation of refined sugar, which raises the price of all sugar in the market, at least 6s. per cwt. more: the amount of the duty and the bounty are both, in fact, drawn out of the pockets of the nation, and operates as a tax collected for the support of the West Indian system.

Q. How would the equalization of the duties operate?

A. There can be no doubt that it would occasion an increased importation of sugar from the East Indies, or from some other country where it could be obtained cheaper than in the West Indies. Such a measure would also occasion a corresponding exportation of British produce or manufactures to that country, and thus secure the interests of British commerce, although in other directions.

Q. In that case, what would become of the maritime interests of Great Britain?

A. Ships and sailors being still necessary for the conveyance of the sugar, they would continue to be employed, and the maritime interests of Great Britain would suffer no loss, but would gain in exact proportion as the length of the voyage might be increased.

Q. What benefit would the British public derive from such a change?

A. They would have the article of sugar cheaper by a sum computed at nearly £2,000,000 per annum, which would be a *saving* to them, they being the consumers, equal to the repealing of a tax to that amount. They would also be relieved from the *painful alternative of either consuming the produce of slave-labor, or of dispensing with an article now become, from habit, a necessary of life.*

Q. By what specific considerations is the interference of Great Britain with the domestic affairs of her West-Indian colonies warranted at the present time?

A. First, by political considerations: Great Britain has a right to reform that in their conduct which makes them unnecessarily burthensome to her in time of peace, and an encumbrance in time of war. Secondly, by commercial considerations: she has a right to refuse a preference to their slave-manufactured produce, seeing that, while it is more costly than other similar produce, there is no better reason for their requiring such preference, than that the produce being slave-manufactured, is, therefore, more expensive; and that the West Indians, by refusing to abolish slavery, hold out no prospect of being

able to supply it cheaper. Great Britain is warranted, under such circumstances, in opening her markets on equal terms to similar produce from her other colonies. Thirdly, on moral considerations: the system of slavery being depraved and contaminating, *contra bonos mores*, the King and the Parliament of Great Britain, as the guardians of the public morals throughout the empire, are bound to remove the nuisance. Policy, equity, morality, and the necessity of the case, all concur fully to warrant the interference of Great Britain with the internal government of her West Indian colonies.

Q. Have not the colonists said, "Great Britain had better mind her own affairs (Ireland in particular,) than interfere with them?"

A. They have said so; but it has been clearly shewn that *their reformation* is the proper concern of the British Government, and that Britons have a great interest in effecting it.

Q. By what method can the authority of the British Government interpose to benefit the slaves in the West-Indies?

A. By a royal commission, sanctioned by Parliament, and armed with full powers to re-model their governments and laws, so as to admit their slaves to the present possession of civil rights; also to appoint new functionaries, where necessary, and by other measures to insure, at no very distant period, the entire abolition of slavery in the British West Indian Colonies.

Q. Have any plans been suggested for the total abolition of slavery?

A. Yes.

Q. Upon what principle has immediate unqualified abolition been proposed?

A. Upon the broad principle of substantial justice. The slaves are considered by its advocates in the light of stolen property, the possession of which time cannot legalize; but which it is at all times incumbent, equally on the thief or the receiver, to restore—not as a matter of favor, but as a matter of right, and expression of sincere repentance, according to the rule laid down in the sacred Scriptures.

Q. To the objection to *immediate abolition*, what answer has been given?

A. It has been admitted that the generality of the slaves in the West Indies are uncivilized and ignorant, (for which their owners are most justly blamable, having had abundant means for improving the morals of their slaves). But it is contended, in defence of immediate abolition, that the impartation of personal immunities and legal rights to slaves would

carry with it, of necessity, legal restraints on their actions; that slaves who can comprehend the wishes and will of their own masters, could also understand their responsibility to the laws of the community, of which they formed a part; and that, in point of fact, emancipated slaves had never shewn any disability to sustain or fulfil the relations of social or domestic life. It is also contended that free Africans are often very laborious in their habits; that on the other hand many laborers, natives of European countries, are extremely ignorant, but fully capable of understanding that very simple proposition, "he that will not work neither shall he eat;" that there is not the least reason for supposing a negro less capable than a European of understanding such a proposition, and of governing himself accordingly; that in every community there will be some persons dead to all motives to virtuous exertion, and that even in such cases the sanction and protection of equal laws give to necessary punishment a justification in the consciences of the sufferers, which it would not otherwise possess.

Q. In what way do the West-Indians account for their want of prosperity?

The following extracts from a report of the House of Assembly of Jamaica, dated 23d November, 1804, which has been laid on the table of the House of Commons, exhibit a correct view of *their* mode of reasoning on the subject, and show clearly to a candid reader, that "property in slaves" is a sort of millstone round the West Indian commerce, although West Indians will not confess or discern it. After adverting to the abolition of slavery, as the most fearful of calamities, they say, "an abolition is not the sole means by which the West India Islands may be ruined; the same object may be obtained as completely, although *with somewhat less rapidity, by encouraging the cultivation of sugar in the East Indies*, where the fertility of the soil, the facility of irrigation, the ease with which commodities are transported by means of an extensive inland navigation, *the abundance of provisions, the cheapness of labor, and the structure of society give advantages* which nature has denied to these islands, and where the cultivator is exempt from the restrictions which bear heaviest on our agriculture, and will operate as a positive and immense bounty to our rivals."

And in a report of the same Assembly, dated the 13th November, 1807, reference is made to "the melancholy fact," that the gradual depreciation of sugar had, at last, operated, "not only to deprive the planter, generally speaking, of any interest on his capital, but to oblige him, if he continue to cultivate the sugar-cane, to do it at a considerable actual loss." This, however, is not all: the planter must maintain himself and his family, and he ought, at least, to pay the interest of his debts." "Instead of being enriched by his labours," the planter is described as actually "considerably impoverished by it."

The Report then proceeds to state that, when the average-price of sugar, exclusive of duty, is 45s. per cwt. the planter will have an interest of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on his capital; when it is 52s. 6d. per cwt, $4\frac{5}{7}$ per cent.; when it is 60s. per cwt. 7 per cent.; and when it is 70s. 3d. per cwt. he will have 10 per cent. on his capital; and the framers of

the Report give it as their opinion that it ought not *in justice* to be less than this last sum; and that to that point measures should be taken, by the legislature, to raise it.

This then is the *summary remedy for West-Indian distress!!* As compared with the present price of sugar, it would inflict a tax of FIVE MILLIONS annually on the people of this country!! This tax the nation would have to pay in the consumption of sugar alone; and for what? To uphold the West-India price of sugar, and thereby the West-Indian price of slaves, and thus, if possible, in opposition to the immutable decrees of Divine Providence, to enable the West-India planters, to *prosper and derive profits from slave labour*. It cannot be denied that the West-Indians have made out a case for legislative interference; but it is not clear that the interference should be precisely in the mode prescribed by them to the British public. 'Tax yourselves,' *they say* 'to the amount of £5,000,000 annually, that we may derive wealth from our system of slave labour, &c.' May not the country, in the exercise of a sound discretion and just authority, reply to those gentlemen, 'we will abolish the system of slavery, and thus eventually relieve ourselves from the tax we already pay on that account?'

Q. Have any dangerous consequences ensued from the emancipation of slaves?

A. Not in any instance. In North America, and in St. Domingo, bodies of emancipated negroes have taken to peaceful industry, without disturbance or difficulty.* Even in the West-Indian colonies, there are large numbers of blacks and creoles, whose freedom has been given to them by will, and in some few instances acquired by grant or by purchase, and who live in such good obedience to the laws, that the *worst part* of their conduct known in this country is, that some of them, imitating their former masters, have become slave-holders.

Q. What necessary connexion has the present question respecting the abolition of Slavery, with the former question respecting the Slave-trade?

A. They are two parts of national repentance for the same original transgression. In relinquishing the Slave-trade, Great Britain resolved to be no longer guilty, either as principal or accessory, of the crime of *man-stealing*; by abolishing slavery she will, although late, make restitution of the *stolen property* to its rightful owner.

Q. What are the duties of an ABOLITIONIST?

A. To make himself acquainted with the history and facts of this great moral question. To abstain, as much as possible, from consuming West-Indian produce, such as rum, coffee, &c., and entirely from Sugar the produce of Slave labour, in proportion to the demand for which the value of the slaves is enhanced, and the difficulty which that value in-

* See Clarkson's Thoughts on the Necessity of improving the Condition of the Slaves in the British Colonies, &c., and a Pamphlet just published, "The Practicability, Safety, and Advantages of Negro Emancipation."

terposes in the way of abolition is augmented ; and generally to oppose all schemes which are calculated to strengthen the hands of the upholders of the West-Indian system and render them independent of public opinion ; but to favour all projects of an opposite description, and upon all occasions diligently to circulate useful information relative to the subject.

“ Let me, in conclusion, address myself not only to my countrymen at large, but to such distinct descriptions among them, as may be influenced by particular considerations not felt by all.

“ To you, friends of universal freedom, who glory in the appellation of *Whigs*, and regard all absolute authority, civil or political, with pre-eminent suspicion and dislike ; to you in whose eyes even the liberties of Englishmen are not perfect, or require at least additional securities ; to *you* my first invocation shall be made. What a reproach would it be to your principles, if you should not be among the foremost in endeavouring to relax the heavy and degrading yoke of private Slavery in our colonies ? What, in comparison with *that*, is political thralldom, even to a foreign power ; or what are civil and military despotisms, in the worst forms of them known in Europe ? In what region, and in what age, was grosser violation ever done to the natural rights of man ?

“ To you whom your opponents designate by the less popular name of *Tories*, I would next appeal. The Slave-masters strive to enlist your honest prepossessions on their side. They would persuade you that their cause is that of loyalty against disaffection, and established government against democratical innovation. Not so thought your Johnsons and your Humes, your Gibbons and your Horsleys ; not so your Pitts and Grenvilles, nor your virtuous and lamented Percival. The very reverse is the truth. It is the nature of the Slave system to make the masters contentious, turbulent, and impatient of all authority but their own (as Burke, though in more softened language, has remarked). You found it to your cost in America ; and you find it now in the West Indies. Ask your Ministers who have presided in the Colonial department, in what part of the empire His Majesty’s subjects are the hardest to govern and to please ; and where they have always been the most annoyed with turbulent opposition to the constituted powers, conducted with factious violence ; and I am sure the answer will be,—in the West Indies.

“ Servants of God, of every description, my last and surest appeal is made to you. Of whatever faith you are, Churchmen, Dissenters, Catholics, Theists of every kind ; if you believe that there is a God, the common Parent of the human race, who delights in justice and mercy, behold a cause that demands your strenuous support. The Slave-masters would craftily divide you. They would avail themselves of your theological differences ; and especially would persuade you, if they could, that those who earnestly maintain this cause of God and man, are all fanatics and enthusiasts. But what creed will be found to countenance a system like theirs, when its true nature is developed ? Even the Mahometan faith proscribes it, though in a much milder form, except as a scourge for unbelievers.

“Dismiss the idle hope that Slavery will ever be abolished, or materially alleviated, by the will of the masters, or by the laws of West Indian legislators.

“Reject the insidious suggestions that your interference is needless; and that it implies distrust of our Ministers. I have shown that without the aid of the *popular voice* their good intentions must be fruitless. The Government, and the Parliament itself, are in thralldom to the dominating influence of our too powerful enemies.

“But should we suspect, or know, their wishes to be adverse to ours, our duties as men, as Englishmen, and as Christians, would remain the same. We should be unworthy of all those appellations, and deserve to forfeit the privileges that belong to them, if, knowing our country to be the abettor and upholder of gross injustice and oppression, we should from complaisance to any men, or any party, decline to exercise our constitutional rights on the side of the injured and oppressed.”*

Tell those who would paralyze your exertions in this righteous cause by anticipations of danger, or considerations of national policy,—that, whatever is a *moral duty*, can never, ultimately, be a *political evil*.—that to do *evil*, that *good* may come—or to avoid doing good, *lest evil* should come, is as crooked a doctrine in Politics as it is in Divinity; and if a Heathen could exclaim “*fiat Justitia ruat Cælum*” well may the Christian adopt similar language, with his clearer views, and stronger confidence in the superintendence and protection of a Power as Omnipotent as Just!

Come forward, then we beseech you, as men—and as christians;—temperately, but fearlessly,—constitutionally, but *decidedly*—in the support of every legitimate measure for the utter abolition of “a System which no prospect of private gain—no consideration of public advantage—no plea of political expediency—can sufficiently justify or excuse:—thus will you extend the blessings of Liberty to Hundreds of Thousands of your fellow-creatures—hold up to an enlightened world a glorious and merciful example,—and stand among the foremost in the defence of the violated rights of Human Nature.”

* “Address to the Electors and People of the United Kingdom,” by James Stephen, Esq.



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